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Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955–1957

Volume III

China

Microfiche Supplement

Department of State
Washington

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Microfiche Supplement

Editor in Chief John P. Glennon
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Department of State
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PREFACE

This microfiche supplement to *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1955-1957, Volume III, China, presents documents concerning the ambassadorial talks between representatives of the United States and the People's Republic of China held in Geneva from August 1955 through December 1957. It includes all the reports and comments on the meetings from Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, the U.S. representative at the talks, instructions sent to him by the Department, related messages exchanged between Geneva and the Department, and a series of official-informal letters between Johnson and the Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs. The documents are arranged in chronological order.

Most of the documents are in the Department of State central files, chiefly the 611.93 file, which includes almost all the documentation directly related to the talks. The official-informal letters are in the Geneva Talks Files, Lot 72 D 415, which consists of files relating to the ambassadorial talks at Geneva and Warsaw for the years 1955–1968. These files were maintained by the Office of Chinese Affairs, which had responsibility for drafting and coordinating the clearance of the Department's instructions to Ambassador Johnson.

A small proportion of the documents presented in this supplement and additional documents relating to the ambassadorial talks, including some from the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, are printed in *Foreign Relations*, 1955-1957, Volumes II and III. The diplomatic exchanges which led to the initiation of the talks are documented in Volume II. Conversations with

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leaders or diplomatic representatives of other governments concerning the talks are documented in Volume III. The documents included both in Volume III and in the supplement consist primarily of the brief, summary reports which Johnson sent to the Department immediately after each meeting in advance of his detailed reports, which are presented in the supplement.

The documents in the supplement were declassified by the Department of State's Classification/Declassification Center, which reviewed them according to the guidelines and procedures by which it customarily reviews documents selected for publication in the printed volumes of the *Foreign Relations* series. The Center reviews the documents, makes declassification decisions, and obtains the clearance of geographic and functional bureaus of the Department of State and other appropriate agencies of the government. In coordination with the geographic bureaus of the Department of State, the Center also conducts communications with foreign governments regarding documents or information of those governments proposed for publication in the series. Documents which were declassified with excisions appear in the supplement with the excised portions indicated by ellipses.

The supplement was prepared in the Office of the Historian under the supervision of General Editor John P. Glennon and David W. Mabon. Harriet D. Schwar selected the documents and prepared the introduction. Rosa D. Pace prepared the list of documents and the list of persons.

William Z. Slany
The Historian
Bureau of Public Affairs

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INTRODUCTION

Ambassadorial talks between representatives of the United States and the People's Republic of China were held in Geneva from August 1955 through December 1957 and in Warsaw from September 1958 through February 1970. The 73 meetings in Geneva constituted more than half the entire series of 136 meetings, which provided a direct channel of communication between the two countries at a time when they did not have diplomatic relations. The participants in the Geneva discussions were U. Alexis Johnson, United States Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, and Wang Bingnan (Wang Ping-nan), Chinese Ambassador to Poland.

Background of the Ambassadorial Talks

Ambassadors Johnson and Wang represented their respective governments in direct talks held during the Geneva Conference of 1954 concerning U.S. nationals imprisoned in China and U.S. restrictions on certain Chinese nationals in the United States. The 1954 discussions were precursors of the later ambassadorial talks, although they were more limited in scope. These conversations, as well as subsequent meetings on the same subjects between U.S. and Chinese consular representatives at Geneva, are documented in *Foreign Relations*, 1952–1954, Volume XIV, and 1955–1957, Volume II.

U.S. concern with the problem of Americans imprisoned in China increased in November 1954, when a Chinese military tribunal sentenced 13 Americans to prison on charges of espionage. They included 11 Air Force personnel shot down in 1952 while flying a

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mission for the United Nations Command over North Korea. At the request of the United Nations General Assembly, Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld visited Beijing in January 1955 in a vain effort to obtain the release of the 11 airmen. They were freed on July 31, 1955, on the eve of the opening of the ambassadorial talks.

The Taiwan Strait crisis, which had been simmering since September 1954, intensified in early 1955 when Beijing increased pressure on the Nationalist-held offshore islands. On January 29, 1955, Congress passed a Joint Resolution (the "Formosa Resolution") authorizing the President to use U.S. forces to protect Taiwan, the Pescadores, and related positions against armed attack. In February, the Nationalists evacuated the northernmost of the disputed offshore islands with U.S. assistance. Nevertheless, tension remained high.

The continuing crisis led to diplomatic efforts to open a channel of communication between Washington and Beijing. Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) stated at Bandung on April 23, 1955, that the Chinese Government was willing to "enter into negotiations with the United States Government to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Far East and especially in the Taiwan area." On July 11, the United States sent a message to Premier Zhou through the British Chargé in Beijing proposing that the consular-level talks in Geneva be raised to the ambassadorial level and enlarged in scope. After further exchanges, the following announcement was released on July 25 in Washington and Beijing:

> "As a result of communication between the United States and the People's Republic of China through the diplomatic channels of the United Kingdom, it has been agreed that the talks held in the last year between consular representatives of both sides at

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Geneva should be conducted on ambassadorial level in order to aid in settling the matter of repatriation of civilians who desire to return to their respective countries and to facilitate further discussions and settlement of certain other practical matters now at issue between both sides. The first meeting of ambassadorial representatives of both sides will take place on August 1, 1955, at Geneva."

The Geneva Talks

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles set forth his general instructions for the ambassadorial talks in a letter of July 29, 1955, to Ambassador Johnson. President Dwight D. Eisenhower approved the draft instructions at a meeting with the Ambassador and the Secretary that day. Ambassador Johnson described his recollections of the meeting with the President and of a meeting between himself and Secretary Dulles at which they discussed his instructions in *The Right Hand of Power* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1984), pp. 238-240. According to Johnson, the Secretary indicated that he should try to keep the talks going as long as possible. Although this instruction is not in the letter, other documents in the supplement refer to it.

Between August 1955 and December 1957, Johnson and Wang held 73 formal meetings. They also met twice on an informal, private basis over dinner in August 1955. The supplement includes Johnson's reports of these meetings. Because Secretary Dulles took a great interest in the talks, especially in the early stages, and requested detailed reports, Johnson sent a brief summary telegram followed by a long, detailed report after each meeting. As the documents in the supplement show, many of the instructions sent to

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Johnson bear Dulles' signature or initials, indicating that he had drafted or approved them.

In the initial stage of the talks, Johnson and Wang negotiated an agreed announcement on the repatriation of civilians which was issued on September 10, 1955. During the next few months, they held extensive discussions of a possible mutual renunciation of force but did not reach agreement. In mid-1956, the two Ambassadors turned to other topics, including the possible relaxation of trade restrictions, exchange of journalists, or other bilateral contacts, again without reaching agreement. Meanwhile, they continued to discuss the problem of implementation of the agreed announcement.

By 1957, the discussions had become repetitive and unproductive. The frequency of the meetings, initially held two or three times a week but soon cut back to a weekly schedule, was reduced to once a month. In late 1957, the Department decided to shift Johnson to the Embassy in Bangkok and to lower the level of the Geneva talks. The Chinese did not accept the U.S. proposal to continue the discussions at a lower level, and after Johnson and Wang held their last meeting in Geneva in December 1957, the talks lapsed until they were renewed in Warsaw in September 1958.

The ambassadorial talks in Warsaw will be documented in forthcoming volumes and supplements to the *Foreign Relations* series.

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LIST OF MEETINGS

Number	Date	Number	Date
1	August 1, 1955	24	November 3, 1955
2	August 2, 1955	25	November 10, 1955
3	August 4, 1955	26	November 17, 1955
4	August 8, 1955	27	November 23, 1955
5	August 11, 1955	28	December 1, 1955
6	August 13, 1955	29	December 8, 1955
7	August 16, 1955	30	December 15, 1955
8	August 18, 1955	31	December 22, 1955
9	August 20, 1955	32	January 12, 1956
	August 22, 1955*	33	January 19, 1956
10	August 23, 1955	34	January 25, 1956
11	August 25, 1955	35	February 4, 1956
	August 28, 1955*	36	February 9, 1956
12	August 31, 1955	37	February 18, 1956
13	September 6, 1955	38	February 24, 1956
14	September 10, 1955	39	March 1, 1956
15	September 14, 1955	40	March 8, 1956
16	September 20, 1955	41	March 22, 1956
17	September 23, 1955	42	March 29, 1956
18	September 28, 1955	43	April 9, 1956
19	October 5, 1955	44	April 19, 1956
20	October 8, 1955	45	April 26, 1956
21	October 14, 1955	46	May 11, 1956
22	October 20, 1955	47	May 17, 1956
23	October 27, 1955	48	May 24, 1956

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Number	Date	Number	Date
49	May 31, 1956	62	November 30, 1956
50	June 8, 1956	63	December 13, 1956
51	June 21, 1956	64	January 19, 1957
52	June 28, 1956	65	February 14, 1957
53	July 10, 1956	66	March 14, 1957
54	July 26, 1956	67	May 15, 1957
55	August 9, 1956	68	July 11, 1957
56	August 21, 1956	69	August 8, 1957
57	September 7, 1956	70	September 12, 1957
58	September 22, 1956	71	October 10, 1957
59	October 4, 1956	72	November 14, 1957
60	October 18, 1956	73	December 12, 1957
61	November 15, 1956		

* Ambassadors Johnson and Wang met privately and informally on August 22 and 28, 1955, with only their interpreters present.

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LIST OF PERSONS

Editor's Note – This list is designed to provide ready reference for identification of persons mentioned frequently in the supplement and on the document list. Identification of the persons on the list is limited to positions and circumstances relating to the ambassadorial talks and is confined to the years 1955-1957. All titles and positions are American unless otherwise indicated. Where no dates are given, the individual held the position throughout the period covered by the supplement. Chinese names are spelled according to contemporary usage.

Adams, Sherman, Assistant to the President.

Barnes, Robert G., Director, Executive Secretariat, Department of State, August 1955–March 1956.

Bunker, Ellsworth, President of the American National Red Cross through 1956.

Chou En-lai, Premier and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China.

Clough, Ralph N., Deputy Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs, Department of State, July 1955-June 1957; adviser to the U.S. representative in the ambassadorial talks, August-September 1955; after June 1957, Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs.

Colm, Peter W., Intelligence Research Analyst, Office of Intelligence Research, Division of Research for Far East, Department of State; adviser to the U.S. representative in the ambassadorial talks, October-December 1955.

Dulles, John Foster, Secretary of State.

Ekvall, Lieutenant Colonel Robert B., U.S. Army, interpreter for the U.S. representative in the ambassadorial talks, August 1955-December 1957.

Erskine, General Graves B., USMC (retired), Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, Special Operations.

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Forman, Douglas N., Office of Chinese Affairs from June 1955; adviser to the U.S. representative in the ambassadorial talks, August-November 1955.

Freers, Edward L., Director, Office of Eastern European Affairs, Department of State, from July 1956.

George, Senator Walter F., Democratic Senator from Georgia and Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to January 1957.

Gowen, Franklin C., Consul General in Geneva and U.S. Representative, International Organizations.

Hagerty, James C., Press Secretary to the President.

Hill, Robert C., Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, March 1956–May 1957.

Hoover, Herbert, Jr., Under Secretary of State to February 1957.

Johnson, U. Alexis, Ambassador to Czechoslovakia to December 1957; U.S. representative in ambassadorial talks with the People's Republic of China, August 1955–December 1957.

Koo, V.K. Wellington, Ambassador of the Republic of China to the United States to May 1956.

Lindbeck, John M.H., Public Affairs Officer, Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, Department of State.

Martin, Edwin W., Deputy Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs, Department of State, to July 1955; National War College, August 1955–July 1956; thereafter, First Secretary at the Embassy in London; adviser to the U.S. representative in the ambassadorial talks, August 1955 and June-December 1957; designated U.S. representative in the ambassadorial talks, December 1957.

McConaughy, Walter P., Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs, Department of State, to May 1957.

Moorman, Brigadier General P.M., U.S. Army Attaché at the Embassy in Paris from September 1955.

Murphy, Robert D., Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs.

O'Neill, Con, British Chargé in the People's Republic of China, June 1955-October 1957.

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Osborn, David L., Officer in Charge of Political Affairs, Office of Chinese Affairs, Department of State, March 1955–December 1955; adviser to the U.S. representative in the ambassadorial talks and Consul in Geneva, December 1955–March 1957; thereafter, with the Office of Chinese Affairs.

Phleger, Herman, Legal Adviser of the Department of State to April 1957.

Richards, James P., Democratic Representative from South Carolina and Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs to January 1957.

Robertson, Walter S., Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs.

Sebald, William J., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs to March 1957.

Wang Ping-nan, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China to March 1955; thereafter, Ambassador to Poland; representative of the People's Republic of China in ambassadorial talks with the United States from August 1955.

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NOTICE OF DECLASSIFICATION

All the documents in this supplement were declassified by the Classification/Declassification Center of the Department of State, which reviewed them according to the guidelines and procedures by which it customarily reviews documents selected for publication in the printed volumes of the *Foreign Relations* series. These procedures include inspection of pertinent materials by all appropriate agencies of the United States Government. Documents which were declassified with excisions appear in the supplement without the excised material.

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LIST OF DOCUMENTS

No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
1	7/29/55	Letter from Dulles to Johnson	xx/xx
2	7/29/55	Telegram 312 to Geneva	
3	7/31/55	Telegram 227 from Geneva	
4	8/1/55	Telegram 231 from Geneva	
5	8/1/55	Telegram 232 from Geneva	
6	8/1/55	Telegram 238 from Geneva	
7	8/1/55	Telegram 239 from Geneva	
8	8/1/55	Telegram 240 from Geneva	
9	8/1/55	Telegram 330 to Geneva	
10	8/2/55	Telegram 242 from Geneva	
11	8/2/55	Telegram 243 from Geneva	
12	8/2/55	Telegram 244 from Geneva	
13	8/2/55	Telegram 246 from Geneva	
14	8/2/55	Telegram 248 from Geneva	
15	8/2/55	Telegram 249 from Geneva	
16	8/2/55	Telegram 250 from Geneva	
17	8/2/55	Telegram 255 from Geneva	
18	8/2/55	Telegram 341 to Geneva	
19	8/3/55	Telegram 257 from Geneva	
20	8/3/55	Telegram 358 to Geneva	
21	8/3/55	Telegram 359 to Geneva	
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24	8/4/55	Telegram 314 from Geneva	
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26	8/4/55	Telegram 368 to Geneva	

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27	8/4/55	Telegram 373 to Geneva	
28	8/5/55	Telegram 317 from Geneva	
29	8/5/55	Telegram 320 from Geneva	
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31	8/5/55	Telegram 328 from Geneva	
32	8/5/55	Telegram 384 to Geneva	
33	8/5/85	Telegram 389 to Geneva	
34	8/5/55	Telegram 391 to Geneva	
35	8/6/55	Telegram 333 from Geneva	
36	8/6/55	Telegram 334 from Geneva	
37	8/6/55	Telegram 398 to Geneva	
38	8/6/55	Telegram 399 to Geneva	
39	8/6/55	Telegram 400 to Geneva	
40	8/7/55	Telegram 335 from Geneva	
41	8/8/55	Telegram 345 from Geneva	
42	8/8/55	Telegram 346 from Geneva	
43	8/8/55	Telegram 347 from Geneva	
44	8/8/55	Telegram 354 from Geneva	
45	8/8/55	Telegram 356 from Geneva	
46	8/8/55	Telegram 357 from Geneva	
47	8/8/55	Letter from McConaughy to Johnson	
48	8/9/55	Telegram 362 from Geneva	
49	8/9/55	Telegram 364 from Geneva	
50	8/9/55	Telegram 369 from Geneva	
51	8/9/55	Telegram 428 to Geneva	
52	8/9/55	Telegram 429 to Geneva	
53	8/9/55	Despatch No. 2 from Geneva Enclosure: Johnson remarks, 8/4/55	
54	8/9/55	Memorandum of Conversation, Koo and Robertson	
55	8/10/55	Telegram 389 from Geneva	

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56	8/10/55	Telegram 439 to Geneva	
57	8/10/55	Telegram 440 to Geneva	
58	8/10/55	Telegram 441 to Geneva	
59	8/10/55	Letter 2 from McConaughy to Johnson	
60	8/10/55	Letter from Johnson to McConaughy	
61	8/11/55	Telegram 401 from Geneva	
62	8/11/55	Telegram 402 from Geneva	
63	8/11/55	Telegram 403 from Geneva	
64	8/11/55	Telegram 412 from Geneva	
65	8/11/55	Telegram 417 from Geneva	
66	8/11/55	Telegram 418 from Geneva	
67	8/11/55	Telegram 466 to Geneva	
68	8/11/55	Letter from Johnson to McConaughy	
69	8/12/55	Telegram 425 from Geneva	
70	8/12/55	Telegram 426 from Geneva	
71	8/12/55	Telegram 428 from Geneva	
72	8/12/55	Telegram 429 from Geneva	
73	8/12/55	Telegram 470 to Geneva	
74	8/12/55	Telegram 478 to Geneva	
75	8/12/55	Letter 3 from Johnson to McConaughy	
76	8/12/55	Letter from McConaughy to Johnson	
77	8/12/55 [8/13/55]	Telegram 448 from Geneva	
78	8/13/55	Telegram 452 from Geneva	
79	8/13/55	Telegram 457 from Geneva	
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88	8/15/55	Letter from McConaughy to Johnson	
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90	8/16/55	Telegram 490 from Geneva	
91	8/16/55	Telegram 499 from Geneva	
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93	8/16/55	Telegram 523 to Geneva	
94	8/16/55	Telegram 526 to Geneva	
95	8/17/55	Telegram 504 from Geneva	
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97	8/17/55	Telegram 541 to Geneva	
98	8/17/55	Telegram 542 to Geneva	
99	8/17/55	Letter from McConaughy to Johnson	
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101	8/18/55	Telegram 537 from Geneva	
102	8/18/55	Telegram 538 from Geneva	
103	8/18/55	Telegram 540 from Geneva	
104	8/18/55	Telegram 543 from Geneva	
105	8/18/55	Telegram 562 to Geneva	
106	8/19/55	Telegram 545 from Geneva	
107	8/19/55	Telegram 547 from Geneva	
108	8/19/55	Telegram 551 from Geneva	
109	8/19/55	Telegram 569 to Geneva	
110	8/19/55	Telegram 582 to Geneva	
111	8/19/55	Letter 4 from Johnson to McConaughy	
112	8/19/85	Letter 6 from McConaughy to Johnson	

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115	8/20/55	Telegram 564 from Geneva	
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119	8/22/55	Telegram 571 from Geneva	
120	8/22/55	Telegram 602 to Geneva	
121	8/22/55	Telegram 603 to Geneva	
122	8/22/55	Letter 8 from McConaughy to Johnson	
123	8/23/55	Telegram 585 from Geneva	
124	8/23/55	Telegram 586 from Geneva	
125	8/23/55	Telegram 589 from Geneva	
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127	8/23/55	Telegram 616 to Geneva	
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129	8/24/55	Telegram 607 from Geneva	
130	8/24/55	Telegram 622 to Geneva	
131	8/24/55	Telegram 627 to Geneva	
132	8/24/55	Letter 5 from Johnson to McConaughy	
133	8/25/55	Memorandum from Dulles to Phleger	
134	8/25/55	Telegram 616 from Geneva	
135	8/25/55	Telegram 617 from Geneva	
136	8/25/55	Telegram 623 from Geneva	
137	8/25/55	Telegram 624 from Geneva	
138	8/25/55	Telegram 625 from Geneva	
139	8/25/55	Telegram 92 to USUN	
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145	8/26/55	Letter 9 from McConaughy to Johnson	
146	8/29/55	Telegram 642 from Geneva	
147	8/29/55	Telegram 654 to Geneva	
148	8/29/55	Letter 10 from McConaughy to Johnson	
149	8/30/55	Telegram 651 from Geneva	
150	8/30/55	Telegram 658 to Geneva	
151	8/31/55	Telegram 657 from Geneva	
152	8/31/55	Telegram 658 from Geneva	
153	8/31/55	Telegram 659 from Geneva	
154	8/31/55	Telegram 661 from Geneva	
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156	9/1/55	Letter from Clough to McConaughy	
		Enclosure: Johnson remarks, 8/31/55	
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158	9/2/55	Telegram 678 to Geneva	
159	9/2/55	Letter 11 from McConaughy to Johnson	
160	9/3/55	Telegram 672 from Geneva	
161	9/3/55	Telegram 682 to Geneva	
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163	9/5/55	Telegram 685 to Geneva	
164	9/6/55	Telegram 678 from Geneva	
165	9/6/55	Telegram 682 from Geneva	
166	9/6/55	Telegram 684 from Geneva	
167	9/6/55	Telegram 687 from Geneva	
168	9/7/55	Telegram 693 to Geneva	

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170	9/8/55	Telegram 691 from Geneva	
171	9/8/55	Telegram 694 to Geneva	
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173	9/8/55	Telegram 696 to Geneva	
174	9/8/55	Telegram 555 to New Delhi	
175	9/9/55	Telegram 700 from Geneva	
176	9/9/55	Telegram unnumbered to Hagerty in Denver	
177	9/9/55	Telegram 705 to Geneva	
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179	9/10/55	Telegram 708 from Geneva	
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181	9/12/55	Telegram 715 from Geneva	
182	9/12/55	Circular Telegram 163	
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184	9/13/55	Telegram 713 to Geneva	
185	9/13/55	Telegram 717 to Geneva	
186	9/13/55	Telegram 718 to Geneva	
187	9/14/55	Telegram 722 from Geneva	
188	9/14/55	Telegram 724 from Geneva	
189	9/14/55	Telegram 725 from Geneva	
190	9/14/55	Telegram 726 from Geneva	
191	9/15/55	Telegram 729 from Geneva	
192	9/15/55	Telegram 732 from Geneva	
193	9/15/55	Telegram 728 to Geneva	
194	9/15/55	Letter 8 from Johnson to McConaughy	
195	9/16/55	Telegram 733 from Geneva	

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216	9/21/55	Despatch 5 from Geneva Enclosure: Letter from Wang to Johnson, 9/16/55	
217	9/22/55	Telegram 760 from Geneva	
218	9/22/66	Telegram 764 to Geneva	
219	9/22/55	Telegram 766 to Geneva	
220	9/22/55	Telegram 1624 to London	
221	9/22/55	Telegram 1625 to London	
222	9/22/55	Memorandum of Conversation, Richards and Robertson	

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224	9/23/55	Telegram 767 from Geneva	
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227	9/23/55	Telegram 772 from Geneva	
228	9/23/55	Telegram 773 from Geneva	
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230	9/23/55	Telegram 777 to Geneva	
231	9/23/55	Telegram USITO 51 to Geneva	
232	9/23/55	Memorandum from Robertson to Dulles	
233	9/23/55	Letter 15 from McConaughy to Johnson	
234	9/26/55	Telegram 775 from Geneva	
235	9/26/55	Telegram 777 from Geneva	
236	9/26/55	Telegram 4 from USUN to Geneva (Telegram Dulte 1 from USUN)	
237	9/27/55	Telegram 779 from Geneva	
238	9/27/55	Telegram 780 from Geneva	
239	9/27/55	Telegram 784 from Geneva	
240	9/27/55	Telegram Dulte 3 from USUN	
241	9/27/55	Telegram 789 to Geneva	
242	9/27/55	Telegram 790 to Geneva	
243	9/27/55	Telegram 797 to Geneva	
244	9/27/55	Telegram 798 to Geneva	
245	9/28/55	Telegram 790 from Geneva	
246	9/28/55	Telegram 791 from Geneva	
247	9/28/55	Telegram 793 from Geneva	
248	9/28/55	Telegram 794 from Geneva	
249	9/28/55	Telegram 795 from Geneva	
250	9/28/55	Telegram 796 from Geneva	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
251	9/28/55	Telegram 797 from Geneva	
252	9/28/55	Telegram 798 from Geneva	
253	9/29/55	Letter from Clough to McConaughy	
254	9/30/55	Telegram 86 to Prague	
255	9/30/55	Telegram 809 to Geneva	
256	9/30/55	Letter 16 from McConaughy to Johnson	
257	10/1/55	Telegram 819 to Geneva	
258	10/3/55	Telegram 823 to Geneva	
259	10/3/55	Telegram 824 to Geneva	
260	10/3/55	Letter 17 from McConaughy to Johnson	
261	10/4/55	Telegram 804 from Geneva	
262	10/4/55	Despatch 7 from Geneva Enclosure: Comparison of texts	
263	10/5/55	Telegram 811 from Geneva	
264	10/5/55	Telegram 815 from Geneva	
265	10/5/55	Telegram 817 from Geneva	
266	10/5/55	Telegram 818 from Geneva	
267	10/5/55	Telegram 819 from Geneva	
268	10/6/55	Telegram 834 to Geneva	
269	10/6/55	Telegram 838 to Geneva	
270	10/6/55	Letter 11 from Johnson to McConaughy	
271	10/7/55	Telegram 841 to Geneva	
272	10/7/55	Telegram 847 to Geneva	
273	10/7/55	Telegram 852 to Geneva	
274	10/8/55	Telegram 833 from Geneva	
275	10/8/55	Telegram 835 from Geneva	
276	10/8/55	Telegram 836 from Geneva	
277	10/8/55	Telegram 837 from Geneva	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
278	10/10/55	Letter 18 from McConaughy to Johnson	
279	10/11/55	Telegram 865 to Geneva	
280	10/12/55	Telegram 870 to Geneva	
281	10/13/55	Telegram 855 from Geneva	
282	10/13/55	Telegram 856 from Geneva	
283	10/13/55	Letter 12 from Johnson to McConaughy	
284	10/14/55	Telegram 864 from Geneva	
285	10/14/55	Telegram 865 from Geneva	
286	10/14/55	Telegram 867 from Geneva	
287	10/14/55	Telegram 869 from Geneva	
288	10/14/55	Telegram 871 from Geneva	
289	10/14/55	Telegram 872 from Geneva	
290	10/14/55	Telegram 886 to Geneva	
291	10/14/55	Letter 19 from McConaughy to Johnson	
292	10/17/55	Telegram 900 to Geneva	
293	10/17/55	Letter 20 from McConaughy to Johnson	
294	10/18/55	Telegram 914 to Geneva	
295	10/18/55	Telegram 915 to Geneva	
296	10/19/55	Telegram 896 from Geneva	
297	10/19/55	Telegram 931 to Geneva	
298	10/19/55	Telegram 934 to Geneva	
299	10/19/55	Letter 13 from Johnson to McConaughy	
300	10/19/55	Letter from Robertson to Erskine	
301	10/20/55	Telegram 910 from Geneva	
302	10/20/55	Telegram 915 from Geneva	
303	10/20/55	Telegram 921 from Geneva	
304	10/20/55	Telegram 922 from Geneva	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
305	10/21/55	Telegram 924 from Geneva	
306	10/21/55	Telegram 966 to Geneva	
307	10/21/55	Letter 14 from Johnson to McConaughy	
308	10/21/55	Letter 21 from McConaughy to Johnson	
309	10/24/55	Telegram 980 to Geneva	
310	10/24/55	Telegram Tedul 8 to Paris	
311	10/25/55	Telegram 957 from Geneva Attachments: Note to Barnes, 10/26/55; note from Barnes to Murphy, 10/25/55	
312	10/25/55	Telegram 989 to Geneva	
313	10/25/55	Telegram 996 to Geneva	
314	10/26/55	Telegram 962 from Geneva	
315	10/26/55	Telegram Dulte 12 from Geneva	
316	10/26/55	Telegram 1003 to Geneva	
317	10/26/55	Telegram 1013 to Geneva	
318	10/27/55	Telegram 968 from Geneva	
319	10/27/55	Telegram 970 from Geneva	
320	10/27/55	Telegram 977 from Geneva	
321	10/28/55	Telegram 994 from Geneva	
322	10/28/55	Letter 15 from Johnson to McConaughy	
323	10/29/55	Telegram 999 from Geneva	
324	10/29/55	Telegram 1053 to Geneva	
325	10/29/55	Telegram Tedul 28 to Geneva	
326	10/29/55	Letter 22 from McConaughy to Johnson	
327	10/31/55	Telegram Dulte 34 from Geneva	
328	10/31/55	Telegram 1064 to Geneva	
329	10/31/55	Telegram Tedul 42 to Geneva	
330	11/1/55	Telegram 1027 from Geneva	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
331	11/1/55	Telegram to Geneva '079	
332	11/1/55	Letter 16 from Johnson to McConaughy	
333	11/2/55	Telegram 1033 from Geneva	
334	11/2/55	Telegram 1036 from Geneva	
335	11/2/55	Letter 23 from McConaughy to Johnson	
336	11/3/55	Telegram 1044 from Geneva	
337	11/3/55	Telegram 1048 from Geneva	
338	11/3/55	Telegram 1054 from Geneva	
339	11/3/55	Telegram 1056 from Geneva	
340	11/4/55	Telegram 1061 from Geneva	
341	11/4/55	Letter 17 from Johnson to McConaughy Attachment: Note from Robertson to Sebald	
342	11/4/55	Letter from Sebald to Johnson	
343	11/4/55	Letter 24 from Clough to Johnson	
344	11/5/55	Telegram 1136 to Geneva	
345	11/5/55	Telegram 1140 to Geneva	
346	11/7/55	Telegram 161 from Prague	
347	11/7/55	Telegram 2561 to London	
348	11/7/55	Telegram 1143 to Geneva	
349	11/8/55	Telegram 1096 from Geneva	
350	11/8/55	Telegram 1097 from Geneva	
351	11/8/55	Telegram 1099 from Geneva	
352	11/8/55	Telegram 1101 from Geneva	
353	11/8/55	Telegram 1152 to Geneva	
354	11/8/55	Telegram 1162 to Geneva	
355	11/8/55	Letter 25 from McConaughy to Johnson Enclosure: Message from O'Neill, 11/4/55	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
356	11/9/55	Telegram 1108 from Geneva	
357	11/9/55	Telegram 1110 from Geneva	
358	11/9/55	Telegram 1183 to Geneva	
359	11/9/55	Letter from Clough to Forman	
360	11/10/55	Telegram 1115 from Geneva	
361	11/10/55	Telegram 1116 from Geneva	
362	11/10/55	Telegram 1122 from Geneva	
363	11/10/55	Telegram 1125 from Geneva	
364	11/10/55	Telegram 1126 from Geneva	
365	11/10/55	Telegram 1132 from Geneva	
366	11/10/55	Telegram 1133 from Geneva	
367	11/10/55	Telegram 1135 from Geneva	
368	11/11/55	Telegram 1140 from Geneva	
369	11/11/55	Telegram 1141 from Geneva	
370	11/11/55	Letter from Johnson to Sebald	
371	11/12/55	Telegram 1219 to Geneva	
372	11/15/55	Telegram 1247 to Geneva	
373	11/16/55	Telegram 1186 from Geneva	
374	11/17/55	Telegram 1192 from Geneva	
375	11/17/55	Telegram 1197 from Geneva	
376	11/17/55	Telegram 1272 to Geneva	
377	11/18/55	Telegram 1203 from Geneva	
378	11/18/55	Letter 26 from McConaughy to Johnson	
379	11/19/55	Telegram 1281 to Geneva	
380	11/21/55	Telegram 1210 from Geneva	
381	11/21/55	Telegram 1289 to Geneva	
382	11/23/55	Telegram 1212 from Geneva	
383	11/23/55	Telegram 1214 from Geneva	
384	11/23/55	Telegram 1215 from Geneva	
385	11/23/55	Telegram 1216 from Geneva	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
386	11/23/55	Letter 18 from Johnson to McConaughy	
387	11/29/55	Telegram 1326 to Geneva	
388	11/29/55	Telegram 1329 to Geneva	
389	11/29/55	Telegram 1330 to Geneva	
390	11/30/55	Circular Airgram 4199	
391	11/30/55	Circular Airgram 4200	
392	11/30/55	Memorandum from Robertson to Dulles Attachments: Chinese draft, 10/27/55; U.S. draft, 11/8/55; Johnson's proposed draft	
393	12/1/55	Telegram 1235 from Geneva	
394	12/1/55	Telegram 1240 from Geneva	
395	12/2/55	Telegram 1241 from Geneva	
396	12/2/55	Telegram 1243 from Geneva	
397	12/2/55	Telegram 1244 from Geneva	
398	12/2/55	Telegram 1339 to Geneva	
399	12/6/55	Telegram 1354 to Geneva	
400	12/7/55	Telegram 1260 from Geneva	
401	12/7/55	Telegram 1355 to Geneva	
402	12/8/55	Telegram 1263 from Geneva	
403	12/8/55	Telegram 1269 from Geneva	
404	12/9/55	Telegram 1270 from Geneva	
405	12/9/55	Telegram 1271 from Geneva	
406	12/9/55	Telegram 1272 from Geneva	
407	12/10/55	Telegram 1372 to Geneva	
408	12/12/55	Telegram 1276 from Geneva	
409	12/12/55	Telegram 1376 to Geneva	
410	12/12/55	Telegram 1377 to Geneva	
411	12/12/55	Telegram 1378 to Geneva	
412	12/12/55	Memorandum from Robertson to Dulles	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
413	12/13/55	Telegram 1283 from Geneva	
414	12/14/55	Telegram 1393 to Geneva	
415	12/15/55	Telegram 1286 from Geneva	
416	12/15/55	Telegram 1288 from Geneva	
417	12/15/55	Telegram 1289 from Geneva	
418	12/16/55	Telegram 1294 from Geneva	
419	12/16/55	Telegram 1295 from Geneva	
420	12/16/55	Telegram 1296 from Geneva	
421	12/16/55	Letter 19 from Johnson to McConaughy	
422	12/16/55	Letter 27 from McConaughy to Johnson	
423	12/19/55	Telegram 1300 from Geneva	
424	12/19/55	Telegram 218 from Prague	
425	12/20/55	Telegram 1410 to Geneva	
426	12/22/55	Telegram 1308 from Geneva	
427	12/22/55	Telegram 1311 from Geneva	
428	12/22/55	Letter 20 from Johnson to McConaughy	
429	12/28/55	Telegram 1320 from Geneva	
430	12/30/55	Telegram 194 to Prague	
431	1/5/56	Telegram 1338 from Geneva	
432	1/9/56	Telegram 1465 to Geneva	
433	1/9/56	Telegram 1466 to Geneva	
434	1/9/56	Telegram 1467 to Geneva	
435	1/9/56	Telegram 1468 to Geneva	
436	1/9/56	Letter 28 from Clough to Johnson	
437	1/11/56	Telegram 1351 from Geneva	
438	1/11/56	Telegram 1353 from Geneva	
439	1/11/56	Telegram 1475 to Geneva	
440	1/11/56	Telegram 1476 to Geneva	
441	1/12/56	Telegram 1362 from Geneva	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
442	1/12/56	Telegram 1363 from Geneva	
443	1/12/56	Telegram 1364 from Geneva	
444	1/13/56	Telegram 1365 from Geneva	
445	1/13/56	Telegram 1366 from Geneva	
446	1/13/56	Telegram 1369 from Geneva	
447	1/16/56	Telegram 1496 to Geneva	
448	1/16/56	Airgram 173 to Geneva	
449	1/16/56	Letter 29 from McConaughy to Johnson	
450	1/17/56	Telegram 1387 from Geneva	
451	1/17/56	Telegram 1507 to Geneva	
452	1/17/56	Telegram 1512 to Geneva	
453	1/18/56	Telegram 1388 from Geneva	
454	1/19/56	Telegram 1398 from Geneva	
455	1/19/56	Telegram 1402 from Geneva	
456	1/19/56	Telegram 1403 from Geneva	
457	1/10/56 [1/20/56]	Telegram 1405 from Geneva	
458	1/20/56	Telegram 1524 to Geneva	
459	1/20/56	Letter 21 from Johnson to McConaughy	
460	1/21/56	Telegram 1410 from Geneva	
461	1/23/56	Telegram 1530 to Geneva	
462	1/23/56	Telegram 1531 to Geneva	
463	1/23/56	Telegram 1533 to Geneva	
464	1/24/56	Telegram 1416 from Geneva	
465	1/25/56	Telegram 1419 from Geneva	
466	1/25/56	Telegram 1422 from Geneva	
467	1/26/56	Telegram 1425 from Geneva	
468	1/26/56	Telegram 1426 from Geneva	
469	1/27/56	Telegram 1429 from Geneva	
470	1/27/56	Circular Telegram 500	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
471	1/30/56	Telegram 1559 to Geneva	
472	2/1/56	Telegram 1440 from Geneva	
473	2/1/56	Telegram 1568 to Geneva	
474	2/2/56	Telegram 1573 to Geneva	
475	2/4/56	Telegram 1453 from Geneva	
476	2/4/56	Telegram 1454 from Geneva	
477	2/4/56	Telegram 1455 from Geneva	
478	2/4/56	Telegram 3173 from Saigon	
479	2/6/56	Telegram 1457 from Geneva	
480	2/7/56	Telegram 1591 to Geneva	
481	2/8/56	Telegram 1467 from Geneva	
482	2/8/56	Telegram 1592 to Geneva	
483	2/9/56	Telegram 1474 from Geneva	
484	2/9/56	Telegram 1476 from Geneva	
485	2/9/56	Telegram 1479 from Geneva	
486	2/9/56	Memorandum from McConaughy to Robertson	
487	2/13/56	Telegram 1619 to Geneva	
488	2/13/56	Letter 30 from McConaughy to Johnson	
489	2/16/56	Letter from Johnson to McConaughy	
490	2/17/56	Letter 31 from McConaughy to Johnson	
491	2/17/56	Letter from Lindbeck to Osborn	
492	2/18/56	Telegram 1509 from Geneva	
493	2/18/56	Telegram 1512 from Geneva	
494	2/18/56	Telegram 1513 from Geneva	
495	2/19/56	Letter 22 from Johnson to McConaughy	
496	2/21/56	Telegram 1526 from Geneva	
497	2/21/56	Telegram 1663 to Geneva	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
498	2/22/56	Letter 23 from Johnson to McConaughy Enclosures: Comments on draft, 1/30/56; draft press release	
499	2/24/56	Telegram 1547 from Geneva	
500	2/24/56	Telegram 1554 from Geneva	
501	2/24/56	Letter 32 from McConaughy to Johnson	
502	2/27/56	Telegram 1558 from Geneva	
503	2/28/56	Telegram 1693 to Geneva	
504	2/28/56	Telegram 1694 to Geneva	
505	2/28/56	Letter 24 from Johnson to McConaughy	
506	2/29/56	Telegram 1695 to Geneva	
507	2/29/56	Telegram 1697 to Geneva	
508	3/1/56	Telegram 1569 from Geneva	
509	3/1/56	Telegram 1571 from Geneva	
510	3/1/56	Telegram 1572 from Geneva	
511	3/1/56	Telegram 1574 from Geneva	
512	3/1/56	Telegram 1577 from Geneva	
513	3/2/56	Telegram 1578 from Geneva	
514	3/2/56	Letter 33 from McConaughy to Johnson	
515	3/3/56	Telegram 1585 from Geneva	
516	3/3/56	Telegram 1586 from Geneva	
517	3/4/56	Telegram 1587 from Geneva	
518	3/4/56	Telegram Tosec 3 to Karachi	
519	3/5/56	Telegram Tosec 7 to Karachi	
520	3/5/56	Telegram Tosec 10 to Karachi	
521	3/5/56	Telegram 1718 to Geneva	
522	3/7/56	Telegram 1603 from Geneva	
523	3/7/56	Telegram 1730 to Geneva	
524	3/8/56	Telegram 1611 from Geneva	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
525	3/8/56	Telegram 1614 from Geneva	
526	3/8/56	Telegram 1615 from Geneva	
527	3/9/56	Telegram 1617 from Geneva	
528	3/9/56	Letter 34 from McConaughy to Johnson	
529	3/11/56	Telegram 1621 from Geneva	
530	3/11/56	Telegram Secto 43 from Colombo	
531	3/11/56	Telegram Tosec 54 to Djakarta	
532	3/12/56	Telegram Tosec 60 to Bangkok	
533	3/12/56	Telegram 1750 to Geneva	
534	3/12/56	Telegram 1751 to Geneva	
535	3/13/56	Telegram 1631 from Geneva	
536	3/13/56	Telegram 1632 from Geneva	
537	3/13/56	Telegram 1754 to Geneva	
538	3/15/56	Telegram 2293 to New Delhi	
539	3/15/56	Letter 25 from Johnson to McConaughy	
540	3/16/56	Telegram 1474 from The Hague	
541	3/19/56	Telegram 1769 to Geneva	
542	3/19/56	Telegram 1770 to Geneva	
543	3/19/56	Telegram 1771 to Geneva	
544	3/20/56	Telegram 1652 from Geneva	
545	3/20/56	Telegram 1772 to Geneva	
546	3/20/56	Telegram 1776 to Geneva	
547	3/21/56	Telegram 1658 from Geneva	
548	3/22/56	Telegram 1661 from Geneva	
549	3/22/56	Telegram 1663 from Geneva	
550	3/22/56	Telegram 1668 from Geneva	
551	3/27/56	Telegram 1804 to Geneva	
552	3/28/56	Telegram 1809 to Geneva	
553	3/28/56	Letter 26 from Johnson to McConaughy	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
554	3/29/56	Telegram 1706 from Geneva	
555	3/29/56	Telegram 1707 from Geneva	
556	3/29/56	Telegram 1709 from Geneva	
557	3/29/56	Telegram 1713 from Geneva	
558	4/2/56	Letter 36 from McConaughy to Johnson Enclosures: Memorandum from Hoover to Dulles, 3/21/56; memorandum from Adams to Hoover, 3/19/56	
559	4/3/56	Telegram 1836 to Geneva	
560	4/5/56	Telegram 426 from Prague	
561	4/5/56	Telegram 1841 to Geneva	
562	4/6/56	Memorandum of conversation, Robertson and Koo	
563	4/6/56	Letter 37 from McConaughy to Johnson	
564	4/8/56	Telegram 1735 from Geneva	
565	4/8/56	Telegram 1736 from Geneva	
566	4/8/56	Letter 27 from Johnson to McConaughy	
567	4/8/56	Letter 28 from Johnson to McConaughy	
568	4/9/56	Telegram 1737 from Geneva	
569	4/9/56	Telegram 1742 from Geneva	
570	4/10/56	Telegram 1746 from Geneva	
571	4/10/56	Telegram 1856 to Geneva	
572	4/11/56	Telegram 1860 to Geneva	
573	4/12/56	Telegram 324 to Prague	
574	4/12/56	Telegram 327 to Prague	
575	4/13/56	Telegram 1874 to Geneva	
576	4/13/56	Letter 38 from McConaughy to Johnson	
577	4/16/56	Telegram 1892 to Geneva	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
578	4/16/56	Memorandum of Conversation, Hill, Robertson and members of Congress	
579	4/18/56	Letter 29 from Johnson to McConaughy	
580	4/19/56	Telegram 1797 from Geneva	
581	4/19/56	Telegram 1799 from Geneva	
582	4/19/56	Telegram 1800 from Geneva	
583	4/20/56	Letter 39 from McConaughy to Johnson	
584	4/24/56	Telegram 1912 to Geneva	
585	4/24/56	Telegram 2617 to New Delhi	
586	4/25/56	Letter 30 from Johnson to McConaughy	
587	4/26/56	Telegram 1818 from Geneva	
588	4/26/56	Telegram 1825 from Geneva	
589	4/27/56	Telegram 1823 from Geneva	
590	4/30/56	Letter 40 from McConaughy to Johnson	
591	5/2/56	Telegram 1943 to Geneva	
592	5/3/56	Telegram 1840 from Geneva	
593	5/3/56	Letter 31 from Johnson to McConaughy	
594	5/4/56	Telegram 1841 from Geneva	
595	5/5/56	Telegram 1849 from Geneva	
596	5/7/56	Letter 41 from McConaughy to Johnson	
597	5/8/56	Telegram 1855 from Geneva	
598	5/9/56	Telegram 1967 to Geneva	
599	5/10/56	Letter 32 from Johnson to McConaughy	
600	5/11/56	Telegram 1866 from Geneva	
601	5/11/56	Telegram 1870 from Geneva	
602	5/11/56	Telegram 1871 from Geneva	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
603	5/11/56	Telegram 1875 from Geneva	
604	5/11/56	Letter 42 from McConaughy to Johnson	
605	5/14/56	Memorandum from Clough to Robertson	
606	5/14/56	Letter from Osborn to Clough Enclosure: Draft agreed announcement	
607	5/15/56	Telegram 1994 to Geneva	
608	5/16/56	Letter 33 from Johnson to McConaughy	
609	5/17/56	Telegram 1895 from Geneva	
610	5/17/56	Telegram 1902 from Geneva	
611	5/17/56	Telegram 1903 from Geneva	
612	5/21/56	Letter 43 from McConaughy to Johnson	
613	5/22/56	Telegram 2023 to Geneva	
614	5/24/56	Telegram 1925 from Geneva	
615	5/25/56 [5/24/56]	Telegram 1928 from Geneva	
616	5/24/56	Telegram 1929 from Geneva	
617	5/24/56	Telegram 1930 from Geneva	
618	5/25/56	Telegram 1937 from Geneva	
619	5/25/56	Letter 34 from Johnson to McConaughy	
620	5/25/56	Letter 44 from Clough to Johnson	
621	5/26/56	Letter from Osborn to Clough	
622	5/28/56	Letter from Osborn to Clough Enclosure: Draft agreed announcement	
623	5/28/56	Letter from Johnson to McConaughy	
624	5/29/56	Telegram 1949 from Geneva	
625	5/29/56	Telegram 2059 to Geneva	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
626	5/29/56	Telegram 2066 to Geneva	
627	5/29/56	Telegram 2067 to Geneva	
628	5/30/56	Telegram 2068 to Geneva	
629	5/31/56	Telegram 1958 from Geneva	
630	5/31/56	Telegram 1964 from Geneva	
631	5/31/56	Telegram 1965 from Geneva	
632	5/31/56	Telegram 730 to Taipei	
633	5/31/56	Letter from Johnson to McConaughy	
634	6/1/56	Letter from Osborn to Clough Enclosure: Comments	
635	6/1/56	Letter 45 from McConaughy to Johnson	
636	6/4/56	Telegram 1985 from Geneva	
637	6/4/56	Letter 46 from McConaughy to Johnson	
638	6/5/56	Telegram 2090 to Geneva	
639	6/6/56	Telegram 551 from Prague	
640	6/6/56	Telegram 2099 to Geneva	
641	6/6/56	Telegram 2100 to Geneva	
642	6/6/56	Telegram 741 to Taipei	
643	6/6/56	Telegram 2102 to Geneva	
644	6/7/56	Telegram 2008 from Geneva	
645	6/7/56	Telegram 2104 to Geneva	
646	6/7/56	Telegram 2105 to Geneva	
647	6/8/56	Telegram 2009 from Geneva	
648	6/8/56	Telegram 2013 from Geneva	
649	6/8/56	Telegram 2022 from Geneva	
650	6/8/56	Telegram 2023 from Geneva	
651	6/8/56	Letter 37 from Johnson to McConaughy	
652	6/11/56	Telegram 557 from Prague	
653	6/11/56	Telegram 561 from Prague	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
654	6/12/56	Telegram 2030 from Geneva	
655	6/12/56	Telegram 2033 from Geneva	
656	6/12/56	Telegram 2039 from Geneva	
657	6/12/56	Telegram 389 to Prague	
658	6/13/56	Telegram 2041 from Geneva	
659	6/14/56	Letter from Osborn to Clough Enclosure: List, 6/8/56	
660	6/19/56	Telegram 2183 to Geneva	
661	6/20/56	Telegram 2103 from Geneva	
662	6/20/56	Letter 38 from Johnson to McConaughy	
663	6/21/56	Telegram 2100 from Geneva	
664	6/22/56	Letter 47 from McConaughy to Johnson	
665	6/25/56	Letter 48 from McConaughy to Johnson	
666	6/26/56	Telegram 2217 to Geneva	
667	6/27/56	Telegram 2219 to Geneva	
668	6/28/56	Telegram 2129 from Geneva	
669	6/28/56	Telegram 2135 from Geneva	
670	6/28/56	Letter 39 from Johnson to McConaughy	
671	7/6/56	Telegram 11 to Geneva	
672	7/6/56	Letter 49 from McConaughy to Johnson	
673	7/9/56	Telegram 16 to Geneva	
674	7/9/56	Letter 50 from McConaughy to Johnson	
675	7/10/56	Telegram 20 from Geneva	
676	7/10/56	Telegram 22 from Geneva	
677	7/10/56	Telegram 23 from Geneva	
678	7/11/56	Telegram 25 from Geneva	
679	7/11/56	Letter 40 from Johnson to McConaughy	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
680	7/18/56	Memorandum from Colm to McConaughy	
681	7/19/56	Telegram 60 to Geneva	
682	7/20/56	Letter 51 from McConaughy to Johnson	
683	7/23/56	Telegram 70 to Geneva	
684	7/23/56	Telegram 72 to Geneva	
685	7/26/56	Telegram 71 from Geneva	
686	7/26/56	Telegram 75 from Geneva	
687	7/26/56	Letter 41 from Johnson to McConaughy	
688	7/27/56	Telegram 76 from Geneva	
689	7/31/56	Memorandum from Robertson to Dulles Attachments: Memorandum for the President; draft letter to Johnson	
690	8/1/56	Memorandum of Conversation, Bunker and Robertson Attachment: Letter from Robertson to Bunker, 8/2/56	
691	8/3/56	Letter 52 from McConaughy to Johnson	
692	8/6/56	Telegram 124 to Geneva	
693	8/8/56	Telegram 135 to Geneva	
694	8/9/56	Telegram 129 from Geneva	
695	8/9/56	Telegram 134 from Geneva	
696	8/9/56	Telegram 135 from Geneva	
697	8/9/56	Letter 42 from Johnson to McConaughy	
698	8/13/56	Letter 53 from McConaughy to Johnson	
699	8/17/56	Telegram 176 to Geneva	
700	8/20/56	Letter 43 from Johnson to McConaughy	

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701	8/21/56	Telegram 167 from Geneva
702	8/21/56	Telegram 168 from Geneva
703	8/21/56	Telegram 172 from Geneva
704	8/21/56	Telegram 173 from Geneva
705	8/31/56	Letter 54 from Clough to Johnson
706	9/5/56	Telegram 248 to Geneva
707	9/7/56	Telegram 230 from Geneva
708	9/7/56	Telegram 231 from Geneva
709	9/7/56	Telegram 232 from Geneva
710	9/7/56	Letter 44 from Johnson to McConaughy
711	9/12/56	Letter from Johnson to McConaughy
712	9/13/56	Letter 55 from McConaughy to Johnson
713	9/17/56	Telegram 300 to Geneva
714	9/17/56	Telegram 301 to Geneva
715	9/19/56	Telegram 279 from Geneva
716	9/21/56	Telegram 295 from Geneva
717	9/21/56	Telegram 320 to Geneva
718	9/22/56	Telegram 297 from Geneva
719	9/22/56	Telegram 301 from Geneva
720	9/22/56	Telegram 302 from Geneva
721	9/22/56	Telegram 303 from Geneva
722	9/22/56	Letter 45 from Johnson to McConaughy
723	10/1/56	Memorandum from McConaughy to Robertson
724	10/1/56	Letter 56 from McConaughy to Johnson
725	10/2/56	Telegram 374 to Geneva
726	10/4/56	Telegram 359 from Geneva
727	10/4/56	Telegram 362 from Geneva
728	10/4/56	Telegram 363 from Geneva

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
729	10/4/56	Letter 46 from Johnson to McConaughy	
730	10/12/56	Letter 57 from McConaughy to Johnson	
731	10/16/56	Telegram 440 to Geneva	
732	10/17/56	Telegram 443 to Geneva	
733	10/17/56	Letter 47 from Johnson to McConaughy Enclosure: Draft statement	
734	10/18/56	Telegram 415 from Geneva	
735	10/18/56	Telegram 416 from Geneva	
736	10/18/56	Telegram 417 from Geneva	
737	10/20/56	Telegram 189 from Prague	
738	10/24/56	Telegram 137 to Prague	
739	10/25/56	Letter from Osborn to McConaughy	
740	10/31/56	Letter 48 from Johnson to McConaughy	
741	11/1/56	Telegram 451 from Geneva	
742	11/1/56	Telegram 453 from Geneva	
743	11/1/56	Telegram 456 from Geneva	
744	11/9/56	Letter 58 from McConaughy to Johnson	
745	11/13/56	Telegram 531 to Geneva	
746	11/13/56	Telegram 532 to Geneva	
747	11/15/56	Telegram 508 from Geneva	
748	11/15/56	Telegram 514 from Geneva	
749	11/15/56	Telegram 515 from Geneva	
750	11/15/56	Letter 49 from Johnson to McConaughy	
751	11/23/56	Letter 59 from McConaughy to Johnson	
752	11/26/56	Telegram 581 to Geneva	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
753	11/26/56	Letter 60 from McConaughy to Johnson	
754	11/27/56	Telegram 587 to Geneva	
755	11/28/56	Telegram 562 from Geneva	
756	11/30/56	Telegram 570 from Geneva	
757	11/30/56	Telegram 571 from Geneva	
758	11/30/56	Letter 50 from Johnson to McConaughy	
759	12/7/56	Letter 61 from McConaughy to Johnson	
760	12/10/56	Telegram 638 to Geneva	
761	12/10/56	Telegram 640 to Geneva	
762	12/11/56	Telegram 643 to Geneva	
763	12/12/56	Telegram 597 from Geneva	
764	12/12/56	Telegram 647 to Geneva	
765	12/13/56	Telegram 605 from Geneva	
766	12/13/56	Telegram 611 from Geneva	
767	12/13/56	Letter 51 from Johnson to McConaughy	
768	12/19/56	Letter from Clough to Osborn	
769	12/26/56	Letter from Osborn to Clough	
770	1/4/57	Letter 62 from McConaughy to Johnson	
771	1/7/57	Letter from Johnson to McConaughy	
772	1/14/57	Letter 63 from McConaughy to Johnson	
773	1/15/57	Telegram 736 to Geneva	
774	1/17/57	Telegram 705 from Geneva	
775	1/17/56 [1/17/57]	Letter 52 from Johnson to McConaughy	
776	1/19/57	Telegram 710 from Geneva	
777	1/19/57	Telegram 712 from Geneva	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
778	1/19/56 [1/19/57]	Telegram unnumbered from Geneva	
779	1/19/57	Letter 53 from Johnson to McConaughy	
780	1/23/57	Telegram 260 to Prague	
781	1/28/57	Letter from Johnson to McConaughy	
782	1/30/57	Letter from Osborn to Clough	
783	1/30/57	Letter 64 from McConaughy to Johnson	
784	2/6/57	Letter from Johnson to McConaughy	
785	2/11/57	Telegram 815 to Geneva	
786	2/11/57	Letter 65 from McConaughy to Johnson	
787	2/14/57	Telegram 784 from Geneva	
788	2/14/57	Telegram 787 from Geneva	
789	2/14/56 [2/14/57]	Letter 54 from Johnson to McConaughy	
790	2/15/57	Telegram 790 from Geneva	
791	3/8/57	Letter 66 from McConaughy to Johnson	
792	3/11/57	Telegram 895 to Geneva	
793	3/11/57	Letter 67 from Clough to Johnson	
794	3/13/57	Telegram 874 from Geneva	
795	3/13/57	Telegram 899 to Geneva	
796	3/14/57	Telegram 881 from Geneva	
797	3/14/57	Telegram unnumbered from Geneva	
798	3/14/57	Letter 55 from Johnson to McConaughy Attachment: Note from McConaughy to Freers, 3/30/57	
799	3/21/57	Letter from Freers to Johnson	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
800	4/5/57	Telegram 487 from Prague	
801	4/8/57	Telegram 491 from Prague	
802	4/17/57	Letter 68 from McConnaughy to Johnson	
803	4/24/57	Letter from Johnson to McConaughy	
804	5/10/57	Letter 69 from Clough to Johnson	
805	5/11/57	Telegram 1181 to Geneva	
806	5/14/57	Telegram 1193 to Geneva	
807	5/15/57	Telegram 1166 from Geneva	
808	5/15/57	Telegram unnumbered from Geneva	
809	7/5/57	Letter from Clough to Johnson	
810	7/9/57	Telegram 36 to Geneva	
811	7/11/57	Telegram 30 from Geneva	
812	7/11/57	Telegram 31 from Geneva	
813	7/11/57	Telegram unnumbered from Geneva	
814	7/11/57	Letter 57 from Johnson to Clough	
815	7/12/57	Telegram 37 from Geneva	
816	7/18/57	Letter 71 from Clough to Johnson Enclosure: Draft press release, 7/11/57	
817	7/26/57	Letter from Johnson to Clough	
818	8/2/57	Letter 72 from Clough to Johnson	
819	8/5/57	Telegram 148 to Geneva	
820	8/8/57	Telegram 138 from Geneva	
821	8/8/57	Despatch unnumbered from Geneva	
822	8/8/57	Letter 58 from Johnson to Clough	
823	8/29/57	Letter from Johnson to Clough	
824	9/6/57	Letter 73 from Clough to Johnson	
825	9/10/57	Telegram 244 to Geneva	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
826	9/12/57	Telegram 235 from Geneva	
827	9/12/57	Telegram 240 from Geneva	
828	9/12/57	Letter 59 from Johnson to Clough Enclosures: Copy of Reuters ticker; Chinese draft, 9/12/57	
829	9/17/57	Telegram 145 from Prague	
830	9/27/57	Letter 74 from Clough to Johnson	
831	10/4/57	Letter 75 from Clough to Johnson	
832	10/8/57	Telegram 366 to Geneva	
833	10/8/57	Letter from Clough to Johnson	
834	10/10/57	Telegram 347 from Geneva	
835	10/9/57 [10/10/57]	Despatch unnumbered from Geneva	
836	10/9/57 [10/10/57]	Letter 60 from Johnson to Clough	
837	11/8/57	Letter 76 from Clough to Johnson	
838	11/12/57	Telegram 497 to Geneva	
839	11/14/57	Telegram 448 from Geneva	
840	11/14/57	Despatch unnumbered from Geneva	
841	11/14/57	Letter 61 from Johnson to Clough	
842	11/19/57	Letter from Martin to Clough	
843	11/21/57	Telegram 182 to Prague	
844	11/22/57	Telegram 316 from Prague	
845	11/26/57	Letter 77 from Clough to Johnson	
846	12/4/57	Telegram 199 to Prague	
847	12/6/57	Telegram 332 from Prague	
848	12/6/57	Letter from Martin to Clough	
849	12/10/57	Telegram 556 to Geneva	
850	12/10/57	Telegram 557 to Geneva	
851	12/11/57	Telegram 506 from Geneva	
852	12/11/57	Telegram 563 to Geneva	
853	12/12/57	Telegram 510 from Geneva	

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No.	Date	Document	Fiche/Frame
854	12/12/57	Unnumbered Despatch from Geneva	
855	12/12/57	Letter 62 from Johnson to Clough	
856	12/12/57	Letter from Johnson to Moorman	
857	12/16/57	Letter from Martin to Clough	
858	12/17/57	Letter from Martin to Clough	
859	12/23/57	Letter 1 from Clough to Martin Enclosure: Draft press release	

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
July 29, 1955
Reasonable concurs
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Reviewer Date

CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Ambassador Johnson:

In your forthcoming talks at Geneva, Switzerland, with a representative of the Chinese Peoples Republic (CPR), you will be guided by the following considerations:

(1) The talks are a continuation of the talks held in the last year between representatives of both sides at Geneva.

(2) Through you and the appropriate representative of the CPR, the talks are now being resumed at the ambassadorial level.

(3) The agreed purpose of your talks is "to aid in settling the matter of repatriation of civilians who desire to return to their respective countries and to facilitate further discussion and settlement of certain other practical matters now at issue between both sides".

(4) You should seek agreement that the talks will be conducted in an atmosphere of privacy and that no other than routine public statements will be made regarding them, except as may be approved by both sides or after prior notification by one side to the other. The approval or notification from our side is to be authorized by the Department of State. In the main, you will discourage publicity about, and exaggeration of, the meeting.

(5) You may in your discretion meet socially with the CPR representative.

(6) It is, of course, understood that the conversations upon which you are to engage do not involve diplomatic recognition.

(7) Since the scope of your talks is "practical matters now at issue between both sides", i.e., the U.S. and the CPR, you will not discuss issues which involve the rights of the Republic of China. If you are in doubt as to the practical application of this instruction, you will seek guidance from the Department of State.

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson

[redacted]

11719

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(8) The U. S. is willing to talk about "other practical matters" than the repatriation of civilians because we do not want to have unnecessary differences with anyone if these differences can be honorably resolved.

(9) Direct talks have been preferred to carrying on discussions through intermediaries. The reason is that there is more apt to be misunderstanding when matters are dealt with through intermediaries; therefore, we believe direct dealings should, in the first instance at least, be tried.

(10) The first agreed purpose of the meeting is already the subject of bilateral talks, i.e., "settling the matter of repatriation of civilians who desire to return to their respective countries". You will seek immediate authorization to U.S. civilians to return to the U.S. You may point out that so long as American civilians are held under restraint on the mainland of China, there is bound to be ill feeling in the U.S. We are not, however, willing to promise political concessions to obtain their release. Only voluntary action by the CPR would really serve to remove the widespread resentment now felt in the U.S. because of the mistreatment by the CPR of U.S. citizens.

(11) You are authorized formally to assure the CPR representative that the U.S. does not impose restraints upon Chinese civilians who desire to return to the Mainland. The U. S. is prepared to authorize some mutually agreeable government through its embassy in the U.S. to assist Chinese students who desire to return to the China mainland and to be a medium for the transmission of funds required for this purpose.

(12) One of the "other practical matters now at issue between both sides" is the prisoners of war who were under the UN Command in Korea, and as to whom an initiative has been taken by the United Nations. The U.S. wishes to reinforce that initiative and you should raise this matter concurrently with the matter of the U.S. civilians. The considerations above (paragraph 10) alluded to in reference to U.S. civilians apply with equal or greater force with respect to the U.S. military, who are deemed covered by the Korean Armistice agreement.

(13) You may, if and as you deem appropriate, mention that if U.S. nationals, civilian and POW's, now held within China, are released that might facilitate the U.S. voluntarily adopting a less restrictive policy as to U.S. citizens going to the China mainland.

11720

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123

(14) As another of the "practical matters" which you should take up at a later stage of the discussions is the matter of assuring instructions which will prevent a repetition of such incidents as the shooting down of the Cathay Pacific airliner with death and injury to U.S. citizens.

(15) You will also, at whatever times you deem appropriate, emphasize the deep concern of the U.S. in getting assurance that the CPR is prepared to renounce force to achieve its ambitions.

R .00

If the CPR representative contends that the use of force in the Formosa area is justifiable because this involves a domestic matter, i.e., the unification of China, you may point out that the fact of a divided China is not basically different from the fact of a divided Korea, Germany, and Vietnam. It could be argued in each of these cases that unification is purely an internal matter. But in reality resort to force would endanger international peace and security. The same applies to China. The U.S. believes that the principle of non-recourse to force is valid not merely for the U.S. and its allies, but for all.

(16) If the CPR questions the acceptance of the foregoing principle by the U.S. and its allies, you may in response point to the purely defensive character of our arrangements with the Republic of China, particularly exemplified in our 1958 Mutual Defense Treaty.

(17) If the CPR has practical matters at issue with the U.S. which they would like to bring up, you are authorized to take note of what the CPR representative has to say in this respect and report to me and await appropriate instructions.

(18) You will seek to arrange your talks with the CPR representative so that you will be able to return from time to time to your regular post at Prague, for I deem it important that the people of Czechoslovakia should not feel that the U.S. is disinterested in their fate, the fact being quite the contrary as the President has personally made clear to you. If you should feel that you cannot adequately discharge your responsibilities as Ambassador to Czechoslovakia and at the same time discharge your present special mission, you will promptly inform me.

Sincerely yours,

Handed to Johnson by S/S-Barnes 7/30/56 9 am

S/S-RO
JUL 30 1956
A true copy of signed original.

11721

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

John Foster Dulles

S:JFD:cjp

Department of State

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☑ Reviewer _____ Date 8/4/82

1955 JUL 29 PM 7 08

DC/T

DC/R Central Files

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA

Essential Ambassador Johnson have full freedom telegraphic communications with Department and interested posts during forthcoming Chinese discussions. Following procedures will apply:

Telegrams will be numbered in regular consulate series without external designator but carrying internal caption for or from Johnson.

Outgoing telegrams will be signed ~~[illegible]~~ Gowen. This will not imply or require consulate concurrence nor should any such telegrams receive any distribution within consulate.

Dulles

DULLES

L/R Aug 63

Drafted by: OSS/DC:RGKreer/ikb 7/29/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Ralph W. Clough

Clearances: OSS/S-CR JUL 29 1955 P.M.

CS/M

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Control: 15343
Rec'd: JULY 31, 1955
3:48 P.M.

Action Assigned to CA/DIR
Action Taken called to attention of Director of FE/P. No reply necessary.
Date of Action 8/1/55
Action Office Symbol CA/Dir
Name of Officer C L Hodge
Direction to DC/R file

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 227, JULY 31, 8 P.M.

FROM JOHNSON

EXTREMELY HEAVY PRESS COVERAGE AT MY ARRIVAL THIS AFTERNOON. I CONFINED MYSELF ENTIRELY TO SAME STATEMENT I MADE ON DEPARTURE FROM WASHINGTON.

ALL PRESS SERVICES AND MANY PRINCIPAL CORRESPONDENTS HERE WITH MORE ARRIVING HOURLY. I AM MAKING CLEAR ALL OF THEM DIRECTLY AND THROUGH CONGEN PRESS OFFICES NO NEWS TO BE EXPECTED FROM ME AND DOING ALL POSSIBLE PLAY DOWN, EMPHASIZING THESE ONLY TALKS BETWEEN TWO AMBASSADORS. HOPE DEPARTMENT WILL CONTINUE DO ALL POSSIBLE HELP.

WANG GAVE PRESS CONFERENCE THIS MORNING AND ISSUED STATEMENT WHICH I PRESUME AVAILABLE DEPT THROUGH PRESS SERVICES. CHINESE ARE EXUDING SWEETNESS AND LIGHT A LA SOVIETS AND APPEAR MAKING PREPARATIONS HEAVY PROPAGANDA PLAY. ANTICIPATE I MAY HAVE DIFFICULTY OBTAINING WANG'S AGREEMENT CLOSED NATURE MEETINGS. HOWEVER I INTEND PRESS HARD ON THIS IF NECESSARY ADJOURNING TOMORROW'S MEETING ON THIS ISSUE.

I HAVE TALKED PELT ON PHONE AND ACCEPTED HIS SUGGESTION THAT I VISIT PALAIS EARLY TOMORROW MORNING TIME PRES NOT USUALLY AROUND TO DECIDE MEETING ROOM. HE TO SUGGEST THAT WANG BE THERE SAME TIME. IF WANG ONLY SENDS REP I WILL SEND CLOUGH. PELT ASSURES ME UNPRETENTIOUS SMALL SECLUDED MEETING ROOM IS AVAILABLE. I HAVE PRIVATELY EMPHASIZED TO AMERICAN PRESS CORRESPONDENTS ENTIRE LACK ANY SIGNIFICANCE PALAIS MEETING PLACE OTHER THAN ONLY SUITABLE PLACE AVAILABLE AND WAS WHERE WANG AND I LAST MET. PLAN TO SEEK WANG'S AGREEMENT TO 3 P.M. MEETING TIME AND NO PHOTOGRAPHERS TO BE ADMITTED BUT WILL NOT BLOW LATTER UP INTO ANY MAJOR ISSUE.

IN REPLY

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IN REPLY CORRESPONDENT'S QUESTIONS CHINESE HAVE SAID WANG CAME DIRECTLY FROM WARSAW TO GENEVA.

GOWEN

TLS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1955 JUL 31 AM 6 56
DEPARTMENT OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

AUG 3 1955

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State* ACTION COPY

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11:20 A.M.

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☑ Reviewer _____ Date 8/2/82

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 231, AUGUST 1, 1 P.M.

FROM JOHNSON

CLOUGH AND EKVALL MET WITH CHINESE AND PELT THIS MORNING 9 A.M. AND AGREED ON OFFICE PRESIDENT COUNCIL FOR MEETING ROOM WHICH IS SAME USED MEETINGS LAST YEAR. CHINESE SUGGESTED AND WE AGREED TO 4 P.M. MEETING TIME. PRESS INQUIRIES HAVE BEEN INFORMED TIME AND PLACE OF MEETING BUT QUESTION PHOTOGRAPHY STILL UNDECIDED AT TIME THIS MESSAGE.

I PAID COURTESY CALL ON PELT 10 A.M. THIS MORNING AND HE PROMISED FULL COOPERATION GUARD ON MEETING ROOM, ETC. CHINESE HAVE ASKED HIM ABOUT PRESS BRIEFING ROOM AND FACILITIES FOR ISSUANCE OF COMMUNIQUES. HE REPLIED THAT IF ANY JOINT COMMUNIQUES ISSUED HE WOULD AT REQUEST BOTH SIDES EXTEND FACILITIES BUT WOULD NOT (REPEAT NOT) ACT ON BEHALF ONE SIDE. HE MADE CLEAR CHINESE ONLY UN ROLE IS RENTING MEETING PLACE.

I REITERATED MY DESIRE COOPERATE WITH HAMMARSKJOLD ON MILITARY PERSONNEL. HE SAID HAMMARSKJOLD WOULD GET IN TOUCH WITH ME IMMEDIATELY UPON HIS ARRIVAL TOMORROW AFTERNOON.

GOWEN

TT

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AUG 10 1955

LW C

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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

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CONFIDENTIAL

129

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Control: 251
Rec'd: August 1, 1955
11:35 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 232, August 1, 4 p.m.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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- [x] Reviewer _____ Date 8/10/85

Basis-1-301

Flech concurs

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PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

Krishna Menon called at 2:30 this afternoon "privately to inform me" that Nehru was informing Cooper that the 11 flyers were to be released very shortly. Menon went great pains make it clear that this due his efforts. Also said will be readily able reach agreement with Wang on civilians on basis someone represent Chinese students in US. Said Wang and Chou had both asked him remain in Geneva and was fishing hard for me make similar request which of course I refused do. Finally said would be glad come back if and when I asked him.

Will report long conversation more fully in subsequent telegram.

GOWEN

LFS/6

Assigned to CA/DIR
Action Taken Noted

Date of Action 8/1/55
Action Office Symbol CA/Dir
Name of Officer C L Hodge
Direction to DC/R file

AUG 10 1955

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121

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Control: 429
Rec'd: August 1, 1955
4:49 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 238, August 1, 8 p.m.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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- [x] Reviewer: _____ Date _____

File
No action need
EGP 8/3

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FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MCCARDLE FROM GOWEN.

Your 310.

Garnish has been made available to Johnson. Garnish reported here only today.

GOWEN

RNA

RM/R File
8/3
EGP

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28 Action

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☐ Releasable Rec'd: AUGUST 1, 1955
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 239, AUGUST 1, 7 PM

FROM JOHNSON

HELD FIRST MEETING WITH CHINESE 4 PM AUGUST 1. AFTER AGREED FIVE MINUTES OF PHOTOGRAPHY MEETING OPENED AND I ASKED WANG WHETHER HE WISHED SPEAK FIRST. HE ACCEPTED OFFER AND READ PREPARED STATEMENT GIST OF WHICH FOLLOWS:

CHINESE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED JULY 31ST THAT IN ACCORDANCE CHINESE LEGAL PROCEDURE ELEVEN AIR FORCE PERSONNEL HAD BEEN FREED AND LEFT PEIPING SAME DAY. THEY DUE HONG KONG AUGUST 4. WANG SAID HIS GOVERNMENT HOPES THIS ACTION WILL HAVE FAVORABLE EFFECTS ON PRESENT TALKS. HE THEN QUOTED FROM AGREED STATEMENT BOTH GOVERNMENTS OF JULY 25 AND ADDED HE SINCERELY HOPED TALKS WOULD CONTINUE EASE TENSION BETWEEN US AND CHINA. EXPRESSED CONVICTION THAT WITH JOINT EFFORT IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE ACHIEVE THIS HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT GOAL. REFERRING TO CONSULAR TALKS HELD DURING PAST YEAR, HE DECLARED THAT ALTHOUGH RESULTS NOT ENTIRELY SATISFACTORY HE WAS SURE I WOULD AGREE THAT APPRECIATION SHOULD BE EXPRESSED TO CONSULAR REPRESENTATIVES BOTH SIDES FOR THEIR EFFORTS. HE SAID THAT SO LONG AS BOTH SIDES ADOPT AN ATTITUDE OF CONCILIATION IT SHOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT REACH A SOLUTION OF RETURN OF CIVILIANS OF BOTH SIDES.

HE ADDED THAT TALKS SHOULD NOT BE CONFINED TO ABOVE QUESTION BECAUSE NUMBER OF OTHER ISSUES EXIST BETWEEN CHINA AND US.

WANG THEN PROPOSED FOLLOWING AGENDA:

1. RETURN OF CIVILIANS OF BOTH SIDES TO THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES.

2. OTHER

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-2- 239, AUGUST 1, [illegible] FROM GENEVA

2. OTHER PRACTICAL MATTERS AT ISSUE BETWEEN TWO SIDES.

REGARDING SECOND ITEM HE PROPOSED EACH SIDE MIGHT PUT FORTH MATTERS THEY DESIRED DISCUSS SO THAT THERE MIGHT BE FREE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS.

AFTER FEW WORDS OF INTRODUCTION, I EXPRESSED GRATIFICATION AT RELEASE OF FLYERS AND AGREED IT WOULD FACILITATE OUR DISCUSSIONS. I SAID AGENDA PROPOSED APPEARED IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREEMENT BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS AND I HAD NO OBJECTION TO IT. NOTING FACT NEITHER WANG NOR I HAD BROUGHT STENOGRAPHER I PROPOSED THAT IN INTEREST MAINTAINING MAXIMUM INFORMALITY THIS PRACTICE BE CONTINUED AT FUTURE MEETINGS. I ALSO PROPOSED THAT WE DO OUR BEST CONDUCT THESE TALKS IN ATMOSPHERE OF PRIVACY. AND THAT WE AGREED NEITHER OF US WILL MAKE ANY PUBLIC STATEMENTS OR OTHERWISE MAKE AVAILABLE TO PRESS ANY INFORMATION WHATEVER CONCERNING THESE TALKS EXCEPT IN AGREEMENT WITH EACH OTHER OR AFTER PRIOR NOTIFICATION TO EACH OTHER.

WANG DECLARED HE WELCOMED SPIRIT IN WHICH I SPOKE AND ADDED THAT SO LONG AS BOTH SIDES SINCERELY DESIRE SOLVE PROBLEMS FAVORABLE RESULTS COULD BE ACHIEVED.

[illegible]TED IT WAS ADVISABLE AT FIRST MEETING DISCUSS PROCEDURAL MATTERS AND THAT HE WAS GLAD NOTE THERE WAS NO DIFFERENCE OF OPINION REGARDING PROCEDURE. SINCE THERE WAS NO OBJECTION REGARDING AGENDA HE PROPOSED DISCUSSION OF FIRST ITEM BEGIN AUGUST 2 AT 10 A.M.

REGARDING QUESTION PUBLICITY, WANG SAID HE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE THAT INFORMATION SHOULD ONLY BE RELEASED AFTER MUTUAL AGREEMENT. HE PROPOSED THAT AS FIRST MEETING WAS CLOSELY FOLLOWED BY WORLD PRESS AND STATEMENTS WOULD RECEIVE ATTENTION THROUGHOUT WORLD EACH SIDE BE FREE RELEASE STATEMENT MADE AT TODAY'S MEETING. AT SECOND MEETING PUBLICITY QUESTION SHOULD BE

FURTHER

-3- 239, AUGUST 1, 7 PM, FROM GENEVA

FURTHER DISCUSSED. HE EXPRESSED PLEASURE AT FACT THAT THERE WAS NO DISAGREEMENT ON AGENDA AND SUGGESTED THAT IT ALSO BE RELEASED TO PRESS.

TEXTS OF AGREED STATEMENT AS WELL AS MY ORAL STATEMENT TO PRESS THROUGH CONSULATE PAO BY SEPARATE TELEGRAM.

GOWEN

AAL

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1955 AUG 2 AM 6 55
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8/2/55, 9:48 A.M.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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7:07 PM

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☑ Reviewer: _____ Date 11/8/72

FROM: GENEVA

R TO: Secretary of State

NO: 240, AUGUST 1, 8 PM

R FROM JOHNSON.

DETAILS TODAY'S MEETING BY SEPARATE TELEGRAM. HOWEVER CLEAR BE RELEASE MILITARY PERSONNEL CHICOMS HAVE SPECTACULARLY GRABBED PROPAGANDA BALL. WORLD QUICKLY FORGETS WHY THESE MEN DETAINED AND CHICOMS GET CREDIT FOR MAGNANIMOUS GESTURE. MENON'S VISIT TO ME ALSO WELL TIMED. AS HE WAS LEAVING OFFICE FIRST TELEPHONE REPORTS ON RELEASE WERE JUST COMING IN AND IN HIS OWN INIMITABLE FASHION WITHOUT SAYING ANYTHING DEFINITE MANAGED LEAVE IMPRESSION WITH CORRESPONDENTS HE SOMEHOW RESPONSIBLE AND THAT HE DISCUSSED MATTER WITH ME. I HAVE REFUSED TO ADMIT TO CORRESPONDENTS HE EVEN MENTIONED MATTER TO ME.

IT ALSO NOW SEEMS PROBABLY CHICOMS ARE GOING TO MOVE FAST AND EARLY ON CIVILIANS AS THEY ARE PLAYING FOR BIG GAME.

WHILE THEY TODAY ACCEPTED "IN PRINCIPLE" MY PROPOSAL FOR PRIVATE CHARACTER MEETINGS IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE FOR ME REFUSE AGREE TELL PRESS THEY HAD TOLD ME ABOUT RELEASE FLIERS OR THAT WE AGREED ON AGENDA WHICH WAS SIMPLY REPETITION JULY 25 PUBLIC STATEMENT BY TWO GOVERNMENTS ALTHOUGH THEIR PURPOSE OF SHOWING GREAT PROGRESS WAS CLEAR.

I AM GOING TO HAVE CONTINUOUS DIFFICULTY ON PRIVATE NATURE MEETINGS BUT WILL FIGHT THIS TO BEST MY ABILITY. FOR EXAMPLE THEY MAY QUICKLY AGREE WHATEVER PROPOSAL I MAKE ON REPRESENTATION UNDER MY PRESENT INSTRUCTIONS AND THEN WISH MAKE IMMEDIATE ANNOUNCEMENT. I WILL IN ACCORDANCE MY INSTRUCTIONS OF COURSE STALL UNTIL I CAN CONSULT DEPT ON ANY ANNOUNCEMENT THIS KIND BUT THEY ARE GOING DO ALL POSSIBLE MAKE STALLING DIFFICULT.

ON SUCH MATTERS AS THEIR INFORMING ME RELEASE INDIVIDUAL AMERICANS

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AMERICANS BELIEVE I MUST IMMEDIATELY RELEASE INFORMATION HERE AS THEY WILL CERTAINLY DO SO ONE WAY OR ANOTHER.

WHILE RELEASE FLIERS ENABLES ME MAINTAIN POSITION CAN BE NO DISCUSSION "OTHER PRACTICAL MATTERS" UNTIL CHICOMS AGREE RELEASE ALL CIVILIANS I FEEL WE ARE VERY SHORTLY GOING TO BE AT THIS POINT. IN ADDITION TO POINTS SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED MY INSTRUCTIONS I INTEND TAKE UP UNDER THIS HEADING 461 MILITARY PERSONNEL MISSING FROM KOREAN WAR AND STILL UNACCOUNTED FOR THROUGH MAC AS WELL AS 11 NAVY AND COAST GUARD PERSONNEL MISSING OFF SWATOW.

HOWEVER I MAY SHORTLY BE REACHING POINT WHERE I WILL HAVE TO INTRODUCE "RENUNCIATION OF FORCE" BY CPR AND WILL DESIRE MAKE VERY CAREFUL PRESENTATION THIS SUBJECT. WE WILL PREPARE DRAFT HERE FOR DEPT'S APPROVAL BUT IN MEANWHILE WOULD WELCOME ANY SUGGESTIONS DEPT MAY HAVE.

GOWEN

AAL

NOTE: (#) OMISSION, CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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For 1 8/a.m. Delivery to Ambassador Johnson
~~Foreign Ambassador Mr. Alexis Johnson~~

Re your telephone report following first meeting, we are keenly aware difficulty your position. We will endeavor to reduce correspondents' pressure on you at Secretary's Press Conference tomorrow. We suggest that you immediately hold backgrounder for American press, at which you would put your mission in perspective and indicate nature, scope and limitations of Geneva talks. You are authorized in your discretion to follow the general line of your instructions, without, of course, identifying anything as comprising your instructions. Naturally you will not divulge anything which would prejudice your bargaining position.

You should vigorously press Wang Ping-nan for explicit understanding that nothing on discussions will be released without mutual agreement. For obvious reasons, caution advised in use trans-Atlantic telephone.

Hoover

Dulles

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Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: FE - WSRobertson

Clearances: Cleared in substance with Mr. McCardle

Cleared in substance with The Secretary

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Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS AUG 2 - 1955 ASSISTANT SECRETARY Department of State

Control: 871

Rec'd: AUGUST 2, 1955 10:58 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 242, AUGUST 2, 3 PM

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PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

APPRECIATE DEPTEL 330. AS AT TODAY'S MEETING WANG WENT WHOLE WAY IN AGREEING MY YESTERDAY'S PROPOSAL FOR PRIVATE NATURE MEETINGS I BELIEVE IT PREFERABLE WAIT SEE HOW HE OBSERVES AGREEMENT BEFORE HOLDING BACKGROUNDER AS IT WOULD QUICKLY BECOME KNOWN TO HIM I HAD DONE SO. IF THERE ARE ANY LEAKS OUT OF CHICOMS I WILL IMMEDIATELY HOLD BACKGROUNDER.

HE ALSO AGREED TO MY AMPLIFICATION OF PROPOSAL AT TODAY'S MEETING THAT PRIOR NOTICE TO EACH OF INTENT TO RELEASE INFORMATION ON MEETINGS WITHOUT AGREEMENT OTHER SHOULD BE REASONABLE IN TIME, THAT IS WITHOUT SETTING ANY DEFINITE PERIOD PROBABLY SOMETHING IN ORDER OF NOT LESS THAN ONE OR TWO DAYS.

AT TODAY'S MEETING I OPENED WITH PRESENTATION ON AMERICAN CIVILIANS IN CHINA. HE REPEATED FORMER CHICOM POSITION AND MADE PRESENTATION ON CHINESE IN US ALONG FAMILIAR LINES BUT MILD IN TONE AND ENDED WITH PROPOSAL FOR MUTUAL REPRESENTATION INTERESTS THEY NOMINATING INDIA IN US. HE GAVE ME LIST OF AMERICANS IN CHINA WHICH APPEARS INCLUDE SOME NAMES ADDITIONAL TO THOSE OUR LISTS. COMPLETE REPORT ON MEETING FOLLOWS. NEXT MEETING AUGUST 4, 10 A.M.

GOWEN

TT

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 243, AUGUST 2, 5 PM

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FROM JOHNSON

FOLLOWING SOME ADDITIONAL HIGHLIGHTS GLEANED FROM MENON'S REMARKS TO ME YESTERDAY.

1. CHICOMS EXPECT US CONCRETELY RESPOND TO GESTURE OF FLYER RELEASE BY RELAXING TRADE EMBARGO, THAT IS BRING US TRADE CONTROLS TO UN LEVEL. (IMPOSSIBLE SAY WHAT EXTENT THIS IS MESSAGE FROM CHICOMS OR MAY ONLY REPRESENT MENON'S OPINION.) US GOODS GOING TO CHINESE THROUGH UK, MANY NEW US AUTOS PEIPING, SELF-DENIAL ON OUR PART QUIXOTIC, ETC.

2. CHICOMS HAD PREVIOUSLY PROMISED MENON TO RELEASE 11 FLYERS AND WERE ALL PREPARED TO DO SO BUT HANDLING RELEASE OF FOUR HAD IRRITATED THEM IN SPITE MENON'S WARNINGS TO US. WHAT SECRETARY AND PRESIDENT HAD SAID AT TIME OF RELEASE WAS GOOD BUT WHAT SAID SUBSEQUENTLY BY SOME HAD INTERFERED. (I WAS NOT VERY CLEAR TO WHAT HE WAS REFERRING BY SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS BUT THERE WAS SOME SUGGESTION THAT GIVING PUBLIC CREDIT TO UN WAS INVOLVED.) PROTESTATIONS AD NAUSEUM BY MENON HE HAD CAREFULLY REFRAINED FROM CLAIMING ANY CREDIT; IMPORTANT POINT WAS ONLY HOW HE AND INDIA COULD QUIETLY HELP ETC.

3. GOI. (MENON'S) WORK AT BANDUNG ETC. HAD MADE POSSIBLE HOLDING PRESENT TALKS.

4. CEASE FIRE AGREEMENT POSSIBLE ON BASIS EVACUATION QUEMOS AND MATSU.

5. CHICOMS ANXIOUS FOR AGREEMENT WITH US BUT ALSO MUST CONSIDER CHINESE "PUBLIC OPINION ".

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6. NOT FAIR TO SAY CHICOM POSITION IS THEY WILL FIGHT OBTAIN DEMANDS IF NOT SUCCESSFUL IN OBTAINING THEM BY NEGOTIATION. ALSO IN CHINESE EYES QUESTION GUNS 7TH FLEET POINTING AT THEM. IMPORTANT POINT (ACCORDING MENON) IS THEY WILLING NEGOTIATE AND IMPORTANT GET NEGOTIATIONS GOING. (IN CONTEXT HE WAS OBVIOUSLY POINTING TO FOREIGN MINISTER MEETING.)

7. CHICOM REVOLUTIONARY PHASE NOW FINISHED AND THEY ARE NO LONGER "HANGING PEOPLE".

CHICOM DIFFERENT FROM SOVIET UNION OR SATELLITES. POLITICAL PARTIES WITH VIEWS DIFFERENT FROM COMMIES TOLERATED AND ARE NOT JUST COMMIE STOOGES. MANY FORMER CHINAT OFFICERS SUCCESSFUL IN CHICOM ARMY. CHICOM ATTITUDE TOWARD FORMOSA "VERY LIBERAL" AND (ACCORDING MENON) NOT MANY YEARS UNTIL CHIANG WILL BE A "GOVERNOR GENERAL" OF FORMOSA. CHIANG ENTIRELY DISCREDITED ON MAINLAND AND NO SERIOUS OPPOSITION TO COMMIES.

8. WITHOUT DIRECTLY REFERRING TRAVEL RELATIVES PRISONERS MENON RAISED DESIRE CHICOMS RECEIVE AMERICAN VISITORS, CULTURAL EXCHANGES ETC.

I MADE NO RESPONSE EXCEPT WHERE IT WAS POSSIBLE DO SO WITHOUT GIVING AWAY MY HAND AS I WAS CONVINCED HE WAS GOING TO RUN AND TELL WANG ANYTHING I SAID. HOWEVER I BORE DOWN HEAVILY ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE BY CHICOMS AND GAVE HIM COPY SECRETARY'S JULY 26 PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENT WITH RECOMMENDATION HE CAREFULLY READ IT.

MENON CALLED AGAIN THIS MORNING TO SAY GOODBYE. HE HAD SEEN WANG LAST NIGHT AND SAID WANG WAS ANTICIPATING THESE TALKS WILL NOT LAST MORE THAN ONE WEEK IF "AMERICANS ARE SINCERE". WANG WILL RAISE TRADE EMBARGO AND FEW OTHER MATTERS BUT DOES NOT INTEND GET DOWN MUCH SERIOUS BUSINESS ON "OTHER QUESTIONS". ALL THIS TO BE LEFT FOR FORMIN'S MEETING. CHINESE REALIZE PROBABLY CANNOT TAKE PLACE FOR SOME TIME BUT WANT AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE AND DEFINITE SETTLEMENT DATE. WILL MORE FULLY REPORT THIS MORNING'S TALK IN LATER TELEGRAM.

GOWEN

MEM

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Control: 1069
Rec'd: AUGUST 2, 1955 4:50 P.M.

Action Assigned to FE
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R file

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 244, AUGUST 2, ~~MIDNIGHT~~ NOON (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

FROM JOHNSON

SECOND MEETING WITH CHINESE HELD AUGUST 2, 10 A.M. I LED OFF WITH STATEMENT ON AMERICANS DETAINED IN CHINA. I EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN OF AMERICAN PEOPLE AT CONTINUED DETENTION OF CIVILIANS POINTING OUT MANY IMPRISONED OVER FOUR YEARS AND OTHERS UNDER HOUSE ARREST OR DENIED EXIT PERMITS. I SAID DESPITE MY GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS THROUGH VARIOUS CHANNELS AND DIRECT TALKS INITIATED BY WANG AND ME LAST YEAR AND CONTINUED AT CONSULAR LEVEL RESULTS HAVE NOT BEEN ENTIRELY SATISFACTORY AS WANG HIMSELF STATED YESTERDAY. AT LEAST 36 AMERICAN CIVILIANS STILL DETAINED IN CHINA MOSTLY IN PRISON. I EMPHASIZED THIS CAUSES CONTINUED DEEP CONCERN TO AMERICAN PEOPLE AND INEVITABLY HEAVILY INFLUENCES ATTITUDE OF AMERICAN PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT TOWARD WANG'S GOVERNMENT. I HANDED WANG LIST OF 36 AMERICAN CIVILIANS. I CONTINUED THAT ALTHOUGH GRATIFIED AT RELEASE 11 RPT 11 AIR FORCE PERSONNEL I MUST IN ALL FRANKNESS STRESS THAT ONLY RELEASE OF ALL AMERICANS BOTH CIVILIAN AND MILITARY DETAINED BY WANG'S GOVERNMENT WOULD SERVE DISPEL ILL FEELING EXISTING IN US OVER THIS ISSUE AND BRING ABOUT ATMOSPHERE PERMITTING FRUITFUL DISCUSSION OTHER PRACTICAL MATTER. I THEN TOLD WANG I WAS AWARE HIS GOVERNMENT'S INTEREST IN DISCUSSING QUESTION OF SOME CHINESE CIVILIANS IN US. SAID I WOULD BE GLAD HEAR HIS VIEWS.

WANG REPLIED HE HAD NOTED MY STATEMENT, THAT HE WOULD ANSWER SOME QUESTIONS RAISED THERE THIS MORNING AND OTHERS LATER. THEN PROCEEDED READ PREPARED STATEMENT QTE STATUS OF AMERICAN NATIONALS FROM OUR VIEWPOINT UNQTE AS FOLLOWS:

AMERICAN NATIONALS TREATED LIKE ALL OTHER ALIENS IN CHINA AND ACCORDED PROTECTION SO LONG AS THEY RESPECT CHINESE LAW.

IF THEY

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IF THEY BREACH CHINESE LAW TREATED AS LAW PROVIDES.

WANG SAID HIS GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN INFORMING US FROM TIME TO TIME OF STATUS AMERICANS IN CHINA AND WAS NOW RPT NOW WILLING ADVISE US ONCE AGAIN OF STATUS OF AMERICANS AND MEASURES THEY INTENDED TO TAKE OUT OF SPECIAL CONSIDERATION. CLASSIFIED AMERICANS IN FOUR CATEGORIES:

1. 42 ORDINARY AMERICANS. THIS INCLUDES THOSE WHO HAD APPLIED TO LEAVE CHINA AND THOSE WHO HAD NOT. THOSE UNDER THIS CATEGORY MAY APPLY AND LEAVE ANY TIME PROVIDED THEY NOT INVOLVED IN UNFINISHED CASES. CHINESE GOVERNMENT IS NOW RPT NOW REVIEWING CASES THOSE WHO APPLIED AND WILL ADVISE RESULTS LATER.

2. 27 AMERICAN CIVILIANS WHO HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES. PERSONS THIS CATEGORY ALWAYS LENIENTLY TREATED CONSIDERING CRIMES COMMITTED AND THEIR BEHAVIOUR. THOSE WITH GOOD BEHAVIOUR MAY BE GRANTED EARLY RELEASE. OUT OF HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS CHINESE GOVERNMENT WILL ALLOW RELATIVES THESE PERSONS VISIT THEM. CHINESE GOVERNMENT INDIVIDUALLY REVIEWING ALL CASES AND WILL ADVISE LATER REGARDING EACH.

3. 16 AMERICAN CAPTURED PERSONNEL OF KOREAN WAR WHO REFUSED REPATRIATION. THESE MAY LEAVE AT ANY TIME ACCORDING OWN WILL. ONLY RECENTLY THREE CAPTURED PERSONNEL OF KOREAN WAR HAVE RETURNED US. PERSONS THIS CATEGORY WILL BE GRANTED PERMITS PROMPTLY ON REQUEST AND RELATIVES MAY VISIT IF DESIRE.

4. AMERICAN MILITARY PERSONNEL WHO HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES. BESIDES 15 SUCH PERSONS ALREADY RELEASED AT DIFFERENT TIMES ONLY TWO REMAIN. THEIR CRIMES MADE KNOWN IN PAST AND US GOVERNMENT KNOWS WHAT THEY ARE. RELATIVES THESE PERSONS WILL BE PERMITTED VISIT IF DESIRE.

AT MY REQUEST WANG HANDED ME LISTS PERSONS MENTIONED ABOVE. COMMENT ON LISTS BY SEPARATE TEL.

WANG THEN TOOK UP QUESTION CHINESE NATIONALS IN US. SAID GREAT MAJORITY THESE HAVE FAMILIES ON CHINA MAINLAND. FOR LONG TIME DUE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT RESTRICTIONS AND PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES THESE NATIONALS UNABLE FREELY RETURN HOME JOIN FAMILIES. THIS IS PRESSING QUESTION DEMANDING SOLUTION, ONE WHICH CHINESE GOVERNMENT ALWAYS CONCERNED ABOUT.

WANG CONTINUED BOTH

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AUG 3 1955
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

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8/3/55 12:33 p.m.
CORRECTED PAGE 3 LMS

-3- 244, Aug 2., Midnight (Sec 1 of 2), from Geneva - CN 1069

Wang continued both sides had concretely discussed question freedom Chinese nationals including students at Geneva during past year. On four occasions US had informed his government of Chinese leaving US. Of 27 such persons mentioned on first three occasions, six have still not returned to China. On fourth occasion, April 8, 1955, US representative stated 76 Chinese permitted leave but no name list given so impossible verify whether they have returned. There have not been necessary improvements in return of nationals including students from US. Wang said might as well point out that when his side issued exit permits to 27 Americans they always prompt and concrete in informing US.

TLS:AW/5

GOWEN

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Date of Action _____

Action Office Symbol _____

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1955 AUG 3 PM 2 31

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Control: 1057
Rec'd: August 2, 1955 4:22 P.M.

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 244, AUGUST 2, NOON. (SECTION TWO OF TWO)

WANG STATED THEY RECENTLY INFORMED THAT US IMMIGRATION SERVICE NOTIFIED MANY STUDENTS THEY MUST LEAVE US NOT LATER THAN SEPTEMBER SIXTH AND THAT THOSE FAILING DEPART BY THAT DATE WERE ADVISED APPLY FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE UNDER REFUGEE RELIEF ACT OF 1953. SHORT TIME LIMIT CONFRONTED CHINESE WITH MANY PRACTICAL PROBLEMS. AS RESULT MANY MAY NOT BE ABLE LEAVE IN TIME AND NO CHOICE BUT APPLY FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE WHICH WILL INCREASE DIFFICULTIES THEIR RETURN TO MAINLAND.

WANG DECLARED BOTH OUR GOVERNMENTS DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER FATE NATIONALS. ON BASIS MUTUAL CONCILIATION AND MUTUAL RESPECT BOTH SIDES SHARE DESIRE SAFEGUARD INTEREST OF NATIONALS IN OTHER COUNTRY INCLUDING RIGHT RETURN HOME. IN ORDER THAT NATIONALS EACH SIDE WHO DESIRE RETURN MAY RECIEVE ATTENTION CHINESE PROPOSE:

1. EACH SIDE ADVISE OTHER STATUS LATTER'S NATIONALS RESIDING THEIR TERRITORY IN SAME WAY WANG HAD JUST DONE RE US NATIONALS IN CHINA. EXPRESSED HOPE NAME LIST WOULD INCLUDE ALL CHINESE NATIONALS IN US INCLUDING STUDENTS.

2. US REVOKE ALL PROHIBITIONS AND MEASURES PREVENTING DEPARTURE CHINESE INCLUDING TIME LIMIT WHICH ADDS TO DIFFICULTY THEIR RETURN.

3. US SUPPLY CHINESE WITH NAME LIST 76 PERSONS GRANTED EXIT PERMITS AS REPORTED APRIL 8, 1955.

4. CHINA AND US EACH ENTRUST THIRD COUNTRY OF OWN CHOICE TAKE CHARGE AFFAIRS OF NATIONALS EACH COUNTRY, FIRST OF ALL, QUESTION THEIR RETURN. CHINESE GOVERNMENT PROPOSES INDIA.

WANG EXPRESSED HOPE WE WOULD GIME HIS PROPOSALS DUE

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CONSIDERATION.

I REPLIED I WANTED STUDY HIS PROPOSALS CAREFULLY AND WOULD GIVE HIM DETAILED REPLY LATER. IN MEANTIME HOWEVER I WANTED TO STATE THAT CONCERN HIS GOVERNMENT REGARDING CHINESE STUDENTS IN US APPEARS LARGELY ON MISUNDERSTANDING OF TRUE SITUATION. I SAID I WAS AUTHORIZED FORMALLY ASSURE HIM US IMPOSING NO RESTRAINTS ON CHINESE CIVILIANS IN US DESIRING PROCEED TERRITORY UNDER CONTROL HIS GOVERNMENT. I REPEATED THAT I COULD FORMALLY AND CATEGORICALLY SAY TO HIM THAT NO CHINESE STUDENT WAS BEING PREVENTED FROM LEAVING US. I ASKED IF HE KNEW ANY CHINESE STUDENT PREVENTED FROM DEPARTING HE LET ME KNOW AND I WOULD HAVE CASE INVESTIGATED AT ONCE. I EXPRESSED HOPE IN SUCH EVENT HE WOULD GIVE ME AS MUCH DATA AS POSSIBLE ON EACH CASE JUST AS I HAD DONE REGARDING CASES OF AMERICANS DETAINED IN CHINA.

WANG REPLIED HE WOULD CAREFULLY STUDY ALL I HAD SAID AND REPLY AT LATER MEETING. HE THEN PROPOSED THAT SINCE DISCUSSIONS HAD ENTERED CONCRETE STAGE MEETINGS BE HELD AS A RULE ONLY EVERY OTHER DAY UNLESS SPECIAL REASONS DEMANDED MORE OR LESS FREQUENT MEETINGS. I AGREED TO THIS PROPOSAL.

REFERRING TO MY PROPOSAL NOT TO RELEASE INFORMATION TO PRESS WITHOUT PRIOR AGREEMENT WANG SAID HE HAD GIVEN MATTER CAREFUL STUDY AND AGREED IN PRINCIPLE. SAID IF ANY STATEMENT CONSIDERED NECESSARY BY EITHER SIDE AGREEMENT SHOULD BE REACHED WITH OTHER OR PRIOR NOTIFICATION GIVEN. IN THIS WAY DISCUSSIONS COULD BE COMPLETELY FRANK AND INFORMAL.

I TOLD WANG I PLEASED HE AGREED WITH ME THAT ADOPTION THIS PROCEDURE WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO FRANKNESS AND INFORMALITY OF DISCUSSIONS. I SUGGESTED THAT ANY PRIOR NOTIFICATION GIVE REASONABLE TIME SAY ONE OR TWO DAYS ALTHOUGH I DID NOT BELIEVE IT NECESSARY SPECIFY EXACT LIMIT. WANG CONCURRED IN THIS.

WANG THEN PROPOSED WE INFORM PRESS WE HAD DISCUSSED FIRST ITEM OF AGENDA AND THAT NEXT MEETING TO BE HELD AUGUST 4, 10 A.M. I AGREED PROPOSING WE SAY NOTHING ELSE CONCERNING MEETING TO WHICH WANG AGREED.

I SAID

I SAID I PRESUMED WANG WOULD CONCUR THAT BOTH GOVERNMENTS SHOULD SHARE EQUALLY COST OF MEETING ROOM. WANG SAID THAT WAS REASONABLE ARRANGEMENT AND HE FELT COST UNIMPORTANT COMPARED WITH RESULTS TALKS MIGHT ACHIEVE.

AS BUSINESS CONCLUDED AND WE AROSE LEAVE I TOLD HIM MR. MARTIN WHOM HE WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY RECALL WOULD BE JOINING US AT NEXT MEETING. HE THEN SAID IN NOT UNPLEASANT FASHION THAT I WOULD PROBABLY RECALL MR. LI HIS INTERPRETER AT MEETINGS AT GENEVA LAST YEAR. HE HAD BEEN "MURDERED BY AGENTS OF KUOMINTANG BANDITS" WHO SABOTAGED PLANE ON WHICH HE FLYING BANDUNG. I EXPRESSED REGRET.

GOWEN

RW

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State* ACTION COPY

25 26 CORRECTION 8/8/55 9:35 A.M.

Control: 1069
Rec'd: Aug. 2, 1955
4:50 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 244, AUGUST 2, NOON (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

THE DATE OF THIS CONFIDENTIAL MESSAGE RECEIVED AS AUGUST 2, MIDNIGHT SHOULD BE CORRECTED TO READ AUGUST 2, NOON

Action Assigned to CA/DIR

Action Taken Noted

CA 8/8/55

CA

W P Mullaney

file

HJP/6

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25-22

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000 13

Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS AUG 3 - 1955 ASSISTANT SECRETARY Department of State

Control: 1094
Rec'd: AUGUST 2, 1955
5:56 P.M.

Action Assigned to FE

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 246, AUGUST 2, 5 P.M.

FROM JOHNSON

FURTHER MY CONVERSATION WITH MENON THIS MORNING.

HE AGAIN PUSHED QUESTION RELAXATION TRADE RESTRICTIONS QTE OR SOME OTHER SUCH GESTURE UNQTE BUT I RECEIVED IMPRESSION THIS MAY BE SOMEWHAT MORE HIS OWN IDEA THAN THAT OF CHICOMS AND THAT HE MAY ALSO BE PUSHING IT WITH THEM. TALKED ABOUT WANG AND I ARRIVING AT AGREEMENT QTE IN PRINCIPLE UNQTE IN THIS, DETAILS TO BE LEFT TO LOWER LEVEL OFFICERS - POSSIBLY CONSULS GENERALS IN MOSCOW, DELHI OR LONDON. LONDON WOULD BE GOOD AS CHICOM CONSUL GENERAL THERE GOOD MAN. GENEVA POOR PLACE AS CHICOM CONSUL GENERAL HERE POOR NEGOTIATOR.

MUCH TALK ABOUT IMPORTANCE AGREEMENT ON FORMIN MEETING, CHICOM DESIRE EVENTUAL FORMAL RECOGNITION AS QTE THIS WILL ADD GREATLY TO THEIR PRESTIGE UNQTE, AGAIN TALK ABOUT COASTAL ISLANDS QTE WHICH ARE HELD BY NATIONALISTS ONLY BY VIRTUE US SUPPORT UNQTE, MY INFORMATION SITUATION QUIET NOT CORRECT AS NATIONALISTS ARE CARRYING OUT RAIDS MOST RECENTLY IN JULY AND THIS OBVIOUSLY DIFFICULT SITUATION FOR CHICOMS ETC.

CHICOMS INTERESTED IN INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT AND DO NOT WANT WAR. ARE MAKING GREAT STRIDES, WHILE STILL BEHIND INDIA WORK TOGETHER MUCH BETTER AND WITH MORE ENTHUSIASM THAN INDIANS AND BEFORE LONG WILL PASS INDIA. CHICOMS DO NOT LIKE PRESENT GREAT DEPENDENCE ON SOVIETS AND WANT DIVERSIFY TRADE TO WEST INCLUDING US.

ALSO MUCH TALK ABOUT NOT IMPORTANT WHETHER PUBLIC KNEW ROLE HE AND INDIA HAD PLAYED IN RELEASE AIR FORCE PERSONNEL AND OTHER DEVELOPMENTS; QTE HE AND I UNQTE AND CHINA, US AND INDIA KNEW. THAT WAS ALL THAT COUNTED. INDIA ENTIRELY DISINTERESTED THIS ASPECT, ONLY INTEREST WAS IN HELPING WHERE THEY COULD AND WHEN THEY WERE WANTED.

SECRET

Copy # 11 Sent to FE 2/17/59

FILED DEPARTMENT OF STATE FEB 17 1959 AM 6:53

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THEY WERE WANTED. FULLY APPRECIATED DOMESTIC POLITICAL AND PUBLIC OPINION PROBLEMS FACED BY SECRETARY AND PRESIDENT. HOWEVER HE HAD BEEN RECEIVED IN US QTE MUCH BETTER UNQTE THIS LAST TRIP THAN PREVIOUSLY.

HE WAS STILL FISHING HARD FOR INVITATION STAY IN GENEVA WHILE DROPPING INCONSEQUENTIAL TIDBITS OF HIS CONVERSATION YESTERDAY EVENING WITH WANG. HE WAS APPARENTLY HOPING I HAD SINCE YESTERDAY ASKED FOR AND OBTAINED AUTHORITY FROM WASHINGTON TO ASK HIM TO STAY.

DEPT FULLY AWARE MENON'S CONVERSATIONAL STYLE AND DIFFICULTY PINNING DOWN HIS EXACT MEANING. I ALSO DELIBERATELY REFRAINED FROM MUCH QUESTIONING AS I DID NOT DESIRE GET DRAWN INTO DISCUSSION AS HE WAS CAREFULLY PROBING FOR ANYTHING HE COULD CARRY BACK TO CHINESE. HOWEVER I BELIEVE FOREGOING AND PREVIOUS TELS REPRESENT SUBSTANTIALLY ACCURATE ACCOUNT.

I DID KEEP COMING BACK CHICOM RENUNCIATION USE OF FORCE BUT WITHOUT ANY IMMEDIATELY APPARENT CONSTRUCTIVE RESULT. I DID LET HIM KNOW I WAS PLANNING REQUEST SOME EXPLANATION FROM CHICOMS FOR 461 PERSONNEL STILL MISSING FROM KOREAN WAR AS WELL AS 11 NAVY AND COAST GUARD PERSONNEL MISSING OFF SWATOW. I WENT INTO SOME DETAIL REGARDING OUR EFFORTS THIS REGARD MAC AND ELSEWHERE. HE SUGGESTED SOME AGREEMENT SEND SOMEONE CHINA INVESTIGATE. I SAID THIS WAS NOT PROBLEM - OBVIOUSLY IF ANY OTHER AMERICANS HELD IN CHINA NO INVESTIGATOR WAS GOING TO FIND THEM. ONLY CHICOMS KNEW WHETHER ANY THESE MEN ALIVE THEIR HANDS AND QUESTION WAS CHICOM GOOD FAITH IN GIVING US HONEST AND REASONABLE ANSWER. IN REPLY MY FLAT QUESTION HE SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE ANY WERE ALIVE IN CHICOM HANDS AS HE COULD NOT SEE ANY POLITICAL ADVANTAGE TO CHICOMS IN HOLDING THEM WITHOUT LETTING US KNOW THEY HAD THEM. (I THINK HE IS RIGHT ON THIS.)

I ALSO GAVE HIM FAIRLY DETAILED ACCOUNT CHICOM TREATMENT OUR CONSULATES AND EMBASSY IN CHINA DURING PERIOD CHICOM TAKE-OVER TAKING LINE IN LIGHT CUSTOMARY PRACTICE DURING SUCH PERIODS PARTICULARLY IN CHINA AS WELL AS ELSEWHERE CHICOMS QTE HAD

REFUSED

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-3- 246, AUGUST 2, 5 P.M. FROM GENEVA

REFUSED RECOGNIZE US UNQTE RATHER THAN OTHER WAY AROUND AND HAD MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE US PURSUE ANY OTHER POLICY EVEN IF IT HAD DESIRED TO DO SO. THIS SEEMED TO BE NEW INFORMATION TO HIM

I HAVE REFUSED SAY ANYTHING TO ANY CORRESPONDENTS ON MENON'S VISITS.

BECAUSE LENGTH HAVE NOT REPEATED THESE TELS TO COOPER BUT PRESUME DEPT WILL PASS AS CONSIDERED DESIRABLE.

GOWEN

TLS

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Control: 1172
Rec'd: AUGUST 2, 1955
9:50 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 248, AUGUST 2, 8 P.M.

Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
AUG 3 - 1955
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

FROM JOHNSON.

BEFORE DEPARTURE TODAY MENON FED SOME CORRESPONDENTS STORY HIS MISSION HERE ACCOMPLISHED IN SELLING BOTH SIDES INDIA AS "INTERMEDIARY" IN EXCHANGE NATIONALS, CIVILIAN QUESTION NOW SETTLED AND TALKS WILL BE OVER BEFORE END OF WEEK WITH AGREEMENT REACHED ON FONMIN CONFERENCE. I HAVE DONE BEST DEPRECATE STORY WITH FEW SELECTED CORRESPONDENTS I HAVE BEEN ABLE SEE BUT FEAR IT WILL NEVERTHELESS RECEIVE CONSIDERABLE PLAY.

GOWEN

RW

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Reviewer Date 7/31/56

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Date of Action

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Name of Officer

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611.93/8-255 PA

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9:35 PM

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- [ ] Reviewer _____ Date _____

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 249, AUGUST 2, 8 PM

Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS AUG 3 - 1955 ASSISTANT SECRETARY Department of State

FROM JOHNSON

THIS MORNING CHICOM AMBASSADOR BERLIN TOLD SAME SOURCE MENTIONED MYTEL 226 THAT AMERICAN CIVILIANS UNDER ARREST IN CHINA NOW BEING COLLECTED NEAR PEIPING IN ANTICIPATION EARLY REPATRIATION; THAT CHICOMS ARE GOING PROPOSE BILATERAL AGREEMENT WITH US TO RENOUNCE USE FORCE SETTLEMENT ANY "INTERNATIONAL" QUESTIONS; CHICOMS WILLING AGREE NOT USE FORCE AGAINST FORMOSA IF CAN OBTAIN POSSESSION MATSU AND QUEMOY AND US RECOGNIZES CHICOM "PEACEFUL CLAIM" TO FORMOSA; CHICOMS WILL NOT AGREE ANY INTERNATIONALIZATION FOMOSA: AND WANG IS GOING PRESS ME FOR EARLY FONMIN CONFERENCE PREFERABLY SEPTEMBER AT WHICH ALL OUTSTANDING ISSUES WOULD BE DISCUSSED. ALSO LAST WEEK CHICOMS DELIVERED STRONG NOTE TO SOVIETS EXPRESSING "DISAPPROVAL" OF FAILURE SOVIETS PRESS FAR EASTERN MATTERS HARDER AT CONFERENCE.

CHICOMS VERY "IRKED" WITH SOVIETS AT THIS.

HER/33

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Date of Action _____
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Control: 1175
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10:04 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 250, AUGUST 2, 8 PM

Bureau of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
AUG 3 - 1955
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

SOME CORRESPONDENTS HAVE LEARNED FROM CHICOM NEWSPAPER SOURCES CHICOMS GAVE ME "LISTS" AT THIS MORNING'S MEETING AND WILL BE CARRYING STORIES THIS EFFECT. I HAVE CLOSELY QUESTIONED THEM AND APPEARS LEAK PROBABLY OCCURRED BEFORE WANG HAD RETURNED FROM MEETING. CORRESPONDENTS SAY CHICOM GROUP INCLUDING PRESS SPOKESMAN THUS FAR SCRUPULOUSLY OBSERVING SECRECY AGREEMENT. I HAVE ASSURED CORRESPONDENTS IF CHICOMS DO NOT OBSERVE I WILL GIVE THEM BACKGROUNDER. THEY SEEM SATISFIED IF NOT HAPPY.

GOWEN

JJ

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Control: 1128
Rec'd: AUGUST 2, 1955
7:25 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 255, AUGUST 2, 7 P.M.

FROM JOHNSON

LIST OF AMERICANS HANDED ME BY WANG AUGUST 2 HEADED "NAME LIST OF ALL AMERICANS IN CHINA". GIVES NAMES BOTH ENGLISH AND CHINESE AND CITY OF RESIDENCE.

CATEGORY (A) TOTALLING 42 NAMES AND HEADED "ORDINARY AMERICAN NATIONALS" INCLUDES TEN OF 13 LISTED UNDER TAB (B) IN DOCUMENT "BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF AMERICANS DETAINED IN CHINA," DATED JULY 29. LIST OMITS BRADSHAW, HUIZER AND LAI MEE SEN. IN ADDITION INCLUDES WALSH, JAMES EDWARD; KELLEY, WILLIAM; HENKEL, LOUIS A.; HENKEL, MRS. LOUIS A.; ERWIN, ENGST; HINTON, JOAN CHASE; HODES, ROBERT; HODES, JANE; HODES, BILLY; HODES, NANCY; HODES, PETER; CHAIDIEN, ELEANOR; SNEK, HINTON BERTHA; HINTON, CAYMELITA; GERLACH, TALITHA AGNES; ILO RPT LO, RUTH EARNSHAW; PU, LUCILLE STEWARD; YAP, MARCELIA VANCE; SHAPIRO, SUDNEY; RITTENBERG, S.; WINTER, ROBERT; TANNEBAUM, GERALD; KEMP, DONALD MURRAY; CHENG, DOROTHY FISCHER; LIU, BERTHA JEE; WU, ELMA KEEN; LIU, GRACE DIVINE; LAU, LAURA LOUISE; CHANDLER ELIZABETH MILDRED; SU, SOPHIE; LIANG, CHUAN-LING; WILCOX, VELLA M. LIST DOES NOT INDICATE WHICH PERSONS HAVE APPLIED FOR EXIT PERMITS.

CATEGORY (B) TOTALLING 27 NAMES AND HEADED "AMERICAN CIVILIANS WHO HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES" INCLUDES 23 OF 25 LISTED UNDER TAB A-1 REFERENCED DOCUMENT. OMITS DOWNEY AND FECTEAU ALSO INCLUDES THE THREE LISTED UNDER TAB A-2 AND MRS. BRADSHAW.

CATEGORY (C) TOTALLING 16 AND HEADED "FORMER AMERICAN CAPTURED PERSONNEL IN THE KOREAN WAR WHO REFUSED REPATRIATION" CONTAINS FOLLOWING NAMES: ADAMS; GORDON; DUNN; FORTUNA; HAWKINS; SULLIVAN; WEBB; WHITE; WILSON; WILLS; ADAMS; SKINNER; PATE;

RUSH;

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CATEGORY (D) TOTALLING TWO AND HEADED "AMERICAN MILITARY PERSONNEL WHO HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES" LISTS DOWNEY AND FECTEAU.

GOWEN

TLS

(#) OMISSION; CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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55 AUG 2 PM 4 17

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 341

FOR ~~AMBASSADOR~~ JOHNSON

1. AFP Taipei reports National Government August 2 made clear "its resolution to withdraw immediately" from UN in event Chinese Communists admitted.

2. Ch'en Ch'eng July 29 announced resignation Sun Li-jen as Chief Military Aide to President Chiang Kai-shek because of "fault of implication in recent case of sedition." Board headed by Ch'en will investigate case.

3. Communist China and Nepal have signed agreement to establish diplomatic relations. Chinese Communist ambassador New Delhi to be accredited Katmandu, presumably on Nehru's urgings.

4. Registration of foreigners ~~in~~ in Hanoi began last week July with DRV showing clear intent harass and annoy. Objection to use of Consular titles by US personnel and many petty objections raised in completion of forms. At week's end attitude shifted to near politeness and forms accepted. Consul unsure whether change indicates real change in behavior toward Westerners, effort to expedite registration with further difficulties postponed until data studied, or calculated alternation between cajolery and admonition.

Dulles DUL

Drafted by: IR/DRF/C: HMJacobson HJ 8/2/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: OIR/DRF: HMJacobson HJ

Clearances:

Cleared in substance with CA DT 8/2/55

S/S:

AUG -2 1955 P.M.

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Action 000 19

Control: 1556
Rec'd: AUGUST 3, 1955
11:29 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 257, AUGUST 3, 3 PM

FROM JOHNSON

HAD HAMMARSKJOLD TO DINNER LAST NIGHT. HE HAD CALLED ON WANG EARLIER IN AFTERNOON TO ASK HIM TRANSMIT REPLY TO CHOU'S MESSAGE. INFORMING HIM RELEASE FLYERS TEXT OF WHICH HE SHOWED ME AND WHICH CORDIER HAS BEEN REQUESTED TRANSMIT LODGE. CORDIER WILL ALSO GIVE LODGE COPY REPLY WHICH HE ALSO SHOWED ME. HE INTERPRETS CHOU'S MESSAGE AS ENCOURAGING EFFORT KEEP UN CHANNEL OPEN. HE IS ALSO OBVIOUSLY AND UNDERSTANDABLY STILL VERY SENSITIVE ON MENON ROLE.

HE GAVE ME DETAILED ACCOUNT ALL HIS EFFORTS PARTICULARLY HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH CHOU ON DOWNEY AND FECTEAU. THIS VERY HELPFUL TO ME ALTHOUGH I DO NOT BELIEVE ANY INFORMATION WAS BROUGHT OUT NOT ALREADY KNOWN TO DEPARTMENT.

I OUTLINED TO HIM PRESENT STATE MY NEGOTIATIONS WITH WANG AND CONSULTED WITH HIM ON MY PLANS FOR HANDLING QUESTION OTHER MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL. TOLD HIM MY PRESENT THINKING WAS WHEN "OTHER PRACTICAL QUESTIONS" REACHED TO HAND WANG LIST 461 MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL OUTLINING HISTORY LIST AND ASKING CHICOMS WHETHER ANY PERSONS LISTED WERE IN TERRITORY UNDER CONTROL CHICOMS PRESSING AS NECESSARY FOR DEFINITE ANSWER.

HE EXPRESSED FULL APPROVAL AND REQUESTED I INFORM SECRETARY THAT IN REPLY SECRETARY'S MESSAGE ON COORDINATION OUR EFFORTS HE PLANNED TAKE NO FURTHER ACTION PENDING OUTCOME MY EFFORTS HERE. AT THAT TIME HE WOULD DECIDE WHAT FURTHER ACTION TAKE NOT ONLY WITH REGARD MISSING AMERICAN PERSONNEL BUT THOSE OF OTHER NATIONALITIES.

HE WILL BE HERE UNTIL AUGUST 8 AND I PROMISED KEEP IN TOUCH WITH HIM.

GOWEN

TT

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA

FOR AMBASSADOR JOHNSON

1. Reuters Taipei states Nat Legislative Yuan members August [illegible] decided cable protest to President Eisenhower against Geneva talks. George Yeh assured legislators US policy toward China unchanged. AP report adds Yeh informed Foreign Affairs Committee China would not recognize any Geneva decision affecting its interests.

2. Recent report on Americans in China, which you may use at your discretion, claims mid-June 1955: (a) Ralph S. Boyd had applied exit visa but without success, possibly because Chinese Communists have claims against company; (b) Marcella and Peter Huizer in poor health; Chinese Communist claims against China Portland Cement Co of US $400,000 unsettled; (c) Dilmus Kanady in jail on espionage charge; (d) octogenarian Robert H. Parker bedridden with heart ailment; (e) Hugh Redmond not heard from since early 1954; reported executed by Shanghai press; and (f) exit of Howard Ricks and wife held up pending settlement of claims against firm.

3. Burmese P[illegible]

Drafted by: OIR/DRF/C: HMJacobson 8-3-55
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: OIR/DRF Joseph A. Yager
Clearances:
Cleared in substance with CA LAD

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3. Burmese Prime Minister U Nu in press conference 27th welcomed US CIR talks, endorsed Senator George's suggestion talks at FONMIN level next step. U Nu counseled patience and disregard for prestige considerations. August 1 issue Rangoon daily Nation quotes government sources (Embassy identifies as U Nu's personal secretary U Thant) to effect GUB welcomes Chou En-lai proposal for Pacific pact including US. Article asserts U Nu and Nehru in correspondence to bring about ChiCom-Chiliat talks, hopeful of success. Other sources report U Nu's willingness go Taipei personally if can be arranged in non-official capacity.

Dulles
JJ

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000 2

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA NIACT

For Johnson

Reference your list of 36 American civilian detainees handed to Wang. We believe as your talks constitute new stage of discussions regarding Americans detained Communist China you should present Wang with full list all Americans we believe being prevented from leaving mainland including Mrs. Huizer, two Romanoffs and Mrs. Bradshaw. Bishop James Edward Walsh authorized by his Maryknoll Mission superior here to leave.

You should transmit to Wang these four names to supplement your lists of Americans being detained and add note that superiors of Bishop Walsh have now authorized him to leave. If you have definite reason for not submitting this supplementary list, inform Department.

Case of Lai Mee-sen and other Americans of Chinese race under consideration by Department to determine whether your intervention on their behalf at this time might endanger them.

Dulles
NSR DULLES

Drafted by: WPMcConaughy/DNForman/mlw 8/3/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: NSR Walter S. Robertson

Clearances: [redacted]

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA NIACT 360

Origin

Info:

FOR JOHNSON.

Your 244 section 2 and Deptel 349.

Chicom points one and four obviously require some time for study. As to these two points, the pace should not RPT not be forced. You might suggest they be deferred until after brief recess. This would enable you in your discretion make quick visit your post. In meantime ~~the~~ points will be receiving full consideration here.

Point two met by our blanket statement as to non-interference with departure of Chinese which you have been authorized to make and by first sentence second para our 349. Point three met by our telegram 347.

It seems to us that, given full satisfaction we have afforded on points two and three, you are in strong position to press insistently for release forthwith of all Americans. Hope you will be able make Wang feel that next move up to his Government and that only immediate all-inclusive action on US nationals will meet ~~the~~ obligation resting on his Government in existing circumstances.

FYI we are considering with top people of Immigration and Naturalization Service certain problems which may arise as to Chinese aliens of various categories resident in ~~the~~ US.

Dulles

Drafted by: FE:WPMcConaughy:evc 8/3/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances: S - The Secretary

S/S-CR

AUG 3 1955 P. 10943

SECRET
Classification

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(138)

18 Action 000 23

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Control: 2087
Rec'd: AUGUST 4, 1955
9:32 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 310, AUGUST 4, 1 PM

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

file

HIGHLIGHTS THIRD MEETING FOLLOW:

HANDED WANG LIST FIVE NAMES SUGGESTED DEPTEL 359. MADE BRIEF COMMENTS THEIR LIST AMERICANS POINTING OUT INTER ALIA DOWNEY AND FECTEAU CIVILIANS NOT MILITARY (WANG SUBSEQUENTLY EXPLAINED LISTING DOWNEY AND FECTEAU REFERRED TO NATURE THEIR " CRIMES" WHICH MILITARY). I THEN DISCUSSED WANG'S 4 PROPOSALS OF LAST MEETING. RE FIRST SAID SEEMS GO BEYOND TERMS REFERENCE TALKS, ALSO INVOLVES THOUSANDS NAMES. NEED FURTHER TIME CONSIDER. RE SECOND AND THIRD PROPOSALS HANDED WANG LIST 76 NAMES, REITERATED ASSURNACE ALL RESTRICTIONS LIFTED ON RETURN CHINESE TO MAINLAND, EXPLAINED NO GENERAL DEADLINE FOR DEPARTURE STUDENTS BUT CASES DEALT WITH INDIVIDUALLY AND POSTPONEMENTS DEPARTURE GRANTED FOR GOOD CAUSE. RE FOURTH PROPOSAL SAID COULD NOT YET GIVE REPLY. CONCLUDED BY CONTRASTING PRESENT FREEDOM CHINESE IN US DEPART AND CONTINUED DETENTION 40 ODD US CITIZENS CHINA.

AFTER 10 MINUTE RECESS REQUESTED BY WANG, HE AGAIN ASKED COMPLETE LIST CHINESE NATIONALS IN US, DENYING THIS REQUEST EXCEEDED TERMS REFERENCE; WELCOMED RECEIPT LIST 76 BUT EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION LACK OF INFO ON ALL CHINESE IN US, SIMILAR THAT GIVEN US ON ALL AMERICANS CHINA; REITERATED FAMILAIAR CONTENTION ONLY US CITIZENS DETAINED CHINA GUILTY CRIMES WHO

DEALT WITH

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DEALT WITH BY LAW, THEREFORE NO BASIS US ILL FEELING. ALSO MADE STATEMENT ON ALLEGED CAUSES "CHINESE ILL FEELING" TOWARD US. SAID WILL EXAMINE INDIVIDUAL CASES AMERICANS AND PREPARED ACCORD LENIENT TREATMENT. WELCOMED US WILLINGNESS TAKE TIME CONSIDER HIS FOURTH PROPOSAL.

I REPLIED BRIEFLY WANG'S REMARKS RESERVING RIGHT REPLY MORE FULLY NEXT MEETING WHICH I SUGGESTED BE POSTPONED TO AUGUST 8. WANG READILY AGREED, EXHIBITING NO ANXIETY FORCE PACE TALKS. WANG STRESSED HIS COMPLIANCE OUR AGREEMENT RE PRESS, SAYING CHINESE HOPED MEETINGS WOULD SETTLE MATTERS UNDER DISCUSSION NOT BECOME PROPAGANDA FORUM. I AFFIRMED OUR FULL ADHERENCE PRESS AGREEMENT.

GOWEN

CWD-

STATE
1955 AUG 4 PM 12 27
OF
AFFAIRS

Bureau of
Far Eastern Affairs
AUG 4 - 1955
Department of State
Asst. Secretary

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1955 AUG 4 PM 5 08

Control: 2374
Rec'd: AUGUST 4, 1955
3:07 PM

Action Assigned to FE

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Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Transaction to DC/R file

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 314, AUGUST 4, 5 PM

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

FROM JOHNSON

DEPTEL 360.

FULLY APPRECIATE DEPT'S DESIRE NOT FORCE PACE BUT FEEL IT ALSO IMPORTANT THAT WE AVOID GIVING ANY IMPRESSION TO CHICOMS OR PUBLIC THAT WE ARE DRAGGING FEET ON GETTING AMERICANS OUT OF CHINA. PRESS WOULD BE QUICK EXPLOIT IN FACE CHOU'S STATEMENT ABILITY READILY RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM AND RUMORS STARTED BY MENON WHICH HAVE RECEIVED WIDE CURRENCY THAT PROBLEM WOULD BE RESOLVED AT LATEST BY END THIS WEEK. IN LIGHT THESE CONSIDERATIONS WHICH I HAVE BEEN TRYING KEEP IN BALANCE I DID NOT CONSIDER IT DESIRABLE AT TODAY'S MEETING TO PROPOSE RECESS BEYOND MONDAY. BY SAME TOKEN I AM CERTAIN THERE WOULD BE ADVERSE REACTION AMONG CORRESPONDENTS HERE WHICH CHICOMS WOULD BE QUICK EXPLOIT IF I WERE TO MAKE TRIP TO PRAGUE AT THIS PARTICULAR STAGE.

I AM CONVINCED THAT CHICOMS DO NOT SERIOUSLY EXPECT OBTAIN POINT ONE WANG'S AUGUST 2 PROPOSAL AND SHOULD NOT BE LED TO BELIEF THERE IS ANY POSSIBILITY SUCCESS ALTHOUGH THEY WILL CONTINUE USING IT TO STRENGTHEN THEIR CASE FOR POINT 4. I HAD THEREFORE PLANNED AT TODAY'S MEETING FLATLY TO TURN IT DOWN AS OUTSIDE AGREED SCOPE TALKS. IN ORDER NOT GIVE THEM TOO MUCH ENCOURAGEMENT ON THIS POINT AND CARRY OUT INSTRUCTIONS DEPTEL 360 I DID SAY WHILE NOT IN POSITION REPLY IT SEEMED TO BE OUTSIDE SCOPE OUR DISCUSSION.

I AM SATISFIED SOMETHING IN FIELD OF POINT FOUR OF WANG'S PROPOSAL IS CHOU'S MINIMUM PRICE FOR RELEASE REMAINING AMERICANS.

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Bureau of FAR EASTERN AUG 4 - 1955 Department of State

-2- 314, AUGUST 4, 5 PM, FROM GENEVA

UNDER BEST CIRCUMSTANCES I DO NOT NOW FEEL ANY MASS RELEASE IS TO BE EXPECTED AND FEAR MOST DIFFICULTY WILL BE ENCOUNTERED OVER DOWNEY AND FECTEAU WITH DIFFICULTIES ALSO OVER THOSE BEING DENIED EXIT PERMITS PENDING SETTLEMENT FINANCIAL "CLAIMS".

I FEEL WE ARE NOT GOING TO GET THEM MOVE VERY FAR ON AMERICANS UNTIL WE GIVE THEM SOME INDICATION ON POINT FOUR. ON OTHER HAND I HAVE FEARED THAT IF WE AGREED ON SOMETHING ALONG LINES POINT FOUR THEIR TACTIC WOULD BE TO ATTEMPT TO CLAIM THAT QUESTION OF CIVILIANS NOW RESOLVED AT OUR LEVEL AND "DETAILS" SHOULD BE LEFT TO REPRESENTING COUNTRIES.

THEREFORE TACTIC WHICH I HAD PLANNED PRIOR TO RECEIPT DEPTEL 360 WAS TO PUT FORWARD IN INFORMAL CONVERSATIONAL STYLE A REPRESENTATION PROPOSAL IN STRICT ACCORDANCE WITH MY INSTRUCTIONS AS SOMETHING I WAS WILLING RECOMMEND MY GOVERNMENT'S CONSIDERATION BUT DIDN'T FEEL I COULD DO SO UNTIL THEY HAD COME FURTHER ON AMERICANS IN CHINA. MY HOPE WAS THAT WITHOUT NECESSARILY FREEZING ON ANY PARTICULAR POSITION OR BARGAINING POINT FOUR FOR AMERICANS I COULD GET MYSELF IN POSITION TO KEEP REPRESENTATION CHEESE DANGLING IN FRONT OF THEM IN RETURN FOR PERFORMANCE ON AMERICANS WHILE ALSO AVOIDING DANGER THEIR CLAIMING SETTLEMENT CIVILIANS ACCOMPLISHED WHEN AGREEMENT REACHED ON REPRESENTATION.

I CONTINUE FEEL THIS IS BEST TACTIC AND SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT AT MONDAY'S MEETING ALTHOUGH IN VIEW PASSAGE TIME WOULD NOW PRESENT IN FORM OF SOMETHING TENTATIVELY BEING CONSIDERED BY MY GOVERNMENT.

GOWEN

AB

NOTE: ADVANCE COPY TO MR. WADDELL (FE) 3:30 PM 8/4/55 CWO/FED

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Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS AUG 5 - 1955 ASSISTANT SECRETARY Department of State

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Action Taken (140)

tion 000 25

Control: 2457
Rec'd: AUGUST 4, 1955
9:03 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 315, AUGUST 4, 7 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

Direction to DC/R file

FROM JOHNSON

AT THIRD MEETING 10 A.M. AUGUST 4 I HANDED WANG SUPPLEMENTARY LIST 5 AMERICANS AS INSTRUCTED DEPTEL 359 DESCRIBING THEM AS PERSONS WE HAD "SOME REASON" TO BELIEVE WERE BEING PREVENTED FROM LEAVING CHINA. WITH RESPECT TO LIST OF 36 PREVIOUSLY GIVEN WANG I HAD INDICATED WE HAD FIRM KNOWLEDGE ALL THESE PEOPLE DESIRED LEAVE CHINA.

I NEXT POINTED OUT WANG HAD LISTED GORDON, JOYCE AND HYDE AS "PERSONS WHO HAD COMMITTED CRIMES". NOTING CHINESE REPRESENTATIVE HAD TOLD CONGEN LAST JUNE THEY WERE NOT IN PRISON BUT BEING INVESTIGATED I INQUIRED WHETHER THEY NOW IN PRISON.

I SAID WE UNDERSTOOD MRS. BRADSHAW RELEASED FROM PRISON AND ASKED WHY SHE WAS LISTED UNDER CATEGORY (B) WANG'S LIST. I ALSO POINTED OUT DOWNEY AND FECTEAU, WHOM WANG HAD LISTED AS MILITARY PERSONNEL WERE ACTUALLY CIVILIANS AND SHOULD HAVE BEEN LISTED AMONG IMPRISONED CIVILIANS.

REFERRING TO WANG'S FIRST PROPOSAL PREVIOUS MEETING I STATED IT APPEARS GO BEYOND TERMS OF REFERENCE ENVISIONED BY TWO GOVERNMENTS WHEN TALKS AGREED UPON. REMINDED HIM TALKS WERE TO CONSIDER "REPATRIATION CIVILIANS WHO DESIRE RETURN THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES". POINTED OUT ALSO CHINESE NATIONALS IN US NUMBER THOUSANDS AND ADDED US GOVERNMENT REQUIRED FURTHER TIME TO CONSIDER.

I THEN REFERRED TO WANG'S SECOND AND THIRD PROPOSALS AND HANDED HIM LIST OF 76 CHINESE STUDENTS. I TOLD HIM HIS REFERENCE TO "EXIT PERMIT" IN CONNECTION WITH 76 STUDENTS WAS

INACCURATE

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INACCURATE SINCE NO EXIT PERMIT REQUIRED OF ALIENS DESIRING DEPART US. I THEN CAREFULLY SUMMARIZED IN SOME DETAIL US IMMIGRATION PROCEDURE, EMPHASIZING ABSENCE EXIT PERMIT SYSTEM AND EXPLAINING THAT US GOVERNMENT NEITHER PREVENTING CHINESE FROM LEAVING NOR UNREASONABLY FORCING THEM TO LEAVE.

I INFORMED WANG I NOT IN POSITION REPLY REGARDING FOURTH PROPOSAL WHICH REQUIRED FURTHER CAREFUL STUDY. I ADDED THAT AS I ALREADY POINTED OUT AS RESULT OF RESCINDING BY US GOVERNMENT ALL PREVENTIVE DEPARTURE ORDERS PREVIOUSLY ISSUED AGAINST CHINESE CIVILIANS THERE WAS NOT TO BEST OF MY GOVERNMENT'S KNOWLEDGE ANY CHINESE CIVILIAN IN US WHOSE DEPARTURE FOR CHINA WAS BEING PREVENTED. HOWEVER I CONTINUED "WE BOTH KNOW OF THE AMERICAN CIVILIANS IN YOUR COUNTRY WHOSE DEPARTURE IS BEING PREVENTED BY REASON OF THEIR IMPRISONMENT OR OTHERWISE". I SAID I WAS THEREFORE AWAITING THE SPECIFIC INFORMATION REGARDING MEASURES WHICH WANG HAD SAID AT LAST MEETING HIS GOVERNMENT INTENDED TAKE WITH RESPECT AMERICANS.

I THEN ASKED WANG FOR NAMES OF 6 CHINESE HE REFERRED TO LAST MEETING AS NOT HAVING RETURNED CHINA, SAYING I WOULD HAVE THEIR CASES INVESTIGATED.

AT THIS POINT CHINESE REQUESTED 10 MINUTES RECESS.

WANG COMMENCED STATING HE WISHED CLARIFY A FEW POINTS. REGARDING CLASSIFICATION AMERICANS ON HIS LIST, SAID GORDON, HYDE AND JOYCE HAD COMMITTED CRIMES BUT NOT NOW IN PRISON. SAID MRS. BRADSHAW HAD BEEN IN PRISON BUT NOW OUT ON BAIL. REGARDING DOWNEY AND FECTEAU SAID THEIR CRIMES ALREADY PUBLICLY MADE KNOWN AND UNNECESSARY GO INTO HERE.

I INTERJECTED THAT MY QUESTION REFERRED NOT TO CRIMES BUT TO THEIR CLASSIFICATION AS CIVILIANS. WANG REPLIED THEY "CLASSIFIED ACCORDING CHARACTER OF THEIR CRIMES WHICH WERE MILITARY IN NATURE AND NOT ACCORDING THEIR PERSONAL STATUS".

WANG

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WANG THEN HANDED ME 6 CHINESE NAMES I HAD REQUESTED WHICH I SAID WE WOULD INVESTIGATE. NAMES BY SEPARATE TEL.

WANG THEN SAID I HAD STATED HIS FIRST PROPOSAL BEYOND SCOPE ITEM ONE OF AGENDA. SINCE THIS ITEM DEALT WITH RETURN CIVILIANS BOTH SIDES IT ENTITLED US TO REQUEST COMPLETE LIST AMERICANS IN CHINA, SIMILARLY ENTITLED WANG REQUEST COMPLETE LIST CHINESE IN US. HE WAS GLAD KNOW US GOVERNMENT WILLING TAKE FURTHER TIME CONSIDER THIS PROPOSAL.

PROBLEM NOW FACING US WANG CONTINUED IS PROBLEM RETURN CIVILIANS BOTH SIDES TO RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. BOTH SIDES SHOULD MAKE SAME ARRANGEMENTS IN ORDER ARRIVE AT REASONABLE SETTLEMENT. REGARDING AMERICANS IN CHINA HE HAD ALREADY SUBMITTED COMPLETE LIST INCLUDING PLACE RESIDENCE AS WELL AS CLASSIFICATION OF INDIVIDUAL. REQUESTED US SIDE RESPOND THIS ACTION BY PROVIDING COMPLETE LIST CHINESE NATIONALS IN US, INCLUDING STUDENTS WHOSE FAMILIES ON CHINESE MAINLAND, AND GIVING WHEREABOUTS EACH INDIVIDUAL.

WANG SAID PERSONS ON LIST OF 36 GIVEN HIM AUGUST 2 ALL INCLUDED IN LIST AMERICAN NATIONALS IN CHINA HE HAD PROVIDED, INCLUDING THOSE GUILTY AND NOT GUILTY OF CRIMES. THOSE GUILTY MUST BE TREATED UNDER CHINESE LAW JUST AS CHINESE NATIONALS RESIDING US SHOULD BE SUBJECT US LAW. HE HAD ALREADY MADE CLEAR POSITION CHINESE GOVERNMENT REGARDING TREATMENT AMERICANS IN CHINA AND TOLD ME HE WOULD INFORM ME LATER RESULTS OF REVIEW OF CASES.

WANG WENT ON TO SAY AT AUGUST 2 MEETING I HAD DEMANDED COMPLETE RELEASE ALL AMERICANS IN CHINA. THIS NOT COMPATIBLE WITH FACTUAL SITUATION AND HIS SIDE COULD NOT COMPLY. THERE WAS NO QUESTION CONCERNING RELEASE THOSE AMERICANS IN CHINA WHO NEVER COMMITTED CRIME. THOSE FOUND GUILTY OF CRIMES MUST BE TREATED UNDER CHINESE LEGAL PROCEDURE. THEIR CASES NOT SIMPLY MATTER OF RELEASING OR NOT RELEASING. AS HE HAD INDICATED HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD TAKE LENIENT MEASURES TOWARD THESE. HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD INDIVIDUALLY REVIEW EACH CASE AND ADVISE RESULTS LATER.

I BROKE

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I BROKE IN TO INQUIRE IF HE COULD ESTIMATE HOW LONG IT MIGHT TAKE MAKE THIS REVIEW. WANG REPLIED NONCOMMITTALLY THAT IT WOULD DEPEND ON TIME REQUIRED BY RESPONSIBLE AUTHORITIES TO MAKE REVIEW.

WANG THEN DECLARED READING FROM PREPARED STATEMENT HE WOULD LIKE TO MAKE A FEW REMARKS ON ILL FEELING AMERICAN PEOPLE TOWARD CHINA. DETAILED ACCOUNT OF STATUS AMERICANS IN CHINA AS WELL AS OF POLICY HIS GOVT WAS GIVEN ME AT LAST MEETING. IF THIS COULD HAVE BEEN MADE KNOWN TO AMERICAN PEOPLE IN ITS ENTIRETY ILL FEELING NEVER WOULD HAVE ARISEN. REGARDING HANDFUL OF AMERICANS WHO VIOLATED CHINESE LAW, EVERY SOVEREIGN COUNTRY IS ENTITLED TAKE ACTION AGAINST SUCH PERSONS. OUT OF HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS, CHINESE GOVERNMENT WILLING GIVE LENIENT CONSIDERATION CASES BY FURTHER REVIEW AND ALSO WILLING THAT RELATIVES VISIT PRISONERS. THIS ALL THE MORE PROVES THAT TREATMENT GIVEN AMERICANS BY HIS GOVT IS "FAIR AND FRIENDLY".

HE CONSIDERED "ALLEGED ILL FEELING OF AMERICANS" INTIMATED BY ME "DEVOID OF FACTUAL BASIS". ON OTHER HAND THINGS CAUSING ILL FEELING AMONG CHINESE PEOPLE TOWARD AMERICAN GOVERNMENT BEYOND ENUMERATION. TAKE SUBJECT CHINESE NATIONALS, PARTICULARLY RETURN CHINESE STUDENTS, WITHOUT MENTIONING OTHER REMOTE SUBJECTS. CHINESE PEOPLE VERY DISSATISFIED. IT IS VIOLATION HUMANITARIAN PRINCIPLES FOR GOVERNMENT PREVENT BY GOVERNMENT ORDER INNOCENT PERSON RETURN HOME FOR INTERCOURSE AND REUNION WITH FAMILY. MIGHT AS WELL CITE AN INCIDENT WHICH GREATLY IRRITATED CHINESE PEOPLE. MORE THAN 14,000 PERSONNEL OF CHINESE PEOPLE'S VOLUNTEERS IN KOREA WERE NOT PERMITTED LISTEN TO EXPLANATIONS BUT FORCIBLY REMOVED TO TAIWAN TO BECOME "CANNON FODDER FOR CHIANG KAI-SHEK BRIGANDS". THEIR FAMILIES ON MAINLAND UNABLE EFFECT THEIR RETURN. WANG SAID HE HAD HEARD BOTH MARTIN AND I WERE IN KOREA AT TIME KOREAN ARMISTICE AND KNEW THIS CASE WELL THEREFORE UNNECESSARY SAY MORE. HE DID WANT TO ADD THAT THIS IS STILL PENDING CASE WHICH ENRAGES CHINESE PEOPLE. HE COULD MENTION OTHERS SIMILAR

CHARACTER.

CHARACTER. HOWEVER, CONSIDERING ATMOSPHERE PRESENT TALKS PERHAPS NOT NECESSARY ENUMERATE MORE. IT WAS ONLY BECAUSE I HAD MENTIONED ALLEGED ILL FEELING IN US HE THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE USEFUL EXPLAIN HOW CHINESE PEOPLE FEEL TOWARD US GOVERNMENT.

GOWAN

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Action

Control: 2458
Rec'd: AUGUST 4, 1955
9:04 PM

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Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/T

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 315, AUGUST 4, 7 PM (SECTION TWO OF TWO)

WANG THEN STARTED READING FROM ANOTHER LONG PREPARED STATEMENT WHICH OPENED BY STATING I HAD MADE REPEATED REFERENCES TO CHINESE STUDENTS IN US AND HAD SAID THAT US GOVT HAD NEVER EXERCISED ANY RESTRAINT ON THEM.

I INTERRUPTED TO STATE THAT WAS NOT WHAT I HAD SAID. THIS MORNING I HAD AGAIN SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN RESTRAINTSAGAINST SOME FEW CHINESE STUDENTS BUT THAT ETHESE HAD BEEN REMOVED AND FORCEFULLY REITERATED MY PREVIOUS STATEMENT NO CHINESE BEING PREVENTED DEPART.

WANG COMPLETELY NONPLUSSED AT THIS POINT AND FUMBLED THROUGH PREPARED STATEMENT SEEKING A REPLY. ONLY AFTER FULL FOUR OR FIVE MINUTES WAS HE ABLE CONTINUE.

CHANGING HIS APPROACH WANG DECLARED HE WELCOMED STATEMENT BY ME THAT RESTRAINTS ON CHINESE RESCINDED. HOWEVER THIS STATEMENT ONLY VERY "GENERAL" TO EFFECT CHINESE NOT RESTRAINED FROM RETURNING THEIR COUNTRY. IN THE FIRST PLACE, US GOVT FAILED PROVIDE COMPLETE LIST INCLUDING NAMES AND ADDRESSES SO IT IMPOSSIBLE CHECK WHICH ACTUALLY DESIRED RETURN. IT WAS NOT ONLY IMPOSSIBLE CHINESE GOVT COMMUNICATE THESE PEOPLE BUT ALSO IMPOSSIBLE FAMILIES COMMUNICATE WITH THEM AND TRANSMIT FUNDS. SECRETARY DULLES IN PRESS CONFERENCE AUGUST 2 ADMITTED HE COULD NOT ANSWER QUESTION WHETHER CHINESE HAVE FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES AND COULD NOT PAY THEIR TRAVEL. THIS IS SHARP CONTRAST WITH PREMIER CHOU'S STATEMENT REGARDING AMERICAN NATIONALS JULY 30. "OUR NATIONALS IN US ARE CONFRONTED BY GREAT DIFFICULTIES". CONSEQUENTLY APPROPRIATE SOLUTION OF RETURN CIVILIANS BOTH SIDES MUST BE SOUGHT WHICH BENEFICIAL BOTH PARTIES NOT ONE UNILATERALLY. OTHERWISE APPARENTLY "UNFAIR" SOLUTION WOULD NOT BE UNDERSTOOD BY PEOPLE OF

4 WORLD

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WORLD AND CHINESE PEOPLE COULD NOT ACCEPT. IT PRECISELY FOR THIS REASON THAT HE HAD PROPOSED CHINA AND US EACH NAME THIRD COUNTRY TO HANDLE AFFAIRS OF NATIONALS OF EACH IN TERRITORY OF OTHER, IN FIRST PLACE, RETURN OF NATIONALS TO RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES: WANG WELCOMED STATEMENT THAT US WILLING TAKE FURTHER TIME CONSIDER THIS PROPOSITION. ALSO EXPRESSED APPRECIATION RECEIPT LIST 76 STUDENTS.

I REPLIED EXPRESSING REGRET WANG FELT IT NECESSARY DISCUSS MATTERS OUTSIDE TERMS OF REFERENCE THIS MEETING. SAID I SPOKE TO HIM OF ILL FEELING PEOPLE IN US, AS I KNEW IT, ARISING FROM ISSUE WE NOW DISCUSSING. I ADDED I DID NOT INTEND ENGAGE IN CONTROVERSY, JUST WANTED FRANKLY EXPLAIN TO HIM FACTUAL SITUATION.

REFERRING TO WANG'S REMARK THAT MY STATEMENT ON FREEDOM CHINESE DEPART AS BEING "GENERAL", I SAID IF GENERAL IT WAS BECAUSE IT WAS BROAD, CATEGORICAL AND WITHOUT EXCEPTION. I SAID I WAS UNCLEAR WHAT WANG MEANT BY AN UNFAIR SOLUTION. I SAID THER HAD BEEN RESTRAINTS ON SOME CHINESE AND THESE NO LONGER EXIST. TOLD HIM AGAIN IF HE KNEW OF EXCEPTION WOULD BE GLAD INVESTIGATE. ALSO POINTED OUT ALL CHINESE IN US HAVE COMPLETE FREEDOM COMMUNICATE. NOTHING PREVENTS THEIR WRITING PARENTS IN CHINA OR COMMUNICATING ANY WAY THEY DESIRE. I INFORMED HIM THAT FOR LONG PERIOD US GOVT HAD DIRECTLY AIDED CHINESE IN US TO PAY TRAVEL TO MAINLAND CHINA. WHERE STUDENTS DID NOT HAVE MONEY US GOVT HAS HELPED BY PAYING ALL OR PART OF TRAVEL EXPENSES. FROM APRIL 1, 1949 TO JUNE 30, 1951 637 STUDENTS ASSISTED BY US GOVT TO GO MAINLAND CHINA VIA HONG KONG. FROM JULY 1, 1951 TO DECEMBER 31, 1954 FIGURE WAS 109. FROM JANUARY 1, 1955 TO JUNE 30, 1955 ; TOTAL 767. I EMPHASIZED THIS NOT TOTAL OF THOSE RETURNING MAINLAND CHINA, JUST THOSE GIVEN FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE BY US GOVERNMENT.

I DWELT ON STRONG CONTRAST PRESENT TIME BETWEEN SITUATION CHINESE IN US AND AMERICANS IN CHINA AND FOUND IT HARD TO UNDERSTAND WHY HE DESCRIBED IT AS UNFAIR TO CHINA. AS I HAD SAID PREVIOUSLY, NO CHINESE TO BEST KNOWLEDGE MY GOVERNMENT

BEING

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BEING PREVENTED DEPARTING. WHATEVER REASONS MAY BE THIS CONTRASTS CONSIDERABLY WITH SITUATION IN CHINA OF THOSE AMERICANS ON LIST GIVEN WANG. ADDED I HOPED WANG ACCEPTED THESE REMARKS IN SPIRIT IN WHICH GIVEN.

WANG REPLIED ON THEIR PART THEY RESPECT PRESENT TALKS WITH ALL SINCERITY. THEY WILLING SETTLE QUESTIONS. THAT IS WHY HE DID NOT WANT MAKE ANY STATEMENT IRRITATING TO AMERICAN PEOPLE NOR HEAR ANY STATEMENT WHICH WOULD IRRITATE CHINESE PEOPLE. HE DID NOT WANT TO BRING UP OLD DEBATES AT CONFERENCE TABLE. HE HAD THOUGHT IT USEFUL MAKE FEW REMARKS REFERRING TO ILL FEELING OF AMERICAN PEOPLE. ALSO GLAD TO NOTE I NOT DESIROUS ANY MORE DEBATE THIS SUBJECT. THIS ALSO OUR DESIRE WANG SAID. HE CONCLUDED THAT HE WOULD MAKE FEW COMMENTS ON CHINESE STUDENTS IN US AT NEXT MEETING.

I THEN PROPOSED SINCE WE BOTH HAD WORK TO DO TO MAKE NEXT MEETING MORE FRUITFUL THAT WE POSTPONE OUR SESSIONS UNTIL MONDAY AT 10 A.M. REGARDING PRESS, I SUGGESTED FOLLOWING PRESS AGREEMENT AND THAT CONCERNING DAY'S MEETING WE GIVE ONLY SUBJECT DISCUSSED AND TIME NEXT MEETING. WANG AGREED ADDING "WE KEEP OUR PART. IF WE AGREE TO SAY TWO SENTENCES / WE NEVER SAY TWO AND A HALF".

I SAID TO WANG HE NO DOUBT AS DISTURBED AS I AT SOME OF PRESS STORIES WHICH WE BOTH KNEW TO BE INACCURATE AND WHICH COULD NOT HAVE COME FROM EITHER OF US. I ADDED WE COULD ONLY SURMISE WHAT SOURCE WAS. WANG ANNOUNCED "WE ARE ALWAYS FAITHFUL IN KEEPING AGREEMENTS. WE ARE WORKING TO SETTLE QUESTIONS NOT MAKING PROPAGANDA".

GOWAN

AB/32

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 368

NOFORN

FOR AMBASSADOR JOHNSON

Preliminary G-2 study ~~of~~ August 2 estimates ~~that~~ Chinese Communists have present capability utilizing air superiority over Nationalists in Taiwan Straits to: (1) participate in joint operations to seize and hold offshore islands; and (2) destroy~~ing~~ Nationalist Air Force in all-out air war in which US did not intervene. G-2 further estimates when present airfield construction and stockpiling completed Communists will have capability — unless US intervenes — of: (1) denying effective Nationalist air reconnaissance of the mainland; (2) protecting coastal shipping; (3) establishing practical control air space over Taiwan Straits thereby rendering Nationalist occupation offshore islands untenable; and (4) subjecting Taiwan to prolonged air siege.

G-2 study not coordinated with other intelligence agencies, except informally with Air Force at working level.

Dulles
JJ

DC/R
Inal
ev
tat

Drafted by: Pwc
DRF: [illegible]olm/eb 8/4/1955

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: DRF - Joseph Yager JJ

Clearances:
G-2 (Moore) Pwc in substance
CA (Forman) Pwc in substance

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S/S - CR
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Info

FOR JOHNSON.

Reference Downey and Fecteau cases, it would appear the Chicoms have given us useful talking point by their own official reference to eleven POWs as QTE US spies UNQTE (NCNA despatch of August 4). By giving eleven fliers same appellation they apply to Downey and Fecteau, they themselves have destroyed any basis for differential treatment. This would appear to give you excellent opening for hammering home the point that Downey and Fecteau cases should be disposed of on precisely same basis as others which Communists themselves have bracketed in same category.

Give Department your reaction to this line of argumentation in time for further consideration here before your next meeting.

611.93/8-455

Dist. Desired (Offices Only)

Dulles

DG/R

Anal 57

Rev.

Dist.

Drafted by: FE:WPMcConaughy:evc 8/4/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

10944

SECRET

Classification

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CS/M

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CONFIDENTIAL

Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
AUG 5 - 1955
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

Control: 2743
Rec'd: August 5, 1955 7:23 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 317, August 5, 11 a.m.

Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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FROM JOHNSON

Would appreciate Department's guidance on what form it envisages for conclusion and announcement any understanding that may be reached on representation interests nationals with CHICOMS. It appears to me that form of agreed public statement issued here by Wang and myself would be most natural one and one which CHICOMS will expect. It would also seem from our standpoint preferable to possible alternative of Peking-Washington statement.

I believe any such statement should include CHICOM action with respect Americans and CHICOMS will desire include something on students. Such a statement would thus in effect become final statement on conclusion discussions of return civilians. Thus it would also be useful negotiating device by enabling us maintain position CHICOMS must take acceptable action on Americans before understanding on representation can be consummated.

GOWEN

JAK 15

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 7/10/72

FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS OF

1955 AUG 5 AM 10 35

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28

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000 29

Control: 2903
Rec'd: AUGUST 5, 1955
12:16 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 320, AUGUST 5, 4PM

SENT DEPT 320 RPTD INFO BONN 46

FROM JOHNSON

BONN'S 413 TO DEPT REPEATED GENEVA 38.

FYI. HAVE SEEN FEINE SEVERAL TIMES AND AS LAST YEAR HAVE CONFIDENTIALLY GIVEN HIM GENERAL INFORMATION ON TALKS ON CIVILIANS ON BASIS GERMAN INTEREST GERMAN CIVILIANS IN CHINA. WHEN DISCUSSION "OTHER PRACTICAL PROBLEMS" REACHED HOPE ARRANGEMENTS SUCH GERMANS WILL RECEIVE ALL INFO THRU DEPT AND BONN.

GOWEN

SEG/32

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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- [ ] Deny)
- [ ] Downgrade to _____
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- [x] Reviewer _____ Date 9/3/

Action Assigned to EE

Action Taken

Bill has concurs

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144

17-13

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Control: 2862

Rec'd: AUGUST 5, 1955
10:56 AM

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Date of Action

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000 30

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 321, AUGUST 5, 11 AM

FROM JOHNSON

DEPTEL 373.

PRESUME DEPTEL 373 CROSSED MY REPORTS ON YESTERDAY'S MEETING CONTAINING MY EXCHANGES WITH WANG ON DOWNEY AND FECTEAU.

IT WILL BE SEEN I CARRIED OUT MY ORIGINAL PLAN OF TRYING AVOID HIGHLIGHT DOWNEY AND FECTEAU BUT KEEP THEM GROUPED WITH CIVILIANS MAKING CLEAR WE EXPECTED SAME TREATMENT AS FOR OTHER CIVILIANS MANY OF WHOM ARE ALSO CALLED "US SPIES". THIS ALSO HAS ADVANTAGE OF ENABLING ME MAINTIAN DISCUSSION DOWNEY AND FECTEAU UNDER AGENDA ITEM ONE. AS WILL BE SEEN FROM YESTERDAY'S MEETING WANG DID NOT CONTEST MY CLAIM THEY WERE CIVILIANS BUT HIS AMBIGIOUS ANSWER AND SEPARATE CLASSIFICATION LEAD ME BELIEVE THESE ARE PROBABLY GOING TO BE THE MOST DIFFICULT CASES. HOWEVER DO NOT BELIEVE PRODUCTIVE FOR TIME BEING TAKE ANY FURTHER INITIATIVE WITH REGARD TO THEM BUT AWAIT DEVELOPMENTS FROM CHINCOM SIDE. AM TRYING AVOID BEING DRAWN INTO FUTILE ARGUMENTS ON MERITS INDIVIDUAL CASES. IT IS HOWEVER PROBABLE SPECIFIC DISCUSSION OF DOWNEY AND FECTEAU EVENTUALLY WILL BE MEKESSARY AND CHICOMS WILL MAINTAIN PREVIOUS POSITION EACH "CRIMINAL CASE" DECIDED ON MERITS ACCORDANCE LAW AND DOWNEY AND FECTEAU SIMPLY MORE SERIOUS THAN OTHERS AND THEREFORE "TAKE MORE TIME". SHOULD BE NOTED CHICOMS VERY CAREFUL MAINTAIN LEGALISTIC POSITION ON AIR FORCE PERSONNEL (AS WELL AS ALL PREVIOUS CASES) AND MAY BE EXPECTED DO SO ON ALL REMAINING CASES. IN GENERAL MY POSITION HAS ALWAYS BEEN THAT I AM NOT INTERESTED IN WHAT LEGALISTIC MUMBO JUMBO THEY DESIRE USE AS FACE SAVING DEVICE BUT ONLY IN FACT OF RELEASE.

IF AND WHEN SPECIFIC DISCUSSION DOWNEY AND FECTEAU REQUIRED

PA

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-2- 321, AUGUST 5, 11 AM, FROM GENEVA

I WILL CERTAINLY INCLUDE ARGUMENTATION ON DISCREPANCY OF TREATMENT WITH AIR FORCE PERSONNEL ACCUSED OF SAME OFFENSES BUT IN VIEW FORGOING DO NOT NOW BELIEVE LINE THAT RELEASE AIR FORCE PERSONNEL DESTROYED BASIS FOR DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT WOULD BE USEFUL OR PERSUASIVE.

GOWEN

MEM

DEPT OF STATE
1955 AUG 5 PM 2 26
OFFICE OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Bureau of
Far Eastern Affairs
AUG 5 - 1955
Assistant Secretary
Department of State

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Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Control: 3083
Rec'd: AUGUST 5, 1955
4:10 P M
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R file

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 328, AUGUST 5, 6 P M

FROM JOHNSON

BELIEVE PUBLIC STATEMENT ALONG FOLLOWING LINES WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL IN HANDLING PRESS SITUATION HERE AND COUNTERACTING POSSIBLE ADVERSE EFFECT ON NEGOTIATIONS OF NUMEROUS ERRONEOUS PRESS REPORTS MANY OF WHICH ORIGINATING AMERICAN PRESS SERVICES.

"IN ORDER TO CORRECT MISUNDERSTANDINGS WHICH MAY EXIST CONCERNING THE PRESENT TALKS, IT HAS BEEN AGREED TO RELEASE THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION ABOUT THE DISCUSSION TO DATE:

WITH THE EXCEPTION OF AMBASSADOR WANG'S OPENING STATEMENT ANNOUNCING THE RELEASE OF THE ELEVEN AIR FORCE PERSONNEL, THE TALKS SO FAR HAVE BEEN CONFINED TO THE MATTER OF REPATRIATION OF CIVILIANS WHO DESIRE TO RETURN TO THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. THE TWO AMBASSADORS HAVE EXCHANGED VIEWS ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THIS MATTER.

THE AMBASSADORS DESIRE TO POINT OUT THAT THE SUBJECT IS COMPLICATED AND THAT IT WOULD NOT FACILITATE THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IF ALL DETAILS CONCERNING THEM WERE MADE PUBLIC AT THIS TIME. BOTH AMBASSADORS HAVE AGREED, IN THE INTEREST OF SERIOUSLY SEEKING SOLUTIONS TO THE QUESTIONS WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN EMPOWERED TO DISCUSSS, TO REFRAIN FROM MAKING ANY PUBLIC STATEMENT CONCERN IS IN THE DEVELOPMENTS AT EACH MEETING, EXCEPT MY MUTUAL AGREEMENT OR PRIOR NOTIFICATION BY ONE TO THE OTHER."

GARNISH CONCURS.

IF DEPT CONCURS I WILL ATTEMPT OBTAIN WANG'S AGREEMENT A MONDAY'S MEETING.

MGG

GOWEN

611.93/8-555

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02380 (146)

1955 AUG 5 PM 5 46

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VERBATIM TEXT

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 384

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611.93/8-555

FOR AMBASSADOR JOHNSON

Department (OIR) has noted indications, including rumors reported by Congen Geneva and by press reportedly originating with Chicom diplomats, that Chicoms may be preparing basis for agreement to renounce use of force. Chicoms have probably concluded from US statements that US may seek such agreement; may possibly be preparing for propaganda advantage by initiating proposal at Geneva or as agenda item for proposed Foreign Ministers conference.

Chicoms could enter into such agreement without altering present propaganda position by limiting renunciation to international matters, thus excluding the quote domestic unquote issue of quote liberation of Taiwan unquote. Note that other unresolved issues in Asia -- Vietnam, Laos, and Korea — likewise classed by Communists as domestic issues.

Alternatively Chicoms might go so far as to renounce use of force specifically against Taiwan, on condition of major US concessions to Chicom demands. Note Chou En-lai statement July 30, echoing earlier statements: quote conditions permitting, the Chinese people are ready to seek the liberation of Taiwan by peaceful means unquote. Conditions Chicoms would demand almost certainly include US military withdrawal from Taiwan straits area and abandonment of Chiang K'ai-shek government. Chicoms would then

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Drafted by: DC/R Colm/eb 8/5/1955

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: DRF - Joseph Yager

Clearances: CA (in substance)

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AUG 1955 P.M.

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presumably expect gain eventual control of Taiwan by subversion.

Renunciation proposal might take form of bilateral statement similar to quote five principles unquote statements entered into by Chicoms and Soviets with neutralist countries, or might be placed in context of quote collective pact of peace unquote proposed by Chou En-lai to replace present quote antagonistic military blocs unquote in Asia, i.e. the Manila Pact and bilateral alliances. Such proposals would be in line with current Chicom domestic propaganda that Chicom domestic program requires quote peaceful international environment unquote (Chou En-lai July 30) and that in course of prolonged period of peace, Communist China will quote surpass the so-called capitalist advanced countries unquote (Lo Lung-chi to People's Congress July 26).

Dulles
JJ

: DU

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[ ] CHARGE TO

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02670

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 389

FOR JOHNSON

Do you have text June 3 statement Immigration Commissioner J. M. Swing? If not we will telegraph text since it may be of use at next meeting.

Dulles
WSR

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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- [ ] Excise as shown) Basis-1-301 __
- [ ] Deny)
- [ ] Downgrade to _____
- [ ] Review Again _____
- [x] Reviewer _____ Date 8/10/82

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Rev.
Cat.

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Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: FE - WSRobertson

Clearances:

S/S-CR
UG 5 1955 P.M.

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AUG 5

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000 34

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 391

Origin

Info:

FOR JOHNSON

1. Department concurs in general approach you have proposed for fourth meeting Aug 8 and commends your clear analysis existing situation and your resourcefulness in devising tactics to meet it.

2. ~~The~~ ~~XXXXX~~ U.S. has already met ~~the~~ Chinese Communists on points two and three. With respect to point one we have already advised as to ~~the~~ status of Chinese nationals, which is that they are free to depart if they wish.

3. ~~The~~ U.S. will not supply a name list of all Chinese nationals in ~~the~~ U.S. For your discretionary use (a) this could not be done without subjecting many who hold allegiance to ~~the~~ Republic of China and their relatives in China to harassment, (b) it is not our policy to give any other government a list of all of their nationals in U.S. and (c) we recognize ~~the~~ Republic of China as government of China.

4. Whenever ~~the~~ CPR takes the same position with respect to U.S. nationals in China that the U.S. has taken, namely, that they are free to return and will be given exit visas on request, ~~the~~ U.S. will take ~~the~~ further step of authorizing ~~the~~ Indian Embassy in ~~the~~ U.S. to facilitate travel of Chinese here who desire to return to ~~the~~ mainland and to transmit funds for this purpose. ~~The~~ Indian Embassy may publicly make known that ~~is~~ it is

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DC/R
Aug 5

Drafted by: S - JFDulles

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: FE - WSRobertson

Clearances: FE - W.P.McConaughy

Eat S/S-CR
AUG 5 1955 P.M.

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prepared to facilitate ~~the~~ travel to ~~the~~ mainland of any Chinese nationals who desire to return.

5. ~~The~~ U.S. would expect on its side to avail of the services of ~~the~~ U.K. in Communist China to facilitate ~~the~~ return of U.S. citizens who desire to return.

6. Dept prefers that agreement if reached on return of civilians be announced by you and by Wang in Geneva. Announcement should be identic. Announcement in Washington and Peiping would not RPT not be considered desirable. Dept will be prepared to give you advice on wording of statement when agreement is in prospect.

Dulles
WSR

: DULLES

10946

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Control: 3501
Rec'd: August 6, 1955
2:55 p. m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 333, August 6, 5 p. m.

Action Assigned to FE

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

FROM JOHNSON

Re DEPTEL 389, August 5.

Telegraph text.

GOWEN

HEK/1

Note: Mr. Bardach (FE) informed 3:05 p. m., 8/6/55 CWO/FED

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Action 000 36

Control: 3502
Rec'd: AUGUST 6, 1955
2:55 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 334, AUGUST 6, 5 P.M.

Action Assigned to FE
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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FROM JOHNSON.

REGRET POINT OUT AUGUST 3 WASHINGTON DATELINED STORY APPEARING AUGUST 4 NEW YORK TIMES (WHICH UNDOUBTEDLY READ BY CHICOMS) GIVING ACCURATELY SUBSTANCE POSITION ON REPRESENTATION WHICH I WILL PRESENT CHICOMS MONDAY NOT HELPFUL MY NEGOTIATING POSITION AND COMPLICATES MY PRESENT DIFFICULTIES WITH CORRESPONDENTS HERE WHO WERE FINALLY COMING TO ACCEPT MY REFUSAL GIVE ANY INFO ON TALKS ESPECIALLY ON FUTURE PLANS.

GOWEN

RW

NOTE: MR. BARDACH (FE) INFORMED 3:25 P.M. 8-6-55 CWO/FED

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02968 (149)

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000 37

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON 398

Your 328. First sentence third paragraph might irritate American correspondents, and appears unnecessary. Therefore it should be deleted. Department authorizes you to seek Wang's agreement to remainder proposed public statement.

Bear in mind that you are still authorized to hold backgrounder for American press if in your judgment it would serve useful purpose. Indications here are that Wang probably leaking to Communist correspondents who in turn are supplying Americans.

Dulles
(WPMcC)

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Drafted by: FE:Mr. McConaughy:ves 8-6-55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: FE-Mr. McConaughy

Clearances:

The Secretary (in substance)

P-Mr. McCardle (in substance)

FE-Mr. Robertson (in substance)

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Department of State

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON 399

You will recognize DEPTEL 384 is only speculative intelligence round-up and does not represent any agreed Departmental estimate of probable Chinese Communist course of action.

Dulles
(WPMcC)

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Drafted by: FE:WPMcConaughy:ves 8-6-55

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON 400

Do you have any clue as to source Scripps-Howard dispatch Geneva August 4 written by Ludwell Denny? On surface some of information would appear to be from American official source.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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- ☐ Deny)
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Dullen
(WPMcC)

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Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: FE-Mr. McConaughy

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18

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Action 000 40

Control: 3560
Rec'd: August 7, 1955
8:14 AM

Action Assigned to

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction of Action

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 335, AUGUST 7, 11 AM

FROM JOHNSON

HAMMARSKJOLD CALLED ON ME THIS MORNING TO GIVE ACCOUNT CALL WANG MADE ON HIM SATURDAY MORNING. WANG DELIVERED WRITTEN MESSAGE FROM CHOU THANKING HAMMARSKJOLD FOR HIS LAST MESSAGE STRESSING RELEASE FLYERS NOT BECAUSE UN RESOLUTION OR UN PRESSURE, EXPRESSING DISTURBANCE AT "PROPAGANDA" ON UN ROLE, STRESSING DESIRE MAINTAIN "PERSONAL" CONTACT WITH HAMMARSKJOLD, AND INTIMATING DESIRE HAMMARSKJOLD PLAY GO-BETWEEN ROLE IN MY NEGOTIATIONS WITH WANG. HAMMARSKJOLD TRANSMITTING COPY TO NEW YORK FOR DELIVERY LODGE.

WANG THEN WENT ON WITH ORAL PRESENTATION CONCERNING NOW IS TIME FOR DEEDS (INFERENTIALLY BY U.S. -- NOT CLEAR WHETHER THIS ELEMENT ALSO INCLUDED IN WRITTEN MESSAGE.). WANG THEN LAID ENTIRE STRESS ON REPRESENTATION AS ISSUE AS FIELD IN WHICH "DEEDS" EXPECTED INDICATING SOME FLEXIBILITY IN CHOICE OF COUNTRY AND EXACT FORMULA.

HAMMAJSKJOLD SAID IN REPLY HE STRESSED HE COULD NOT AND WOULD NOT PLAY ANY "GO-BETWEEN" ROLE BUT WILLING DO ANYTHING HE PROPERLY CAN AS "THIRD-PARTY".

I OUTLINED TO HAMMARSKJOLD EXACT SITUATION ON CHINESE STUDENTS, ASSURANCES I HAD GIVEN CHICOMS THIS REGARD, EXPECTATION PERFORMANCE CHICOMS WITH RESPECT AMERICANS TO EQUALIZE SITUATION, PROBLEM WE FACED ON REPRESENTATION AND OUR PRESENT THINKING THIS REGARD. HE EXPRESSED FULL UNDERSTANDING.

HAMMARSKJOLD THINKS THAT AS "MENON CHANNEL HAS NOT PRODUCED ANYTHING

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ANYTHING" CHOU NOW HOPES USE HIM. MY FEELING, WHICH I DID NOT STATE TO HAMMARSKJOLD, IS THAT CHOU HOPES TO CONTINUE PLAYING BOTH LINES.

GOWEN

SW

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
AUG 8 - 1955
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State
CONFIDENTIAL

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** 155 **ACTION COPY**

16 000 41

Action

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Action Assigned to

Action Taken

Control: 3825
Rec'd: August 8, 1955
10:18 a.m.

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 345, August 8, 1 p.m.

FROM JOHNSON

Haguiwara asked me dinner Saturday night during which he outlined steps thus far taken at Geneva enter into contact with CHICOMS on repatriation Japanese and tried sound me out on raising level contacts. Spoke of government sending some one to Peiping.

I confined myself to general discussion present stage my talks, my hope experience and possible result my talks would be helpful Japanese and suggested question any further steps be taken by Japanese be discussed Tokyo or Washington.

He said no reply had yet been received from CHICOM Consul General here and Tatsuke was again going to press for reply this week.

GOWEN

BB:MEM/16

Note: Advance copy to Mr. Waddell (FE) Noon 8-8-55 CWO/FED

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- [ ] Deny)
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- [x] Reviewer _____ Date _____

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1955 AUG 8 PM 1 18
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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

16-D 000 42 CONFIDENTIAL Action Assigned to DE

Control 3833
Rec'd: AUGUST 8, 1955
10:20 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 346, AUGUST 8, NOON

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Sign of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

SENT DEPARTMENT 346, SEOUL UNNUMBERED.

FROM JOHNSON

BEN LIMB SAW ME SATURDAY UNDER "URGENT" INSTRUCTIONS TO ASK ME TO TAKE UP IN MY TALKS WITH WANG QUESTIONS UNACCOUNTED FOR KOREAN POW'S AND CIVILIANS AND "REUNIFICATION" OF KOREA.

I EXPRESSED GREAT SURPRISE AT PARTICULARLY LATTER REQUEST AS I SAID ALWAYS MY UNERSTANDING BASIC PRINCIPLE ROK FOREIGN POLICY KOREAN REUNIFICATION SHOULD NOT BE DISCUSSED WITHOUT PRESENCE OF ROK AND WE HAD ALWAYS SUPPORTED THEM IN THIS. OF COURSE ALSO POINTED OUT STRICTLY BILATERAL NATURE MY PRESENT TALKS AND REFERRED SECRETART'S STATEMENTS WE WOULD NOT DISCUSS ANYTHING INVOLVING RIGHTS OF OTHERS. SAID IN ANY EVENT THIS IS QUESTION SHOULD BE TAKEN UP IN SEOUL OR WASHINGTON AND NOT WITH ME HERE. LIMB SAID "ROK'S HAD GREAT CONFIDENCE IN ME" ETC AND HOPED I WOULD SEE WHAT I COULD DO.

AFTER DISCUSSION LIMB TOOK BACK LETTER ON REUNIFCATION WHICH HE HAD PREPARED. SENT ME ONE SOMEWHAT MORE VAGUELY WORDED TO WHICH I AM SIMPLY REPLYING THAT MATTER SHOULD BE TAKEN UP IN SEOUL OR WASHINGTON.
ON PRISIONERS I ALSO EXPLAINED IMPOSSIBILITY MY DISCUSSING MATTER WITH WANG AND ASSURED HIM MY DEEP SYMPATHY WITH THIS PROBLEM AND HOPE THAT IF I WAS ABLE DEVELOP ANYTHING ON AMERICANS IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO KOREANS.

AM SUBMITTING COPIES CORRESPONDENCE.

GOWEN

MEM
NOTE: ADVANCE COPY TO MR. WADDELL (FE) NOON 8-8-55 CWO/FED

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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

19 Action

000 43

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 3826
Rec'd: August 8, 1955
10:19 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 347, August 8, 1 p.m.

PRIORITY
FROM JOHNSON

Highlights fourth meeting lasting two hours twenty minutes.

Wang opened with long statement CHICOM grievances re students. Said up to now some students continue be prevented leave, citing in great detail case of Dr. Tsien, CAL Tech Rocket Expert. Claimed latter wrote Peiping authorities June 15, appealing assistance return China. Handed me list names 44 of 76 students given him last meeting who he said not yet returned China. Wang also made familiar allegations students afraid express desire return, being forced leave by unreasonable deadline, or apply permanent residence, unable receive travel funds, et cetera.

I replied various points, stressing repeatedly restrictions on Chinese students, including Dr. Tsien now rescinded and all without exception free depart if desire. As result my reiteration no restrictions against departure and contrasting with situation Americans in China Wang shifted emphasis to "practical" difficulties faced by students saying while these restrictions may have been lifted practical difficulties mounted to restraint on students. Way to solve these difficulties was to have third country look after affairs Chinese nationals in United States.

I then read prepared statement (A) turning down Wang's first proposal August 2 re list all Chinese in US; (B) pointing out we had fully met second and third proposals; (C) outlining "arrangement being considered" re fourth proposal and (D) again contrasted situation Americans in China emphasizing US expected all US civilians be released promptly and whatever measures necessary bring this about should be taken by Chinese. Explicit information concerning measures being taken this regard "would facilitate and expedite discussions."

Wang repeated his request for names all Chinese US and reserved right comment on our suggestions re his fourth proposal at next meeting.

I then handed Wang text proposed press announcement modified according DEPTEL 398. Wang agreed to release with last portion first

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-2- 347, August 8, 1 p.m., from Geneva

first sentence second paragraph reading as follows:

"The talks so far have been confined to the matter of return of civilians to their respective countries." Since this wording conforms text of first agenda item I agreed to change.

Next meeting 10 a.m., August 10 at Wang's request.

AW/5 GOWEN

Note: Advance copy to Mr. Waddell (FE) 10:30 a.m.,8/8/55, CWO/FED

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Control: 4125
Rec'd: AUGUST 8, 1955
7:09 PM

Action Assigned to
Action Taken

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Directorate DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 354, AUGUST 8, 6 PM

FROM JOHNSON

AT FOURTH MEETING AUGUST 8 10 AM WANG BEGAN REFERRING MY STATEMENT RESTRAINING ORDERS PREVIOUSLY PLACED BY US GOVERNMENT ON CHINESE NOW ALL RESCINDED AND THAT FOREIGN NATIONALS IN US INCLUDING CHINESE COULD LEAVE WITHOUT APPLYING FOR PERMISSION. WANG SAID HE WELCOMED MY STATEMENT BUT ADDED HE MUST FRANKLY POINT OUT IT NOT ALTOGETHER CONSISTENT WITH ACTUAL SITUATION PREVAILING TO DATE. ACTUAL SITUATION IS THAT ALTHOUGH US GOVERNMENT HAS RESCINDED DEPARTURE RESTRICTIONS ON NUMBER OF CHINESE STUDENTS WHO APPLIED TO LEAVE LONG AGO, CHINESE STUDENTS ARE STILL SUBJECTED ALL SORTS OF OBSTRUCTIONS AND MANY PREVENTED FROM LEAVING UP TO PRESENT. ALL CHINESE NATIONALS WHO WANT TO LEAVE SUBJECTED TO INTERROGATION BY IMMIGRATION SERVICE AND FBI AND FORCED EXPRESS THEIR POLITICAL OPINIONS. SOME EVEN DETAINED FOR THIS REASON. MANY OTHERS FOR FEAR OF INTERROGATION DO NOT APPLY TO LEAVE AND MANY WHO PREVIOUSLY APPLIED HAVE RECONSIDERED FOR SAME REASON. MANY CHINESE NATIONALS WHO APPLIED TO LEAVE LONG AGO UP TO PRESENT UNABLE DEPART.

AN EXAMPLE THIS IS CASE DR. TSIEN WHO WENT US 1934 TO STUDY AERONAUTICS. AFTER GRADUATION 1938 WAS ENGAGED IN TEACHING AT CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY AND MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY. NOW HOLDS POSITION AT CAL TECH. IS ONE OF FEW AUTHORITIES ON ROCKETS IN US. WHEN DR TSIEN WAS LEAVING US AUGUST 1950 US SECRET SERVICE SEIZED HIS BAGGAGE ON CHARGE CONTAINED CLASSIFIED MATERIAL. AUGUST 23 HE FURTHER NOTIFIED NOT TO DEPART AND THAT INVESTIGATION HIS ACTIVITES PENDING. SEPTEMBER 7 ARRESTED BY IMMIGRATION SERVICE AND NOT RELEASED UNTIL PUT UP $15,000 BAIL SEPT 23. LATER DEAN OF CAL TECH STATED DR TSIEN NOT CARRYING CLASSIFIED MATERIAL OF US GOVERNMENT BUT ONLY HIS OWN RESEARCH WORK AND PUBLISHED BOOKS. RETURNED STUDENTS IN 1955

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IN 1955 REPORTED TSIEN'S MOVEMENTS RESTRICTED TO COUNTY OF RESIDENCE. IN LETTER JUNE 15, 1955 TO VICE CHAIRMAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC DR TSIEN RESTATED HIS ANXIETY TO RETURN AND APPEALED FOR ASSISTANCE.

WANG CONTINUED HE COULD CITE FURTHER EVIDENCE FROM AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS. UP REPORTED SEPTEMBER 23, 1953 INDICATING NO EVIDENCE DISCOVERED CONNECTING DR TSIEN WITH COMMUNISTS. HOWEVER HE UNABLE RETURN TO HIS COUNTRY AND AWAITING TRIAL IN US. ON MARCH 6, 1953 NEW YORK TIMES STATED DR. TSIEN HAD BEEN ORDERED DEPORTED TO CHINA BUT THAT AT SAME TIME HAD RECEIVED ORDERS PREVENTING HIM FROM LEAVING US. TIMES ADDED THIS CONTRADICTORY SITUATION REVEALED BY CHIEF OF DISTRICT IMMIGRATION LOS ANGELES.

CASE OF DR TSIEN VIVIDLY EXPLAINS HOW MANY CHINESE DOCTORS IN US DESIRE RETURN AND UNABLE TO DO SO. UP TO PRESENT DR TSIEN'S MOVEMENTS STILL RESTRICTED TO COUNTY OF RESIDENCE. ONLY CHARGE AGAINST HIM IS DESIRE RETURN TO MOTHERLAND AND REUNITE WITH FAMILY. THIS UTTERLY UNREASONABLE SITUATION SUFFICES TO SHOW APPRPRIATE WAY MUST BE FOUND TO ASSURE RETURN OF NATIONALS.

WANG REFERRED MY STATEMENT AUGUST 4 THAT NO GENERAL DEADLINE EXISTING ON DEPARTURE INDIVIDUALS FROM US AND THOSE REQUIRED LEAVE ONLY THOSE WHO NO LONGER HELD STUDENT STATUS. WANG DECLARED EVEN THOSE NO LONGER STUDENTS SHOULD NOT BE SUBJECTED TO UNREASONABLE DEPARTURE TIME LIMIT CAUSING THEM DIFFICULTY. ESPECIALLY UNREASONABLE ASPECT IS THAT THESE PEOPLE GIVEN UNREASONABLY SHORT TIME. IF CANNOT LEAVE WITHIN LIMIT SUFFER "TORTURE" OF IMMIGRATION SERVICE PROCEDURE INCLUDING INTERROGATION, PAYMENT OF BAIL, ARREST AND OTHER ACTIONS WHICH CAUSE PRESSURES ON THEIR MINDS. AT SAME TIME THEY NOTIFIED CAN SPARE SELVES SUCH TORTURES IF THEY APPLY FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE. THIS MEANS THEY COMPELLED REMAIN US AGAINST THEIR WILL.

WANG THEN REFERRED MY STATEMENT THAT EVEN IF ALIEN HAD APPLIED FOR AND WAS GRANTED PERMANENT RESIDENCE HE STILL COULD PROCEED TO ANY PLACE OF HIS CHOICE AT ANY TIME. WANG SAID THIS IS "MATTER OF COURSE". WHEHTHER CHINESE NATIONAL APPLIED UNDER

IMMIGRATION

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IMMIGRATION LAWS OR REFUGEE RELIEF ACT STILL SHOULD BE ABLE TO GO TO ANY PLACE OF HIS CHOICE WITHOUT STATING REASON THEREFOR. IN ORDER THAT THOSE CHINESE NATIONALS COMPELLED TO APPLY FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE UNDER REFUGEE RELIEF ACT OR OTHER REGULATIONS NOT BE PREVENTED FROM LEAVING IN FUTURE IS NECESSARY FIND APPRPRIATE WAY GIVE THEM ASSURANCE.

WANG SAID HE HAD CHECKED LIST OF 76 GIVEN HIM LAST MEETING AND FOUND 44 NOT YET RETURNED CHINA. HANDED ME LIST THESE NAMES FOR INVESTIGATION. REFERRING TO DEPARTMENT'S APRIL 2, 1955 PRESS RELEASE CONCERNING RESCINDING RESTRAINING ORDERS THESE STUDENTS HE POINTED OUT REFERENCE MADE THERE TO NUMBER OF CASES STILL UNDER REVIEW. WANG SAID HE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO KNOW NAMES THESE PEOPLE. ON BASIS STATEMENTS I HAD MADE IN COURSE TALKS HIS GOVERNMENT BELIEVED RETURN THESE PEOPLE SHOULD NOT BE SUBJECTED ANY OBSTURCTION. QUESTION OF RETURN CIVILIANS BOTH SIDES NOT ONLY INVOLVED RETURN THOSE WHO HAD APPLIED TO LEAVE, BUT ALSO INVOLVED RETURN ALL CIVILIANS. THOSE WHO MAY WANT RETURN ANY TIME IN FUTURE SHOULD ALSO BE ALLOWED TO GO. THAT IS WHY HE HAD GIVEN ME LIST OF ALL AMERICAN NATIONALS IN CHINA FOR OUR CONVENIENCE. HE EXPRESSED VIEW HIS GOVERNMENT ALSO ENTITLED REQUEST US MAKE RECIPROCAL ARRANGEMENT BY OFFERING HIM LIST ALL CHINESE NATIONALS, INCLUDING STUDENTS. SAID THIS WAS NOT BE[illegible]D TERMS OF REFERENCE BUT WAS PRECISELY WHAT HE AND I SHOULD BE DEALING WITH.

WANG CONTINUED THAT MANY CHINESE NATIONALS US WHO HAVE EXPRESSED INHERENT DESIRE RETURN MOTHERLAND TREATED AS POLITICAL PROBLEMS. AS RESULT THEY RESTRICTED FOR LONG TIME FROM DEPARTING AND SUBJECTED ALL KINDS OF PRESSURE SUCH AS INTEROGATION PROCEDURE AND TIME LIMIT FOR DEPARTURE. OBSTRUCTIONS STILL PREVAIL. MANY CHINESE NATIONALS HAVE APPREHENSIONS REGARDING APPLYING TO LEAVE. STATE DEPT'S APRIL 2, 1955 PRESS STATEMENT ACKNOWLEDGED SOME CHINESE STUDENTS MAY REFRAIN FROM APPLYING TO IMMIGRATION SERVICE FOR PERMISSION TO DEPART FOR FEAR OF BEING REFUSED. "IF IT CAN BE SAID THERE IS CONTRAST BETWEEN SITUATION CHINESE

NATIONALS

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NATIONALS IN US AND AMERICAN NATIONALS IN CHINA THIS IS APPARENTLY GREAT CONTRAST".

FROM TIME OF FOUNDING CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC TO DATE 1523 AMERICANS LEFT CHINA ONLY 87 REMAIN. LAW-ABIDING AMERICAN NATIONALS IN CHINA CAN LEAVE ANY TIME PROVIDING MAKE REASONABLE ARRANGEMENT FOR UNSETTLED CIVIL CASES. HOWEVER MANY LAW-ABIDING CHINESE NATIONALS IN US DARE NOT APPLY FOR PERMISSION DEPART. FURTHERMORE AS RESULT OF PROHIBITION AGAINST REMITTANCE MONEY BY FAMILIES OF CHINESE NATIONALS TO THEM MANY SUCH NATIONALS NO MEANS OBTAINING TRAVEL FUNDS. THEREFORE IT IS NECESSARY BOTH CHINA AND US SHOULD ENTRUST TO 3RD COUNTRY OF OWN CHOICE CARE OF AFFAIRS NATIONALS IN OTHER, IN FIRST PLACE, AFFAIR OF THEIR RETURN. ARRANGEMENTS SHOULD BE BASED ON EQUALITY AND MUTUAL BENEFIT. THIS WOULD BE REASONABLE SOLUTION TO PROBLEM OF RETURN OF CIVILIANS OF BOTH SIDES.

WITH REGARD TO SUPPLEMENTARY LIST FIVE PERSONS GIVEN HIM LAST MEETING, WANG SAID BRADSHAW TWO ROMANOFFS AND WALSH ALREADY INCLUDED IN LIST AMERICANS GIVEN US. REGARDING MRS HUIZER HE UNDERSTOOD SHE WIFE OF DUTCH NATIONAL. ACCORDING HIS INFORMATION SHE WAS FORMER AMERICAN BUT IN DECEMBER 1951 ON EXPIRATION HER AMERICAN PASSPORT SHE REPLACED IT WITH DUTCH PASSPORT. SITUATION IS SHE MARRIED TO DUTCH NATIONAL AND IS NOW DUTCH SUBJECT HOLDING DUTCH PASSPORT. DUTCH CHARGE HAS REPEATEDLY CLAIMED SHE IS DUTCH NATIONAL AND CHINESE GOVERNMENT RESPECTS CLAIM OF DUTCH.

I TOLD WANG I WOULD LIKE MAKE FEW REMARKS OF PRELIMINARY NATURE ON WHAT HE HAD SAID. IN FIRST PLACE THROUGHOUT HIS REMARKS HE HAD REPEATEDLY REFERRED TO MATTER OF CHINESE IN US APPLYING FOR PERMISSION TO LEAVE. I TOLD HIM I MIGHT NOT HAVE EXPRESSED MYSELF SUFFICIENTLY CLEARLY AT LAST MEETING BUT I HAD TRIED TO EXPLAIN THAT IN US ALIEN ORDINARILY DOES NOT NEED TO MAKE APPLICATION TO LEAVE. WE HAVE NO SUCH THING AS EXIT PERMIT. IN EFFECT IF ALIEN WANTS TO LEAVE US HE SIMPLY BUYS BOAT TICKETS AND LEAVES.

IT IS

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IT IS FOR THIS REASON RESTRAINING ORDERS HAD HAD TO BE ISSUED AGAINST SOME STUDENTS IN PAST. AS I HAD SAID REPEATEDLY, THESE ORDERS NOW LIFTED. TO BEST MY KNOWLEDGE NO CHINESE NOW BEING PREVENTED FROM LEAVING US FOR CHINA. REFERRING CASE OF DR TSIEN I SAID STATEMENT THAT US NOT PREVENTING ANY CHINESE FROM LEAVING COUNTRY ALSO APPLIED TO HIM. IF HE STILL DESIRES PROCEED CHINA US WOULD NOT PREVENT. I SAID MOST OF WHAT WANG SAID REGARDING HIM WAS PAST HISTORY WHICH IT WOULD NOT BE FRUITFUL TO GO INTO. I POINTED OUT WANG HAD REFERRED TO MANY NEWS ARTICLES AND I SUGGESTED THAT THEY NOT BE TAKEN AS TOO AUTHORITATIVE SINCE WE HAD BOTH SEEN RECENTLY THAT THE PRESS FREQUENTLY MAKES MISTAKES. I ADDED I WOULD WANT POINT OUT THAT QUESTION WHETHER TSIEN TRIED VIOLATE US ESPIONAGE LAWS BY ATTEMPTING TAKE WITH HIM US CLASSIFIED DOCUMENTS IS OF COURSE QUESTION OF FACT. WHETHER HE DID OR DID NOT, I STATED I COULD NOT REFRAIN FROM CONTRASTING FACT HE STILL FREE WITH STATUS OUR CITIZENS IN CHINA CHARGED WITH SIMILAR OFFENSES. HOWEVER SAID I DID NOT WANT TO DEBATE HIS CASE BUT ONLY REPEAT MY ORIGINAL STATMENT THAT IF HE WANTS TO GO HE CAN.

I SAID IN HALF-SERIOUS TONE IT SEEMED THAT WANG ON ONE HAND COMPLAINED WE PREVENTED PEOPLE FROM LEAVING AND ON OTHER THAT THEY MUST LEAVE TOO QUICKLY. SAID HE HAD REFERRED TO CASES OF SOME WHO MAY WISH TO APPLY UNDER REFUGEE RELIEF ACT FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE AND THAT HE HAD ASKED IN FUTURE SUCH PERSONS SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO LEAVE IF DESIRE TO DO SO. I SAID AS I HAD TOLD HIM BEFORE THEY CAN DO SO. REGARDING QUESTION FORCING PEOPLE LEAVE BEFORE THEY READY, I REPEATED EACH CASE SYMPATHETICALLY CONSIDERED ON OWN MERITS AND IF EXTENSION JUSTIFIED IMMIGRATION SERVICE WOULD GRANT. NO ONE FORCED TO APPLY FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE. THIS PURELY VOLUNTARY. IMMIGRATION SERVICE MERELY POINTS OUT IF PERSONS DO NOT APPLY THEY NO LONGER ENTITLED TO STATUS AS STUDENTS WHEN HAVE CEASED TO BE STUDENTS.

REFERRING TO WANG'S STATEMENT CONCERNING INTERROGATING PEOPLE ON THEIR POLITICAL OPINIONS, I SAID THIS BECOMES PERTINENT

ONLY IF

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ONLY IF PERSON APPLIES FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE. IT IS NECESSARY UNDER OUR LAW TO INQUIRE INTO A PERSON'S LOYALITIES TO DETERMINE WHETHER SUCH PERSON ENTITLED PERMANENT RESIDENCE. IT IS NORMAL AND NATURAL PROCEDURE APPLIED TO ALL ALIENS.

REFERRING TO 44 NAMES GIVEN BY WANG I SAID I WISHED POINT OUT AGAIN ORIGINAL 76 WERE THOSE AGAINST WHOM RESTRAINING ORDER LIFTED. INDIVIUALS WERE INFORMED ORDERS LIFTED AND THEY FREE TO DEPART. THIS DID NOT MEAN THEY ACTUALLY LEFT. IT IS ENTIRELY POSSIBLE SOME STILL IN US; I DID NOT KNOW. IF THEY ARE IT IS OF OWN FREE WILL AND THEIR DEPARTURE NOT BEING PREVENTED. SOME OF THESE MIGHT HAVE DEPARTED US FOR OTHER PLACES. WE HAVE NO WAY OF KNOWING. REMAINING CASES REFERRED TO IN ANNOUNCEMENT THAT RESTRAINIG ORDERS ON 76 LIFTED HAVE NOW BEEN COMPLETED AND NO CHINESE NOW BEING PREVENTED LEAVING US INCLUDING DR. TSIEN. I TOLD WANG DEPT'S APRIL 2 PRESS RELEASE DEALT PRIMARILY WITH QUESTION CHINESE STUDENTS WHO APPLY TO US GOVERNMENT FOR HELP IN PAYING TRANSPORTATION TO CHINA. AS I POINTED OUT US GOVERNMENT HAD PAID OR ASSISTED IN PAYING TRAVEL OF HUNDREDS OF THOSE WHO RETURNED CHINA. THAT ANNOUNCEMENT MENTIONED LIFTING OF RESTRAINING ORDERS AGAINST 76 CHINESE STUDENTS IN CONTEXT OF REASSURING CHINESE IN US DESIRING OBTAIN TRANSPORTATION FROM US GOVERNMENT AND AGAINST WHOM RESTRAINING ORDERS HAD BEEN ISSUED THAT THEY NEED HAVE NO HESITATION MAKE APPLICATION.

I EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR RECEIPT INFORMATION ON MRS. HUIZER, ADDING THAT WANG UNDOUBTEDLY FAMILIAR, LIKE ALL PERSONS IN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE, WITH MATTER OF DUAL NATIONALITY.

I SAID THAT WHILE OUR NATIONALITY LAWS VERY COMPLICATED, IN GENERAL, SINCE 1922 ANY AMERICAN WOMAN MARRYING ALIEN RETAINS NATIONALITY UNDER OUR LAW. IN MANY CASES UNDER LAW OF HUSBAND'S COUNTRY SHE MAY ALSO HAVE ACQUIRED HIS NATIONALITY. SHE SOMETIMES WILL APPLY FOR PASSPORT OF HUSBAND'S NATIONALITY AND SOMETIMES FOR AMERICAN PASSPORT. UNDER OUR LAW THIS DOES NOT AFFECT FACT THAT BY OUR LAW SHE IS AMERICAN CITIZEN. THIS IS MRS. HUIZER'S CASE AND WE DESIRE EXTEND PROTECTION TO

HER AS

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HER AS AMERICAN NATIONAL EVEN THOUGH SHE ALSO MAY HAVE DUTCH PASSPORT.

WANG REPLIED THAT AS PREVIOUSLY STATED HE HAD REPEATEDLY INDICATED HIS PLEASURE AT LEARNING THAT US GOVERNMENT HAD RESCINDED RESTRCTIONS ON CHINESE NATIONALS IN US. HOWEVER ACCORDING HIS INFO ACTUAL STATE OF AFFAIRS WAS AT VARIANCE WITH WHAT I HAD SAID. HE DESIRED, CLARIFY POSSIBLE MISUNDERSTANDING MY PART HIS GOVERNMENT'S POSITION REGARINDG CHINESE IN US. IT WAS NOT THAT HIS GOVERNMENT DISSATISFIED IN PAST BECAUSE CHINESE STUDENTS UNDER RESTRICTIONS AND NOW DISSATISIFIED AGAIN BECAUSE THEY COMPELLED LEAVE TO FAST. DISSATISFACTION IS BASED ON FACT THAT THEY SHOULD HAVE BEEN ABLE RETURN AND HAD NOT YET RETURNED.

FOR LONG PERIOD US GOVERNMENT RESTRICTED CHINESE. NOW THAT RESTRICTIONS RESCINDED CHINESE NATIONALS NOTIFIED TO LEAVE BEFORE CERTAIN DATE WHICH LEFT THEM FOLLOWING ALTERNATIVES: (1) DEPORTATION PROCEDURE IF FAILED LEAVE BEFORE DEADLINE;(2) APPLY FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE IF WANTED AVOID DIFFICULTIES OF ALTERNATIVE(1). WANG SAID HE CITED CASE DR TSIEN BECAUSE WELL KNOWN, BUT THIS ONLY ONE EXAMPLE. HIS APPEAL FOR HELP IN LETTER JUNE 15 SHOWS HE NOT FREE TO LEAVE AT THAT TIME. FURTHERMORE CHINESE NATIONALS FACED WITH SERIES OF DIFFICULTIES SUCH AS FINANCIAL VISA BOOKING TICKETS ETC. ALL THESE FACTORS AFFECT THEIR FREEDOM TO DEPART. MAY BE POSSIBLE UNDER THESE CONDITIONS SOME DARE NOT EXPRESS DESIRE DEPART. MAY BE CASES OF PEOPLE WHO EXPRESS DESIRE BUT MAY CHANGE MIND FOR ONE REASON OR ANOTHER. ALL THESE PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES PREVENT DEPARTURE. WANG WENT ON TO SAY THAT ALL THIS SERVES EXPLAIN WHY EVEN THOUGH I HAD REPEATEDLY STATED CHINESE FREE TO LEAVE ANY TIME THEY STILL FACED MANY DIFFICULTIES. THEREFORE HE HOPED WAY COULD BE FOUND BENEFICIAL TO BOTH SIDES SUCH AS FORMULA OF 3RD COUNTRY.

REGARDING CASE MRS HUIZER CHINESE GOVERNMENT NOT IN POSITION

DETERMINE

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DETERMINE WHETHER SHE IS DUTCH OR AMERICAN. HE ONLY KNEW SHE MARRIED TO DUTCHMAN AND HELD DUTCH PASSPORT. IF US AND DUTCH COULD AGREE ON STATUS CHINESE GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT OPPOSE. WANG CONCLUDED HE WAS ONLY TRYING CLARIFY FEW POINTS AND DID NOT DESIRE DEBATE.

I TOLD WANG THAT THERE WAS NOTHING WE COULD AGREE WITH DUTCH ABOUT CONCERNING MRS HUIZER SINCE ACCORDING TO LAWS OF BOTH COUNTRIES SHE WAS BOTH (REPEAT BOTH) DUTCH AND AMERICAN. WANG INTERJECTED IN HUMOROUS VEIN THAT IF HUSBAND COOPERATED WITH WIFE PROBLEM COULD BE SETTLED.

THEN TALKING FROM PREPARED STATEMENT I REFERRED TO WANG'S FIRST PROPOSAL MADE AUGUST SECOND AND SAID AS PREVIOUSLY STATED I FELT THIS GOES BEYOND AGREED SCOPE PRESENT DISCUSSION AND I HAD ALSO AT THAT TIME MENTIONED PRACTICAL DIFFUCULTIES. I NOW ADDED IT IS NOT POLICY US GOVERNMENT MAKE SUCH INFORMATION AVAILBLE ANY OTHER GOVERNMENT. THEREFORE IT NOT POSSIBLE AGREE WANG'S PROPOSAL.

WITH REGARD WANG'S FOURTH PROPOSAL I STATED I BELIEVED IT WENT SOMEWHAT BEYOND FIRST AGREED ITEM OF AGENDA. HOWEVER I TOLD WANG US GOVERNMENT CONSIDERING ARRANGEMENT WHICH WOULD BE WITHIN AGREED SCOPE PRESENT DISCUSSIONS AND FULLY MEET OBJECTIVES WITH RESPECT TO CIVILIAHS BOTH COUNTRIES ENVISIAGED BY TWO GOVERNMENTS IN JULY 25 STATEMENT.

TOLD WANG SEEMED TO ME ALL THAT IS REQUIRED CARRY OUT THIS PURPOSE IS FOR EACH OF OUR GOVERMENTS TAKE WHATEVER STEPS NECESSARY PERMIT RETURN OF CIVILIANS WHO DESIRE DO SO. AS I HAD EXPLAINED TO HIM MY GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY TAKEN ALL NECESSARY STEPS. IF WANG'S GOVERNENT WOULD DO SAME ENTIRE PROBLEM WOULD BE QUICKLY RESOLVED.

NEVERTHELESS MY GOVERNMENT WAS GIVING CONSIDERATION TO FOLLOWING ARRANGEMENT:

INDIAN EMBASSY WASHINGTON COULD RECEIVED REQUESTS FROM ANY CHINESE CIVILIAN IN US WHO FELT HE BEING PREVENTED FROM LEAVING.

INDIAN

INDIAN EMB COULD INVESTIGATE CASE SENDING OFFICER TO INTERVIEW PERSON IF IT DESIRED AND IF EMBASSY CONCLUDED COMPLAINT JUSTIFIED COULD REPORT FACTS TO DEPT WITH REQUEST FOR WHATEVER ACTION EMB CONSIDERED APPROPRIATE. EMB COULD ALSO ACT AS CHANNEDL FOR TRANSMISSION TRAVEL FUNDS AND OTHERWISE EXTEND TO INDIVIDUALS APPROPRIATE ASSISTANCE. BOTH MY GOVERNMENT AND INDIAN EMBASSY WOULD GIVE FULL PUBLICITY. BRITISH EMBASSY IN CHINA WOULD PERFORM SAME SERVICES FOR AMERICAN NATIONALS THERE, CHINESE GOVERNMENT AGREEING TO GIVE AND PERMIT PUBLICITY IN SAME MANNER AS ARRANGED IN US.

I THEN CONTINUED I HAD BEEN GIVING PARTICULAR THOUGHT TO WANG STATEMENT LAST MEETING REGARDING NECESSITY ANY SOLUTION REACHED BEING BENEFICIAL TO BOTH PARTIES. SAID I THOROUGHLY AGREED THIS VIEW BUT FAILED TO SEE HOW IT POSSIBLE TO DESCRIBE SITUATION AT PRESENT STAGE OF DISCUSSIONS AS UNFAIR TO CHINESE GOVERNMENT OR PEOPLE. ADDED IF I DESIRED TO DO SO COULD DWELL AT SOME LENGTH ON UNFAIRNESS PRESENT SITUATION TO AMERICANS IN CHINA BUT I DID NOT BELIEVE IT USEFUL ENGAGE FRUITLESS DEBATE THIS SUBJECT BUT RATHER LOOK AT PRESENT PRACTICAL SITUATION.

I SAID AT SECOND MEETING WANG HAD ASKED FOR SOLUTION TO QUESTION OF RESTRICTIONS ON RETURN TO CHINA OF CHINESE NATIONALS IN US. I SAID I IMMEDIATELY AND PROMPTLY REPLIED UNDER FULL AUTHORITY MY GOVERNMENT NO CHINESE BEING PREVENTED FROM LEAVING US. AT LAST MEETING I CAREFULLY AND FRANKLY EXPLAINED NATURE OF RESTRICTIONS FORMERLY PLACED ON DEPARTURE SOME CHINESE STUDENTS AND EXPLAINED THESE NOW ENTIRELY REMOVED. I REITERATED TO WANG THAT US GOVERNMENT NOT NOW PREVENTING DEPARTURE ANY CHINESE FROM US. SAID IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR ME TO SEE HOW I COULD BE MORE EXPLICIT OR MORE FULLY MEET REQUEST WANG HAD MADE. I SAID I HAD TRIED MAKE IT CLEAR THAT US GOVERNMENT EXPECTS ALL ITS NATIONALS IN CHINA DESIRING TO RETURN TO US WILL BE ABLE PROMPTLY TO DO SO AND THAT WANG'S GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE WHATEVER MEASURES NECESSARY BRING ABOUT THIS RESULT. I CONCLUDED STATING IT WOULD GREATLY FACILITATE AND EXPEDITE OUR DISCUSSIONS IF WANG COULD SHORTLY GIVE ME EXPLICIT INFO REGARDING MEASURES ALONG THIS LINE WHICH I UNDERSTOOD WERE BEING CONSIDERED BY HIS GOVERNMENT. I EMPHASIZED AGAIN THAT MY GOVERNMENT HAD TAKEN ALL NECESSARY STEPS TO MEET WANG'S REQUIREMENTS AND THERE WERE NO EXCEPTIONS NOT EVEN CASE OF DR TSIEN TO MY ASSURANCE THAT ALL CHINESE FREE TO LEAVE US.

WANG

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-1D- 354, AUGUST 8, 6 PM, FROM GENEVA

WANG SAID NOTED MY STATEMENT. SAID HE HAD RESTATED OWN POSITION CONCERNING HIS ORIGINAL PROPOSALS 1, 2 AND 3, DECLARING HE AGREED WITH ME IT WAS NECESSARY FOR BOTH SIDES TO MAKE RECIPROCAL OR CORRESPONDING ARRANGEMENTS FOR RETURN OF NATIONALS WHICH WOULD BRING A SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM. HE EXPRESSED REGRET I HAD NOT AGREED HIS FIRST PROPOSAL. SAID ON HIS PART HE HAD ALREADY GIVEN ME COMPLETE LIST ALL AMERICANSIN CHINA WHICH VERY CONVENIENT FOR OUR USE. THEREFORE WANG ADDED WHICH VERY REASONABLE HIS SIDE REQUIRE SIMILAR ACTION FROM US AND WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF US COULD RECONSIDER ITS POSITION ON FIRST PROPOSAL. REGARDING ARRANGEMENT I HAD SUGGESTED ON THE 4TH PROPOSAL HE RESERVED COMMENTS UNTIL NEXT MEETING WHICH WANG PROPOSED BY AUGUST 10, 10 AM.

I THEN PROPOSED PRESS RELEASE TO WHICH WANG AGREED AS REPORTED MY TEL 347.

ATMOSPHERE CONTINUES EASY AND INFORMAL.

GOWEN

AB

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

CONFIDENTIAL

159

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000 45

FROM: Geneva

Control: 4062
Rec'd: August 8, 1955
5:16 p.m.

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 356, August 8, 9 p.m.

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

Denny article August 4 referred to DEPTEL 400 not available here.

GOWEN

MDM

Action Assigned to [illegible]

Action Taken Denny

Art. sent in letter

Date of Action 8/17

Action Office Symbol CA

Name of Officer [illegible]

Action [illegible] file

611.93/8-855

PA

CONFIDENTIAL FILE

FILED
FEB 17 1959

FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

1955 AUG 9 AM 7 39

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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160

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State* ACTION COPY

26
n 000 4 57

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 4082
Rec'd: August 8, 1955
5:27 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 357, August 8, 9 p.m.

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

Re Wang's allegation today's meeting:

No way families in China can remit funds for travel students from US. If not correct would appreciate any information I can use refute.

GOWEN

MDM

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- [ ] Deny }
- [ ] Downgrade to _____
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- [x] Reviewer _____ Date _____

Action Assigned to _____
Action Taken Reply
Date of Action 8/9

CA
W Philomurphy
file

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FILED
AUG 18 1955

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1955 AUG 9 AM 7 41

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☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 7/9/5

(5.23)
E-D
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1.3(a)5

August 8, 1955

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

SECRET

Dear Alex:

I haven't forgotten the understanding that I would drop you an Official Informal occasionally to give you some of the background and nuances here that would not be reflected in a cable. Bill Sebald returned to work this morning, so I should have more time to devote to your mission now.

There is a pronounced feeling of satisfaction here with the way you have handled the first week of the negotiations. The Secretary himself is following every development closely. He has drafted some of the telegrams to you himself and ordered last Tuesday that henceforth all messages to you which conveyed anything in the nature of instructions was to be personally approved by him. Mr. Robertson of course is following everything. There is a rule now that even the factual and background messages must be approved either by Mr. Robertson or by me. So we will have a look henceforth even at the DRF intelligence messages before they go out.

I am sure you will want to get the general feel of the reaction here to the tactics you are using regardless of whether it is laudatory or not. The only question at all which has arisen, and it is not a criticism, is as to why you withheld the four names (Mrs. Huizer, Mrs. Bradshaw and the Romanovs) from your first list. I have explained that these names had already been given to the Chinese Communists and that the Communists had denied as to three of them that any exit application had been filed and as to the fourth that she was an American citizen. However there was a feeling that it was a tactical mistake not to press these cases continuously by including them in every list. It has been remarked that we have nothing to lose by putting the names in and perhaps something to gain. This was the reason for the follow up instructions to you suggesting that you add the names by means of a supplementary list. The belief that perhaps harm was done was reinforced by the unfortunate Scripps-Howard article by Denny which stated that the names had been omitted because we knew our case was weak on these four.

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

Lot 72 D 415

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There has been something of a feeling that you might press harder the point that the great preponderance of the Chinese students in this country maintain their allegiance to the GRC and emphatically repudiate the Communist regime. It is recognized that Wang Ping-nan would be very allergic to this point but it is felt that you do not have to be estopped on that account. We wired you the full text of the Chinese Embassy's statement which makes this point quite cogently. You may find a peg on which you can hang an additional remark along this line when the representation discussion waxes warm.

The only other even half way critical statement I have heard was relative to your decision not to hold a backgrounder for the American press as you were authorized to do last week. We are all profoundly aware of the difficult position you are in with the American press. We have had echos of your press relations problem back here and we have all been casting about for some means of taking the pressure off you. Part of the Secretary's press conference of August 2 was an effort in that direction. Carl McCardle apparently feels that you should have gone ahead and held the backgrounder when you were authorized, especially since it was pretty clear that Wang was talking to the Communist correspondents. He believes that the attitude of American correspondents would have been improved and there would have been no net loss as to the privacy of the conversations, since so much was leaking any way. I believe he still thinks you should hold the backgrounder, as indicated in our follow-up telegram of August 6 which of course was largely a reflection of his view. If you feel you need a Departmental press officer to help you, in addition to Garnish, Carl is ready to give sympathetic consideration to the matter.

The question of leaks is indeed a trying and baffling one. We feel very badly about the New York Times Washington dateline article of August 4 which you rightly complained about in your 334 of August 6. We were particularly pained since we wanted your limited representation proposal to have maximum impact on Wang, which cannot be obtained when there is no element of surprise. McCardle and Suydam say the information did not come from the P area. I did not talk to the correspondents at all. Dana Schmidt was getting around the Department quite actively about that time and it may be conceivable that he may have peaked something up although I have no idea how or from whom.

The Denny item which obviously was based in part at least on a leak also mystifies us. It seems that some of it, particularly the information about the number of repatriated Chinese students who received travel funds from the U. S. Government, might have been based

on U. S.

on U. S. official sources.

We have an additional information problem with the foreign Embassies here which are closest to us, namely the British, Canadian, Australian and New Zealand, and to some extent the French. So far we have been telling them in confidence about what has already come out in the papers, but they are pressing for fuller and more timely information. This is something of a dilemma for us, ...

Let us know what you need which you are not getting, and any ways in which we can help you. The meetings of this week should be fairly decisive. If you think you will need Martin for a few days longer than planned, let us know. It would be unfortunate and difficult if he should have to miss a few days at the beginning of the War College, but I do not say it would be impossible to arrange, if his presence in Geneva is important to you. All the best to Ed, Ralph and Col. Ekvall. Our feeling toward you and your staff is a mixture of admiration and sympathy. Regards and good wishes,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

162 Sensaw pdb

SECRET

000 48

Control: 4570
Rec'd: AUGUST 9, 1955
11:32 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 362, AUGUST 9, 1 PM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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- [ ] Downgrade to _____
- [ ] Review Again _____
- [x] Reviewer _____ Date 8/10/75

B-1-301

2

EYES ONLY SECRETARY AND ROBERTSON

FROM JOHNSON

IN CONSIDERING FUTURE COURSE THESE TALKS AND OUR BROAD OBJECTIVES I OFFER FOLLOWING THOUGHT.

PRESENT CONTEXT, PARTICULARLY IN PUBLIC MIND IS THAT TALKS ARE IN NATURE CONFERENCE WITH DEFINITIVE ENDING AT SOME POINT IN TIME. IT SEEMS TO ME SOME OF DIFFICULTIES INHERENT THIS CONTEXT WOULD BE OBVIATED IF AND WHEN WE REACH "OTHER PRACTICAL MATTERS" WE COULD GRADUALLY SHIFT TO CONCEPT OF CONTACT BETWEEN WANG AND MYSELF BEING OF INDEFINITE DURATION IN TIME AND INTERMITTENT IN NATURE TO BE UTILIZED AT REQUEST EITHER SIDE.

ALTHOUGH POSSIBLY PRESENTING SOME NEW DIFFICULTIES I THINK THIS CONCEPT WOULD BEST MEET OUR BROAD OBJECTIVE WITHOUT DIFFICULTIES INHERENT IN CONCEPT ATTEMPTING PROLONG PRESENT SERIES OF TALKS.

I REALIZE THIS IS LARGELY QUESTION OF FORM RATHER THAN SUBSTANCE BUT BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT.

WHAT I HAVE IN MIND IS THAT AT SOME POINT IN DISCUSSION "OTHER PRACTICAL MATTERS" I WOULD ATTEMPT OBTAIN AGREEMENT THAT INSTEAD OF MEETING MORE OR LESS REGULARLY WITH RECESSES OF VARYING LENGTHS WE WOULD MEET ONLY AT REQUEST OF OTHER TO BE TRANSMITTED THROUGH CONSULATES GENERAL HERE.

THERE COULD BE GRADUAL PRESS PREPARATION FOR THIS AND I WOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE ANY OPPORTUNITY PREPARE WANG.

SECRET

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-2- 362, AUGUST 9, 1 PM, FROM GENEVA

WHILE THIS HAS ADVANTAGES MUST RECOGNIZE GETAINS DISADVANTAGES PRESENT SITUATION IN HEAVY PUBLIC ATTENTION WHENEVER WANG AND I WOULD APPEAR HERE. HOWEVER DO NOT PERCEIVE ANY PRACTICABLE ALTERNATIVE AS LONG AS WANG AND I REMAIN POINT OF CONTACT.

GOWEN

MEM

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State* ACTION COPY

19-L
Action

000 49

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 4549
Rec'd: AUGUST 9, 1955
10:41 A.M.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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☐ Review Again
☐ Reviewer _____ Date _____

Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 364, AUGUST 9, 1 P.M.

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

WITH CLOSE YESTERDAY'S MEETING WE HAVE COMPLETED PRESENTATION OUR POSITION ON CIVILIANS AND NEXT MOVE IS UP TO CHICOMS. I FEEL MY INSTRUCTIONS HAVE ENABLED ME TO ESTABLISH VERY STRONG POSITION WHICH HAS PUT CHICOMS ON DEFENSIVE AND IN FUTURE MEETINGS PLAN LARGELY TO REITERATE POSITION AS NECESSARY. I BELIEVE WE SHOULD STAND ON POSITION PERFORMANCE BY CHICOMS RE AMERICANS ESSENTIAL TO AGREEMENT ON REPRESENTATION PROPOSAL AND THAT AGENDA PROPOSED BY CHICOMS AND ACCEPTED BY US PRECLUDES DISCUSSION ANY OTHER MATTER UNTIL CIVILIAN PROBLEM RESOLVED.

IF I GET NO PERFORMANCE ON AMERICANS I PLAN AT APPROPRIATE TIME TO SUGGEST FAIRLY PROLONGED RECESS "TO GIVE PRC TIME TO GIVE FURTHER CONSIDERATION TO CASES AMERICANS" THEREBY REINFORCING POSITION ON RELATION THEIR PERFORMANCE ON AMERICANS TO REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT.

ONE OF DECISIONS WE WILL HAVE TO MAKE IS WHAT DEGREE OF PERFORMANCE ON AMERICANS WE WILL CONSIDER SUFFICIENT FOR AGREEMENT ON REPRESENTATION. I DO NOT BELIEVE WE CAN OR SHOULD REACH THIS DECISION NOW.

ANOTHER DECISION IS WHETHER WE WILL BE WILLING TO BROADEN REPRESENTATION PROPOSAL TO INCLUDE INQUIRIES BY INDIAN EMBASSY INITIATED BY "PARENTS AND RELATIVES" IN CHINA. I EXPECT WANG WILL AT MINIMUM PRESS VERY HARD FOR SOMETHING THIS NATURE. THIS RAISES OBVIOUS PROBLEMS BUT IT SEEMS TO ME THAT EVEN UNDER OUR PRESENT CONCEPT IT WILL IN FACT BE VERY DIFFICULT PRECENT OR REFUSE "HUMANITARIAN" REQUESTS FROM INDIAN EMBASSY DO THIS. IF THIS CASE SHOULD OBTAIN FROM IT WHATEVER NEGOTIATING ADVANTAGE IT GIVES

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IT GIVES US HERE. IT DOES NOT SEEM TO ME THIS WOULD INCREASE DANGER OF USE OF FAMILIES FOR COERCION AS EVEN UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES FAMILIES FREE WRITE TO CHINESE IN US. WOULD ALSO THINK INDIAN EMBASSY WOULD BE VERY CAREFUL AVOID GIVING ANY BASIS FOR CHARGES IT WAS AGENT FOR COERCION. FROM STANDPOINT UK PROTECTION AMERICANS IN CHINA IT ALSO GIVES US SOMETHING OF MUCH MORE VALUE THAN PRESENT FORMULATION.

I PLAN PRESENT LIST 461 AMERICAN POW'S MISSING FROM KOREAN WAR AND 11 NAVY AND COAST GUARD PERSONNEL AS FIRST ITEM UNDER "OTHER PRACTICAL MATTERS".

GOWEN

TT

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State* ACTION COPY

19-L

Action

000 50

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 4591
Rec'd: AUGUST 9, 1955
11:53 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 369, AUGUST 9, 3 P.M.

Action Taken Reply
Drafted
Date of Action 8/9
Action Office Symbol CA
Name of Officer
File

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON.

SOME MEMBERS CONGRESSIONAL GROUP HERE FOR ATOMIC ENERGY CONFERENCE HAVE INDICATED TO CLAXTON DESIRE OBTAIN INFORMATION FROM ME RE MY TALKS WITH WANG.

CLAXTON AND I INCLINED FEEL PROBABLY USEFUL IF I DO NOT (REPEAT NOT) GET AHEAD OF WHATEVER DEPARTMENT IS DOING KEEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEES INFORMED.

IF DEPARTMENT APPROVES I WOULD PROPOSE TALK RATHER FULLY ABOUT WHAT HAS HAPPENED THUS FAR ON CIVILIANS INCLUDING REPRESENTATION PROPOSAL I MADE YESTERDAY AND CONFINE MYSELF TO REFERENCE MATERIAL SECRETARY'S PRESS CONFERENCE ON OTHER PROBLEMS.

TOMORROW IS PROBABLY LAST DAY GROUP WILL BE HERE.

WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS AND GUIDANCE.

GOWEN

TT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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FILED AUG 18 1955

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1955 AUG 9 PM 1 29

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Department of State

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Classification

03975
166

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000 5

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 428

FOR JOHNSON

Your 369. You are authorized in your discretion to brief members congressional Atomic Energy Group on discussions to date regarding civilians. You may also give them general idea of what is involved in representation issue but you should avoid mention NAME of any third country in this connection.

Dulles
DULLES

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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[ ] Reviewer _____ Date _____

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CS/M

Coal 55

FE:CA:WFMcConaughy/ikb 8/9/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Substance approved by The Secretary and H - Mr. Morton.

S/S-CR
AUG 9 1955 P.M.

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Classification

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECRET
Classification

000 52

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA ~~PRIORITY~~ PRIORITY 429

FOR JOHNSON.

Your 357. FYI as of now US Treasury Foreign Asset Control Regulations prohibit remittance dollars to US from Communist China for travel or other purposes unless special Treasury license obtained. A few licenses have been granted for student travel from funds blocked in US. In these cases Treasury required evidence that traveler of good character and acceptable political orientation and that close relatives mainland China believed non-sympathetic Communist regime.

If arrangement authorized Paragraph 11 your instructions should materialize, appropriate understanding with Treasury will be sought.

Dulles

DULLES

FE:CA:WPMConaughy/ikb 8/9/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

S/S-CR

AUG 9 1955 P.M

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VIA AIR POUCH

CONFIDENTIAL

(53)

FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
AUG 16 1955
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DO NOT TYPE IN THIS SPACE

611 95a 251/8-955

Geneva, Switzerland

August 9, 1955

Action Assigned to

Action Taken

REF Geneva Telegram 315, August 4, 1955

OLI-6

FE-4 RANR-2, EUR-5, P-1, VO-1, SCA-2, SCS-2

8/13 CIA-7

Aug 19 1955

Transmitting Text of Ambassador Johnson's Statement to Ambassador Wang on United States Immigration Procedures

With reference to my telegram No. 315 of August 4, 1955, I am enclosing the full text of my remarks to Ambassador Wang Ping-nan on the subject of United States Immigration procedure. These remarks were summarized only very briefly in the reference telegram to reduce its length.

FILE

POL

U. Alexis Johnson

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

Enclosure:

Text of remarks on
U.S. Immigration procedure.

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Call Warren ... to USINS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1955 AUG 15 PM 4 38
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REPORTER

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Encl. No. 1
Desp. No. 2
From Geneva

ENCLOSURE

"I then referred to Wang's second and third proposals and handed him list of 76 Chinese students. I told him his reference to 'exit permit' in connection with 76 students was inaccurate since no exit permit required of aliens desiring depart United States. Any alien, including any Chinese national, did not need to apply for permission to leave country but simply made travel arrangements and departed. That is why United States Government had to issue restraining orders in cases those few aliens whose departure we desired prevent. Such orders issued against certain Chinese students in past. On April 8 our Consul General informed Chinese representative that 76 students formerly prevented from departing United States free to leave. These students all notified that orders preventing their departure rescinded. They not issued exit permits because there is no such permit. Vast majority Chinese students never subjected to preventive departure orders and always free to depart whenever wished. The few preventive departure orders previously issued all rescinded. I then repeated that, as I informed him last meeting, United States Government not now preventing departure any Chinese wishing return to mainland China.

I said, on other hand, no general deadline imposed for departure Chinese from United States. I did not know where Wang obtained information that Chinese students must depart by September 6 or apply for permanent residence but said I was satisfied this information inaccurate. I explained many Chinese who came to United States as students have completed studies and no longer students. Thus they no longer entitled student visas and in accordance with standard procedures applied all aliens such persons informed by Immigration their visas no longer valid, and they should arrange depart United States by certain date. However each case handled individually and each individual permitted give reasons why departure date should be postponed. Many postponements granted for one or more months or indefinitely at request of individual. Postponements have been and will be granted in order avoid hardships or for other good cause. I also pointed out that even though alien had applied for or been granted status of permanent resident he still free leave country at any time, and I concluded reiterating no exit permit required."

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(54)

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

file

DATE: August 9, 1955

6452

SUBJECT: Negotiations with Chinese Communists

Action Assigned to CA

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

This Document Must Be Returned to OC/R

PARTICIPANTS: Ambassador V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese Embassy
Walter S. Robertson, Assistant Secretary - FE
Walter P. McConaughy, Director - CA

RECEIVED AUG 1955 DEPT OF STATE

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OLI - (2 cc)	
EUR - 1	
BNA - 1	

AUG 16 1955

(9)

1—1493

Ambassador Koo said he had noted the remarks of the Secretary in his press conference of August 2. The Chinese Government was uneasy over the apparent possibility of a high level meeting with the Chinese Communists. The Ambassador was instructed by his Government to state that it would look with strong disfavor on any meeting between the American Government and the Chinese Communists at the Foreign Minister level. He said he would be very gratified if he could be given a confirmation that no such meeting is in prospect.

Mr. Robertson said that there was no change whatever in the American position on this. The situation was the same as when the Secretary held his press conference. There was no likelihood of such a meeting then, and there was none now.

Ambassador Koo expressed his gratification at the receipt of this information. He said his Government was also gratified to have received through the American Embassy in Taipei, a summary of the Secretary's instructions to Ambassador Johnson for the talks at Geneva. He said that his Government felt the instructions were not objectionable "as far as they go".

Mr. Robertson said that Ambassador Johnson's authorization went no further than the instructions summarized for the information of the Chinese Government. The limitations on the discussions were clearly set forth in the instructions, and there were no instructions beyond those which had been paraphrased in the Chinese Foreign Office.

Ambassador

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611.93/8-955

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CS/W

FILED AUG 18 1955

611.93/8-955

DC/R

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Ambassador Koo said that his Government was interested in learning of the latest developments in the talks at Geneva.

Mr. Robertson said there had been no tangible progress so far on the question of the release of the American civilians. The main purpose of the talks was to get our people out. Wang Ping-nan was trying to make an issue of alleged interference with the travel to the mainland of Chinese students in this country. These allegations as to restrictions on Chinese in this country were balderdash. It was only propaganda, since the Chinese students actually are free to move about in this country and to leave the U.S. if they wish. We do not want any Communist sympathizers here as permanent residents. They are more than welcome to go to the mainland if they want to.

Ambassador Koo mentioned the Chinese Embassy statement of last week which pointed out that the great majority of Chinese students in this country have been assisted and protected by the Chinese Government and its Embassy and Consulates in this country and that the students are loyal to their Government and still look to it for representation of their interests. They give their allegiance to the Chinese Government and not to the Chinese Communists. It is presumptuous deception for the Chinese Communists to pretend that Chinese in this country should look to the Communist regime for protection and representation.

Mr. Robertson said we had noted the Chinese Embassy statement and had sent it to Ambassador Johnson. He considered it a very good statement. He remarked that we know that the Chinese in this country, with very few exceptions, maintain their fidelity to the Chinese Government. We are aware that the Chinese Government has helped many of them with scholarships, travel arrangements and so on, and that practically all of them came to this country on Chinese Nationalist passports. Mr. Robertson remarked that there is no such thing as an exit visa in this country and Wang Ping-nan's allegations at Geneva that "exit visas" had been denied was nonsense.

Ambassador Koo said that he hoped the American Government would never admit even tacitly any degree of Communist jurisdiction over the general body of Chinese students and other nationals in this country.

Mr. Robertson said the Ambassador need have no fear on this score. The Communists would not be allowed to establish any contact except with those who of their own volition stated that they wanted to go back to the mainland.

Mr. Robertson mentioned that those few students who wanted to go back might have some difficulty in paying for their passage. The United States Government did not propose to pay their way back to Communist territory. However, we were not standing in the way. Anyone who wants to go to a Communist country can go -- the sooner the better.

Ambassador

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Ambassador Koo mentioned that Mr. Robertson had informed Minister Tan on July 29 that some third party such as India or Great Britain might be designated to assist the Chinese students who want to return to the mainland.

Mr. Robertson said some Embassy might conceivably be the medium for handling travel funds and making other arrangements for the return of those who expressed a wish to go back.

Ambassador Koo remarked that this arrangement would imply no official representation of Chinese Communist interests in this country, since the Embassy role would be that of a travel expediter.

Ambassador Koo reverted to the subject of a possible conference with Communist China at the Foreign Minister level. He said that his Government would appreciate a more definite statement or formal assurance that no such meeting was contemplated. The Secretary's statement of last week was most welcome and President Eisenhower had said that he associated himself with the statement of the Secretary of State. But any doubt on this score would adversely affect the psychology of the problem on Taiwan.

Mr. Robertson said the President and the Secretary had stated most emphatically that this Government would not discuss, on any level, matters affecting the rights of the Government of the Republic of China. He felt there could be no objection to bilateral talks aimed at securing the freedom of our nationals who are held. If there should be any international conference on Far Eastern subjects where matters involving the rights of the GRC were to be discussed, "your Government would have to be there", or give its concurrence. Nothing could be decided "without your presence or your concurrence".

Ambassador Koo said his Government would appreciate a more formal assurance on the lack of any intention of Secretary Dulles to meet with Chou En-lai. He wondered if his Government could obtain a memorandum on the subject.

Mr. Robertson said he did not think there was any question of a memorandum. Both the President and the Secretary of State have stated their position to the American people and to the world. He felt this was as explicit and as binding as anyone could wish.

Ambassador Koo said it was true that very satisfactory statements had been made, but they were rather informal.

Ambassador

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Mr. Robertson observed that they were categorical and were on the record. He did not see how they could have more force or more effect. He offered to send the Ambassador a copy of the press conference.

The Ambassador said he already had the record of the press conference. He needed something more formal.

Mr. Robertson said he felt that what had been said could not be more official. A public affirmation of our position before all the world was better than a classified communication. It put the whole world on notice what our position was.

Ambassador Koo said his Government did find much assurance in the statements of Mr. Robertson himself, the Secretary, the President and the American Charge in Taipei. They had all made it clear that there would be no talks involving the essential interests of the Chinese Government without its presence or concurrence.

Mr. Robertson said he could reaffirm that no matter would be taken up with the Chinese Communists which involved the rights of the Republic of China without the presence or concurrence of the GRC.

Ambassador Koo asked if that would still be the U.S. position if talks with the Peiping regime at the Foreign Minister level should ever be held.

Mr. Robertson said yes, that was correct, in the unlikely event that such talks should sometime be held. He remarked that discussions at that level were no closer now than they had been when the Secretary was asked about this subject at his press conference.

NOTE: Separate Memoranda of Conversation have been prepared on the following subjects which were discussed in the same conversation: Chinese Representation in the U.N. and Registration with the U.N. of Mutual Defense Treaty of December 2, 1954 and Exchange of Notes of December 10.

FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:mlw/ek 8/12/55

WPMcC

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COMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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168

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Control: 5344 Action Taken

Rec'd: August 10, 1955 2:57 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 389, August 10, 5 p.m.

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

FROM JOHNSON

Desire call attention FBIS item 091427 Peking International English Service. This probably forecasts line Wang will take when "no force" reached and to which reply some kind will be required.

GOWEN

AAL/6

Note: Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 8/10/55 4:37 p.m. EMB CWO

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (56)

INDICATE [ ] COLLECT
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Department of State

SECRET
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(169)

04477 05

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 439

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

Your 362

While it is useful to be thinking ahead we doubt that it is useful to attempt now to crystallize our thinking.

Dulles

DULLES

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[✓] Reviewer _____ Date 8/10/82

CS/DLS

SECRET FILE

Drafted by: S JFDulles:ma

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: S JFDulles

Clearances:

FE - Mr. Robertson

611.93/8-1055

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (57)

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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04478 (107)

1955 AUG 10 PM 6 56

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 440

Origin

FOR JOHNSON ~~FROM SECRETARY~~

Your 364 August 9

611.93/8-955
611.95a 751

1. Concur you should stand on position that the first necessity is for CHICOMS to match US position regarding return if desired. Only when the principle of free return has been conceded is it useful to consider the means, if any, needed to implement this principle. In most cases, certainly in this country and surely for Americans in China, no third party intervention is needed.

2. We question fairly prolonged recess in view of Chou En-lai's July 30 statement that "the number of American civilians in China is small and the question can be easily settled". We believe that we should seek to hold the CHICOMS to this utterance of Chou En-lai.

3. We believe that the right of return should be conceded to all Americans but agree that we should not commit ourselves now to a "all or nothing" position.

4. We are not disposed to broaden Indian Embassy representation to cover

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Drafted by: S JFDulles:ma

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: S JFDulles:ma

Clearances: FE Robertson

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10947

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Classification

Confidential File

611.93/8-955

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[redacted] follow up inquiries by parents or relatives in China since this would open the way for mass appeals whereby the CHICOMS would in fact gain opportunity to intimidate or influence Chinese aliens here.

5. Agree with your next item.

Dulles

DU

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 58

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO.

Department of State

CONFIDENTIAL
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04479

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1955 AUG 10 PM 6 56
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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 441

FOR JOHNSON

FYI Internal Revenue Code provides no one depart from US without certificate of compliance with income tax obligations. In the case of such aliens as Chinese students, this is formality which would probably involve not more than ten to thirty minutes at some local office. These students ~~eight~~ either have no independent income or, if employed, there has been a withholding of income tax at source so that nothing is due and indeed if they leave before end of year, they would presumably be entitled to a rebate because they would get full year exemption. Procedures would be slightly different but also simple in the case of alien who was working for himself. Our records indicate that this is not the case with reference to Chinese students but might of course be the case as regards other Chinese aliens. However, here the result would be presumably the same since income tax payments are required to be made quarterly on basis of estimate of income and departing aliens would get a full year exemption.

We would doubt whether foregoing requires you qualify statement

Origin

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Drafted by: S:JWHanesjr:JFDulles:cjp 8/10/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: S:JFDulles

Clearances: FE-Mr. Robertson

DC/R Appl 55 Rev ✓ Cat

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which you apparently made, as reported your 354, August 8, since no exit permit is in fact required and since this income tax requirement would as indicated normally be a formality. However, you will have to be judge whether or not your previous statement requires qualification in light of foregoing.

Dulles

: DULLES

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59

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August 10, 1955

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 2

Dear Alex:

I hope to get off a short note to you by each pouch (Monday, Wednesday and Friday) whether or not there is much that is new to pass on to you.

The report of the 4th meeting on August 8 was illuminating. It was good to see how well you met the cleverness of Wang Ping-nan and kept him on the defensive despite the resourcefulness of his approach and the subtlety of his misrepresentations. We are struck by the fact that the full report of the meetings gives an appreciation of the atmosphere of the talks no condensed summary can convey.

Walter Robertson and I hope to meet with the Secretary today on your 36th which anticipate questions which will probably arise in the near future. We concur that the question of what degree of performance on Americans will be considered sufficient for our agreement on representation ought to be deferred. There is considerable skepticism as to whether we should be prepared to give on the representation proposal to the extent that you suggest. The symbolic significance of the representation issue has become magnified here and every angle of any agreement we make will be exposed to the closest scrutiny in many quarters. The CRC of course is watching us like a hawk on this. Wellington Koo was in yesterday chiefly to stress the dangers implicit in any concession on the representation issue going beyond students who take the initiative to return to the mainland. I am sending you a copy of this memorandum of conversation. It is true that friends and relatives of Chinese in this country can now write them from China, but this is not the same as writing to an officially designated representing Embassy. I have no doubt that the Chinese Communists have the resources to get the names and addresses of great numbers of Chinese students in this country and to arrange for real or pretended relatives in China to address the Indian Embassy in regard to them. Thus the Indian Embassy might get involved in a mass of cases. This would give the Chinese Communists the widespread access they

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

they want to Chinese students in this country in practice, whether they have it in theory or not. We hope to get an instruction to you on this by the end of the week.

The information we got from Elting Arnold of Treasury, who is in charge of Foreign Assets Control (our 429) does not afford you anything useful for your discussions with Wang. As you can see, Treasury has followed a very hard-boiled policy on remittances from Mainland China for repatriation of Chinese. We can not thrash out the matter with Treasury now because your instructions are so closely held. Of course we do not anticipate any difficulty with them if the matter ever comes to a head, since your instructions were explicitly approved by the President. Actually it will be a good thing from an economic warfare standpoint to require the Communists to remit dollars to pay for the travel of those who want to return.

I am enclosing a copy of the Ludwell Denny article from Geneva which disturbed the Secretary and which seems to involve a leak somewhere. Nobody is accusing anyone of leaking. It is just that we are mystified where all the information is coming from and trying to run down all leads. It is not inconceivable that the information could have been deduced by Denny from information supplied by Wang to Communist correspondents.

I suppose you got the copy of the memorandum of conversation of August 3 between Murphy, Robertson, Devaney and myself. I think INS is well in line. I am proposing that we give them copies of those parts of your conversations which directly concern their practices. I believe it will help to keep them happy and insure that they are disposed to cooperate fully.

We are considering your cable on a junior assistant to help you when Ed Martin departs and Ralph Clough moves up. If we can raise the money I would like to send one of our junior China Language officers. It would put a strain on us here but I believe he would be more useful to you than an officer from a European post and it would be very valuable experience for him. I am still awaiting word from you as to whether you think Martin should stay on a few days after the War College opens. I do not want to encourage this unless you consider it highly desirable, but I believe the Commandant would agree if the Department requested it at a high level. And I do not think it would spoil the course for Ed since the first days are largely for orientation. The added insight he will have on Chinese Communist aims and negotiating tactics will be a very valuable contribution to the course at the War College.

The Secretary is holding a press conference in a few minutes. We will send you a trasncript of the pertinent portions as soon as we get it.

Good luck and good wishes,

Sincerely,

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(60)

(1)

Rec'd Aug. 15

DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Geneva, Switzerland

OFFICIAL - INFORMAL
CONFIDENTIAL

August 10, 1955

Dear Walter:

This is just a very brief note to let you know that after I arrived here I discovered there is only one pouch a week. For this reason I have covered things more fully than I otherwise would by telegram. It is also undoubtedly for this reason I have as yet received nothing from you. It therefore appears that our plan to keep in close touch by informal correspondence is not of much use as far as short range matters are concerned.

I realize my volume of telegraphic correspondence is very heavy, particularly the record of the meetings. However, I felt it important that all of you know exactly what is being said and pouch service is too slow to be of any practical use. I have followed the practice of attempting to give you the highlights by priority message as soon as we come back from each meeting and then sending the more complete record by following message. I know that during the Korean armistice I found this most helpful. However, if you have any other suggestions or would prefer we further condense the record of the meetings, please let me know.

As I have indicated in my messages, I feel very satisfied with the situation and feel my instructions have enabled me to keep on top of it.

Ed Martin has been of tremendous help and has greatly added to whatever effectiveness I have had. I greatly appreciate the sacrifice he has so cheerfully made as well as you and Walter making him available. I have sent a message on my need for a junior officer when he leaves. In addition to

the record

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director,
Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State.

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Lot 72 D 415

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Date 9/9/82

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the record of the meetings I receive a quite heavy volume of correspondence which requires replies and there are many other such chores.

Due to the Atomic Conference we are in very crowded quarters although the Consulate General has done its very best. They were successful in getting me a sitting room which has been very useful for meeting people and doing some of our work. They supplied me with a most excellent secretary who the three of us have very badly overloaded but I am hoping our volume of secretarial work will not remain at its present level.

I was sorry not to be able to comply with the suggestion that I go back to Prague last weekend, but it appeared to me here unthinkable at the time. However, I have that part of my instructions well in mind and in fact desire to take maximum advantage of it for personal as well as official reasons.

I am very happy to see the press beginning to desist and believe we are now getting down to the point we should be. The Secretary's last press conference was very helpful in this regard.

I have continued to shy away from a press backgrounder as it would immediately be known to Wang and I feared it would entirely break down the agreement on secrecy. I also feared it would also encourage the high-powered group of correspondents who had gathered here to stay on. However, I have been giving them individually a little more than previously to offset what the Chinese have been putting out. The Chinese leaks have been very indirect from a Chinese correspondent to the Humanité correspondent to a non-communist French correspondent. In the last few days I have particularly been putting out the line that the central issue has been and remains the release of Americans.

Regards to all.

Sincerely,

Alex

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

INCOMING TELEGRAM (61) Department of State

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Control: 5667
Rec'd: AUGUST 11, 1959

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 401, AUGUST 11, 10 A.M.

of Action

Office Symbol

Officer

to DC/R

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON.

BRIEFED ALL MEMBERS CONGRESSIONAL GROUP EXCEPT HINSHAW YESTERDAY IN VERY BROAD TERMS INCLUDING REPRESENTATION ISSUED. NO MENTION MADE AND NO QUESTION RAISED CONCERNING ANY SPECIFIC THIRD COUNTRIES. ONLY REACTION ON REPRESENTATION WAS "WHY NOT?". SOME CONCERN OVER SLOWNESS TALKS WHICH SPONTANEOUSLY ASCRIBED CHINESE. I SAID THOUGHT NO PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE EXCEPT NARROWNESS WANG'S INSTRUCTIONS AND SLOWNESS HIS COMMUNICATIONS.

GOWEN

MAM

Note: Reference DEPTEL 428, CWO-FED.

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9:58 A.M.

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Adopted
Date of Action 8/11
Action Office Symbol CA
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R file

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 402, AUGUST 11, 1 P.M.

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DRAFT AGREEMENT PROPOSED TODAY BY WANG:

QUOTE

AGREEMENT ON THE QUESTION OF THE RETURN OF CIVILIANS OF BOTH SIDES TO THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES ADOPTED BY THE AMBASSADORIAL REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN THEIR TALKS HELD IN GENEVA.

1. BOTH SIDES DECLARE THAT THE NATIONALS OF EACH SIDE RESIDING IN THE OTHER WHO DESIRE TO RETURN TO THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES ARE ENTITLED TO DEPART FOR THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. CIVILIANS OF THE ABOVE DESCRIPTION WHO ARE INVOLVED IN UNFINISHED CIVIL OR CRIMINAL CASES UNDER THE LAWS OF THE COUNTRY OF THEIR RESIDENCE SHALL BE ENTITLED TO THE SAME RIGHT UPON THE SETTLEMENT OF THEIR CIVIL OR CRIMINAL CASES.

2. IN ORDER TO GUARANTEE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ABOVE PRINCIPLE, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WILL EACH ENTRUST THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM RESPECTIVELY WITH THE CHARGE OF THE AFFAIRS OF THE RETURN OF CIVILIANS OF THE RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES RESIDING IN THE OTHER. THE COUNTRIES THUS ENTRUSTED SHALL PERFORM THE FOLLOWING DUTIES:

A. UPON THE REQUEST OF A CIVILIAN OF ONE SIDE RESIDING IN THE OTHER WHO DESIRES TO RETURN OR UPON THE REQUEST OF HIS

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GOVERNMENT MADE IN HIS BEHALF THE ENTRUSTED COUNTRY SHALL MAKE REPRESENTATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRY IN WHICH THIS CIVILIAN IS RESIDING WITH A VIEW TO SETTLING HIS DIFFICULTY IN DEPARTURE;

B. IN THE EVENT OF A CIVILIAN OF ONE SIDE RESIDING IN THE OTHER WHO DESIRES TO RETURN AND WHO IS BEING PREVENTED FROM DOING SO, THE ENTRUSTED COUNTRY SHALL, UPON HIS PERSONAL REQUEST OR THE REQUEST IN HIS BEHALF BY HIS GOVERNMENT, CONDUCT INVESTIGATIONS AND MAKE REPRESENTATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRY IN WHICH THE CIVILIAN CONCERNED IS RESIDING IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FINDINGS OF THE INVESTIGATION WITH A VIEW TO ARRIVING AT A SETTLEMENT;

C. IN THE EVENT OF A CIVILIAN OF ONE SIDE RESIDING IN THE OTHER WHO DESIRES TO RETURN AND WHO FINDS DIFFICULTY IN PAYING OFF THE RETURN JOURNEY THE ENTRUSTED COUNTRY SHALL RENDER HIM ASSISTANCE ON BEHALF OF HIS GOVERNMENT.

3. UPON THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE TRUSTEESHIP DESCRIBED ABOVE BY THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM IN RESPONSE TO THE REQUESTS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA RESPECTIVELY, BOTH SIDES SHALL GIVE WIDE PUBLICITY TO THE DETAILS OF THIS AGREEMENT BY MEANS OF ALL AVAILABLE NEWS MEDIA. THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM MAY ALSO GIVE SIMILAR PUBLICITY WHICH THEY CONSIDER APPROPRIATE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA RESPECTIVELY.

UNQUOTE.

GOWEN

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1954 AUG 11 PM 4 34
DEPARTMENT OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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Action Taken Reply
Control: 5846
Rec'd: AUGUST 11, 1955
10:20 A.M.
Date of Action 8/11
Action Office Symbol CA
Name of Officer [illegible]
Direction to DC/R File

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 403, AUGUST 11, 1 P.M.

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

AT MEETING THIS MORNING ISSUE WAS CLEARLY JOINED. IN INTEREST EXPEDITING AGREEMENT AND ALTHOUGH NOT COMPLETELY SATISFACTORY TO CHINESE WANG SUMBITTED "DRAFT AGREEMENT" INCORPORATING BUT SOMEWHAT BROADENING ALONG LINE ANTICIPATED MYTEL 364, OUR REPRESENTATION PROPOSAL (TEXT BY SEPARATE TEL) AND STATED THAT IF CONCLUDED "I WILL ADVISE YOU VERY SOON CONCERNING RESULTS REVIEW" CASES DETAINED AMERICAN NATIONALS. DURING COURSE INFORMAL DISCUSSION HE MENTIONED RELEASE FLIERS AS CHINESE GESTURE AND EXPECTATION GESTURE FROM US.

I STRESSED DEGREE WE HAVE GONE MEETING THEIR POINT OF VIEW, THAT IS REMOVAL ALL RESTRICTIONS AGAINST CHINESE IN US, CONSIDERATION REPRESENTATION PROPOSAL, LACK SUBSTANTIAL RESULTS HIS LAST YEAR'S PROMISE REVIEW CASES AMERICANS, LENGTH TIME AMERICANS IN PRISON, LACK OF VALUE REPRESENTATION PROPOSAL TO AMERICANS IN CHINA WHOSE SITUATION COULD BE RESOLVED ONLY BY ACTION HIS GOVERNMENT, INEQUALITY SITUATION TWO GROUPS NATIONALS, AND REPEATED WITH INCREASING DIRECTNESS AGREEMENT REPRESENTATION NOT POSSIBLE UNTIL ACTION THEIR PART AMERICANS.

DURING COURSE CONSIDERABLE GIVE AND TAKE WANG INCREASINGLY CLEAR IN IMPLICATION NO ACTION ON AMERICANS UNTIL REPRESENTATION AGREEMENT BUT THAT SUCH ACTION WOULD PROMPTLY FOLLOW AGREEMENT.

MOVEMENT THIS MORNING WAS ALSO EXPLICITLY IN CONTEXT AGENDA ITEM ONE COMPLETED WITH AGREEMENT ON REPRESENTATION AND DESIRE MOVE ON IMMEDIATELY TO AGENDA ITEM TWO.

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-2- 403, AUGUST 11, 1 P.M., FROM GENEVA

NEXT MEETING SATURDAY, AUGUST 13, 10 AM.

WHILE CONTINUING GIVE NO INFO PRESS ON MEETINGS AM INFORMALLY TAKING LINE CENTRAL ISSUE HAS BEEN AND REMAINS RELEASE AMERICANS.

GOWEN

LFS

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1955 AUG 11 PM 12 35
OFFICE OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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9:07 PM
Date of Action
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Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 412, AUGUST 11, 6 PM (SECTION 1 OF 2)

FROM JOHNSON

AT FIFTH MEETING AUGUST 11, 10 AM WANG, READING FROM PREPARED STATEMENT, SAID HE HAD CAREFULLY STUDIED VIEWS BOTH SIDES ON QUESTION RETURN CIVILIANS TO RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY MY STATEMENT LAST MEETING. SAID HE THOUGHT THERE HAD BEEN APPROACH OF VIEWS BETWEEN TWO SIDES AND PROGRESS IN TALKS. REGARDING PROBLEM CHINESE NATIONALS, INCLUDING STUDENTS, IN US HE SAID HE HAD PROPOSED US SHOULD REMOVE ALL PROHIBITIONS AND MEASURES PREVENTING THEIR RETURN, INCLUDING DEADLINES WHICH INCREASED THEIR DIFFICULTIES. HAD NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THAT US NOT RESTRAINING ANY CHINESE CIVILIAN WANTING RETURN. FURTHER, HAD NOTED MY CATEGORICAL ASSURANCE CHINESE STUDENTS NOT BEING PREVENTED FROM LEAVING US AND THAT ALL RESTRAINING ORDERS AFFECTING CHINESE NATIONALS, INCLUDING DR. TSIEN, HAD BEEN RESCINDED. CONTINUED THAT I HAD ALSO AGREED CHINESE NATIONAL APPLYING FOR OR GRANTED PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN US SHOULD BE PERMITTED TRAVEL ANYTIME TO ANY DESTINATION THEIR CHOICE WITHOUT GIVING REASON. REGARDING DEADLINES, HE HAD NOTED MY STATEMENT EACH CASE SYMPATHETICALLY CONSIDERED ON OWN MERITS AND IMMIGRATION SERVICE GIVING REASONABLE TIME.

WANG CONTINUED HE WELCOMED ALL THESE STATEMENTS WHICH FACILITATED PROGRESS OF TALKS. SAID I HAD ALSO MET HIS PROPOSAL BY SUBMITTING LIST 76 NAMES FOR WHICH HE EXPRESSED SATISFACTION. MEANWHILE, HE FELT BOUND TO POINT OUT THAT ALTHOUGH GIVEN LIST OF AMERICANS IN CHINA I HAD FAILED PROVIDE LIST ALL CHINESE, INCLUDING STUDENTS, IN US. THIS FAILURE REGRETTABLE AND HE RESERVED RIGHT PUT FORWARD THIS DEMAND AGAIN IN FUTURE. REGARDING AMERICAN NATIONALS IN CHINA HE HAD INDICATED WHEN HE HANDED ME LIST THAT ALL ORDINARY

AMERICANS

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AMERICANS COULD DEPART ANYTIME SO LONG AS NOT INVOLVED IN CIVIL CASES OR HAD MADE REASONABLE ARRANGEMENTS REGARDING CIVIL CASES. AMERICAN CIVILIANS WHO HAD COMMITTED CRIMES WOULD BE TREATED WITH LENIENCY ACCORDING TO THEIR CRIMES AND BEHAVIOUR AND THOSE WITH GOOD BEHAVIOUR WOULD BE GRANTED COMMUTATION OF SENTENCE AND EARLY DEPARTURE. CAPTURED PERSONNEL FROM KOREAN WAR WHO HAD CHOSEN NOT TO RETURN COULD LEAVE AT ANYTIME THEY DESIRED. REGARDING MILITARY PERSONNEL WHO HAD COMMITTED CRIMES, 15 HAD BEEN RELEASED AT DIFFERENT TIMES. SAID HE HAD ALSO INFORMED ME THAT CHINESE GOVERNMENT REVIEWING CASES AMERICAN NATIONALS WHO HAVE APPLIED RETURN THEIR COUNTRY. CASES OF AMERICANS WHO HAD COMMITTED CRIMES BEING REVIEWED INDIVIDUALLY. IN ORDER SAFEGUARD INTERESTS NATIONALS BOTH SIDES HE HAD PROPOSED EACH SHOULD ENTRUST THIRD COUNTRY OF CHOICE WITH CARE OF AFFAIRS THESE NATIONALS; IN FIRST PLACE AFFAIR OF THEIR RETURN. HE DEEMED THIS PROPOSAL MEETS INTERESTS NATIONALS BOTH SIDES. OBVIOUSLY, AFFAIRS CONCERNING RETURN NATIONALS BOTH SIDES CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH OTHER AFFAIRS IN THEIR COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE AND HIS PROPOSAL SHOULD THEREFORE NOT BE REGARDED AS EXCEEDING TERMS OF REFERENCE AGENDA ITEM ONE.

WANG CONTINUED SAYING AT LAST MEETING I HAD STATED US GOVERNMENT CONSIDERING CERTAIN ARRANGEMENT. HE THEN PROCEEDED REPEAT ALMOST WORD FOR WORD ARRANGEMENT I HAD SUGGESTED PREVIOUS MEETING. HE WENT ON TO SAY IN OPINION HIS GOVERNMENT THIS ARRANGEMENT COULD NOT SATISFY DEMANDS OF NATIONALS BOTH SIDES, ESPECIALLY CHINESE NATIONALS IN US. HOWEVER IN INTEREST SPEEDILY REACHING AGREEMENT ON FIRST AGENDA ITEM HE WAS READY AGREE BASICALLY SUCH ARRANGEMENT AS FIRST STEP IN SAFEGUARDING INTERESTS NATIONALS BOTH SIDES. BASED ON STATEMENT MADE BY BOTH SIDES HE WOULD LIKE PROPOSE DRAFT AGREEMENT TO BE ADOPTED AS THE AGREEMENT REACHED IN THESE TALKS CONCERNING QUESTION RETURN CIVILIANS BOTH SIDES TO THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. WANG THEN READ DRAFT AGREEMENT QUOTED MYTEL 402.

WANG THEN STATED I MIGHT RECALL HIS STATEMENT AT FIRST MEETING

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MEETING THAT SO LONG AS BOTH SIDES ADOPTED CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE WOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT AGREE ON QUESTION RETURN CIVILIANS TO RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. NOW JOINT AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED UNANIMOUSLY ON MAJORITY OF POINTS UNDER ITEM ONE. EXPRESSED HOPE IT POSSIBLE SPEEDILY TO ADOPT DRAFT AGREEMENT. AFTER ABOVE DRAFT AGREEMENT ADOPTED BY BOTH SIDES HE WOULD ADVISE ME "VERY SOON" RE CASES US NATIONALS WHO HAD APPLIED LEAVE CHINA.

I TOLD WANG I WAS SORRY I UNABLE SHARE HIS VIEW THAT WE AS CLOSE TO AGREEMENT AS HE APPEARED INDICATE. SAID WE CAME TO DISCUSS QUESTION NATIONALS OF BOTH SIDES WHO PREVENTED FROM RETURNING THEIR COUNTRY. AS WANG HAD POINTED PUT THIS MORNING US GOVERNMENT HAD REMOVED ALL PREVENTIVE DEPARTURE ORDERS AGAINST CHINESE CIVILIANS, INCLUDING THAT ON DR. TSIEN. THERE REMAINED NO GOVERNMENTAL MEASURE PREVENTING DEPARTURE CHINESE. THIS FULLY MET WANG'S REQUEST OF ME THIS REGARD.

I SAID I WAS CONFIDENT THERE ARE NO PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES WHICH WOULD PREVENT CHINESE IN US FROM PROCEEDING THEIR COUNTRY IF THEY DESIRED DO SO. HOWEVER IN EFFORT FULLY TO MEET HIS POINT OF VIEW I HAD OUTLINED AN ARRANGEMENT WHICH MY GOVERNMENT CONSIDERING REGARDING THIRD PARTY REPRESENTATION. I AGAIN WANTED CONTRAST SITUATION AMERICANS IN CHINA WHO WISHED DEPART WITH THAT OF CHINESE IN US. ALL CHINESE NATIONALS NOW FREE DEPART. HOWEVER IN CASE AMERICANS IN CHINA SITUATION SAME AS AT TIME TALKS BEGAN. SOLELY MEASURES TAKEN BY WANG'S GOVERNMENT PREVENTED DEPARTURE THESE AMERICANS. NO THIRD COUNTRY REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT COULD REMOVE THOSE OBSTACLES. ONLY ACTION BY HIS GOVERNMENT COULD CLEAR ROAD FOR DEPARTURE AMERICANS DETAINED AGAINST THEIR WILL IN CHINA.

I ADDED I WAS PLEASED TO LEARN AT MEETING AUGUST SECOND AND REPEATED TODAY THAT WANG'S GOVERNMENT REVIEWING CASES AMERICANS IN CHINA INCLUDING THOSE IN JAIL. I ALSO HAD CAREFULLY NOTED STATEMENT HIS GOVERNMENT INTENDED TAKE MEASURES WITH RESPECT TO THEM OUT OF SPECIAL CONSIDERATION. I EXPRESSED

HOPE THESE

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HOPE THESE MEASURES WOULD BE SUCH THAT AMERICANS NOW PREVENTED FROM LEAVING HIS COUNTRY WOULD BE FREE TO DEPART. IF THIS DONE PROMPTLY I WAS CONFIDENT IT WOULD ESTABLISH BASIS ON WHICH IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE WORK OUT ARRANGEMENT SUCH AS I HAD SUGGESTED LAST MEETING AND HE SUGGESTED TODAY. OTHERWISE I FEARED IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO DO SO.

GOWEN

AAL

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23-22
Action

CONFIDENTIAL

Action Assigned to ____
Action Taken ____
Control: 6189
Rec'd: AUGUST 11, 1955
7:29 PM
Date of Action ____
Action Office Symbol ____
Name of Officer ____

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 412, AUGUST 11, 6 PM (SECTION 2 OF 2)

I TOLD WANG THAT SPEAKING VERY FRANKLY I WAS SURE HE APPRECIATED PROBLEM OF PUBLIC OPINION IN US FACED BY MY GOVERNMENT ON THIS QUESTION. I HAD REFERRED TO THIS IN MY STATEMENT AUGUST 2ND. MY GOVERNMENT HAD TAKEN VERY FAR REACHING MEASURES REGARDING CHINESE IN US AND ALSO, IN RESPONSE HIS REQUEST, HAD TOLD HIM OF ARRANGEMENT ON REPRESENTATION WE CONSIDERING. I SAID I FRANKLY DID NOT BELIEVE IT POSSIBLE FOR MY GOVERNMENT MAY MAKE ANY ANNOUNCEMENT OR ENTER ANY AGREEMENT TO BE PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED AT THIS TIME WITHOUT MORE IN WAY OF RESULTS ON PROBLEM MY NATIONALS WHICH I HAD COME TO DISCUSS. SAID I HAD SPOKEN VERY FRANKLY BECAUSE I WANTED HIM UNDERSTAND MY PROBLEM. IN MEANTIME I SAID MY GOVERNMENT AND I WOULD STUDY WANGS PROPOSAL AND MIGHT HAVE SOMETHING FURTHER TO SAY ON IT LATER BUT WANTED HIM TO UNDERSTAND EXACT SITUATION THIS REGARD.

WANG REPLIED HE HAD NOTED MY REMARKS. REGARDING CIVILIANS BOTH SIDES RETURNING THEIR COUNTRY AMERICAN SIDE HAD ITS VIEWPOINT AND HIS SIDE ALSO HAD OWN VIEWPOINT. HE RECALLAD THAT IN TALKS CONDUCTED LAST YEAR HE HAD MADE CLEAR THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF HIS GOVERNMENT ON QUESTION NATIONALS BOTH SIDES RESIDING IN OTHER COUNTRY. SAID HIS GOVERNMENT HAD SAME POLICY TOWARD ALL FOREIGN NATIONALS IN CHINA, INCLUDING AMERICANS. THESE CLASSIFIED TWO CATEGORIES: ORDINARY ALIENS AND THOSE WHO BREACHED CHINESE LAW. SO LONG AS ORDINARY CIVILIAN FREE OF UNSETTLED CASE IN CHINA HE ALLOWED FREELY TO LEAVE. THOSE WHO HAD BREACHED CHINESE LAW ALSO GRANTED LENIENT TREATMENT ACCORDING CHINESE LAW. RECENT RELEASE OF 11 AIRMEN WAS EVIDENCE OF GREAT CONTRIBUTION MADE BY HIS GOVERNMENT IN PRESENT TALKS. HE RECALLED CHOU EN-LAI IN STATEMENT TO PEOPLE'S CONGRESS, JULY 30, HAD SAID NUMBER AMERICANS IN CHINA SMALL AND THIS PROBLEM EASILY SETTLED. FURTHERMORE AS HE HAD JUST INFORMED ME SO LONG AS HE HAD AGREEMENT ON HIS DRAFT PROPOSAL HE WOULD

ADVISE ME

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ADVISE ME VERY SOON ON RESULTS OF REVIEW OF CASES BY HIS GOVERNMENT.

WANG CONTINUED HE MUST FRANKLY POINT OUT, THOUGH HE DID NOT INTEND GO INTO IT, BITTER PLIGHT CHINESE NATIONALS, INCLUDING STUDENTS, IN US PAST YEARS. CHINESE PEOPLE VERY EXCITED IN THEIR SENTIMENTS REGARDING BITTER PLIGHT INNOCENT CHINESE NATIONALS AND STUDENTS IN US. CHINESE NATIONALS IN US INCLUDING STUDENTS FACED DIFFICULTIES IN US JUST AS I HAD POINTED OUT US NATIONALS IN CHINA FACING DIFFICULTIES. IF IT WERE NOT THAT NATIONALS BOTH SIDES HAVING DIFFICULTIES THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO REASON TO MEET HERE. AS RESULT EXCHANGE VIEWS PAST FOUR MEETING HE HAD INDICATED TO ME CHINESE WELCOMED ATTITUDE OF AMERICAN SIDE. ALTHOUGH NOT ENTIRELY SATISFIED WITH ARRANGEMENT SUGGESTED ON FOURTH PROPOSAL IN INTEREST OF PROGRESS OF TALKS HE PREPARED TO USE CONCILIATION AND COMPROMISE AND WAS READY ACCEPT ARRANGEMENT PROPOSED BY ME. DRAFT AGREEMENT HE HAD PUT FORWARD WAS ONLY MORE DETAILED VERSION OF ONE I HAD SUGGESTED LAST MEETING. IN THE MAIN IT WAS SAME ONE I HAD ADVANCED. SAID HE REGARDED SUCH ARRANGEMENT AS MEANS OF SETTLING PROBLEM. IT SHOWED HIS SIDE WILLING AVOID MORE DEBATE THIS QUESTION AND REACH AGREEMENT IN CONCILIATORY WAY.

I REPLIED TO WANG THAT OF COURSE OUR GOVERNMENT EACH HAD ITS POINT OF VIEW AND OUR TASK WAS ONE OF RECONCILING THESE VIEWPOINTS. IT SEEMED TO ME THAT MY GOVERNMENT ALTHOUGH WANG NOT COMPLETELY SATISFIED HAD GONE NEARLY WHOLE WAY IN MEETING DESIRES HIS GOVERNMENT. SO FAR AS AMERICAN NATIONALS CONCERNED WHATEVER WANG MIGHT FEEL REGARDING HIS NATIONALS IN US MOST AMERICANS HAD BEEN IN JAIL FOR LONG PERIOD. AT OUR MEETINGS LAST YEAR I HAD UNDERSTOOD THESE CASES BEING INVESTIGATED. MORE THAN YEAR NOW PASSED AND MAJORITY THESE PEOPLE STILL IN PRISON. I HOPED HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD NOW FIND IT POSSIBLE TO EXPEDITE MEASURES HE HAD SPOKEN OF IN ORDER THAT THIS PROBLEM COULD BE RESOLVED. SAID I WOULD EXAMINE HIS PROPOSAL IN LIGHT OF WHAT I HAD JUST SAID. HOPED BY NEXT MEETING HE MIGHT HAVE SOME SUGGESTION

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SOME SUGGESTION TO MEET PROBLEM I FACED.

WANG REPLIED WAYS SHOULD BE FOUND BENEFICIAL TO BOTH SIDES IN JOINT EFFORT SOLVE PROBLEM OUR NATIONALS. THAT IS WHY THEY HAD ACCEPTED ARRANGEMENT I SUGGESTED LAST MEETING. IF WE PROCEED ON BASIS THIS ARRANGEMENT FUTURE PROGRESS ON QUESTION OF NATIONALS WOULD BE EXPEDITED. HE WELCOMED SPIRIT IN WHICH I HAD SPOKEN THIS MORNING CONCERNING TALKS. IN INTEREST OF REACHING AGREEMENT, WILLINGNESS FOR CONCILIATION AND COMPROMISE MUST EXIST BOTH SIDES. WE TWO AMBASSADORS WERE SITTING FACE TO FACE BUT IF WE DID NOT MAKE EFFORT REACH ONE ANOTHER COULD NOT ACCOMPLISH ANYTHING. IF EACH WOULD HOLD OUT HIS HAND PROBLEMS COULD BE SOLVED. EACH SIDE MUST APPROACH OTHER AND AS HE HAD STATED SO LONG AS BOTH SIDES DISPLAYED SINCERITY HE WOULD BE ABLE TO ADVISE ME REGARDING CASES OF AMERICANS NOW UNDER REVIEW.

I RESPONDED THAT I SUPPOSED EACH THOUGHT HIS SIDE HAD GONE FARTHER THAN OTHER. I FELT THAT WE HAD GONE FARTHEST. REPRESENTATION PROPOSAL DID NOT ORIGINATE WITH US BUT WITH HIM. I HAD PROPOSED MY ARRANGEMENT AT LAST MEETING IN EFFORT MEET HIS POINT OF VIEW. HOWEVER DID NOT SEE HOW IT HELPED SOLVE PROBLEM FACED BY AMERICAN NATIONALS. THEIR PROBLEMS COULD ONLY BE SOLVED BY ACTION HIS GOVERNMENT. WANG REPLIED THAT IN COURSE OF TALKS IMPORTANT THING NOT WHAT EACH SIDE CLAIMED IT HAD DONE BUT FOR EACH SIDE TO SEE WHAT OTHER HAD DONE. SO LONG AS BOTH SIDES SHOWED SINCERITY WOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT OVERCOME OUR PROBLEMS

I SAID I HOPED THAT HE COULD HELP. SO FAR I HAD NOTHING TO SHOW MY GOVERNMENT REGARDING PROBLEM MY NATIONALS AND ASKED IF HE WOULD HAVE SOMETHING BY SATURDAY. WANG REPLIED THERE WERE TWO SEPARATE PROBLEMS. ONE WAS ARRANGEMENT REGARDING RETURN OF NATIONALS OF BOTH SIDES AND THE OTHER WAS MEASURES TO BE TAKEN BY HIS GOVERNMENT. AGREEMENT ON DETAILED ARRANGEMENT WOULD BE

TEST OF

TEST OF SINCERITY EACH SIDE REGARDING THIS QUESTION. SO LONG AS BOTH SIDES SHOWED SPIRIT OF SINCERITY HE BELIEVED IT WOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT TO FIND SOLUTION.

I PROPOSED NEXT MEETING SATURDAY, 10 AM.

GOWEN

AAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1955 AUG 12 AM 8:03
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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65

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Control: 6069
Rec'd: AUGUST 11, 1955
4:14 PM

Action Assigned to CA
Action Taken Reply
Drafted
Date of Action 8/11
Action Office Symbol CA
Name of Officer WP McCrory
Direction to DC/R file

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 417, AUGUST 11, 7 PM

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

RE DEPTEL 364 AND REPORTS ON TODAY'S MEETING.

AS I SEE SITUATION QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE IS ONE DIFFICULT FOR ME TO PURSUE FURTHER SINCE SUBSTANTIALLY ALL AMERICANS ARE BEING DETAINED ON PRETEXT CRIMES AND CLAIMS. CHICOMS HAVE CONSISTENTLY CLAIMED THEY ADHERE TO PRINCIPLE ALL AMERICANS FREE DEPART UNLESS HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES OR HAVE CIVIL CLAIMS PENDING AGAINST THEM. ON ONE HAND I CANNOT ARGUE PRINCIPLE WE WILLING PERMIT CHINESE DEPART EVEN IF THEY HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES AND ON OTHER HAVE BEEN TRYING AVOID BEING DRAWN INTO FRUITLESS MORASS OF DISCUSSING CHICOM JUSTICE WITH THEM. THEREFORE I HAVE BEEN ATTEMPTING KEEP DISCUSSION WITHIN FRAMEWORK PRACICAL SITUATIONS.

TODAY'S MEETING MAKES CLEAR THAT CHICOM ASKING PRICE FOR FURTHER ACTON ON RELEASE AMERICANS IS REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT. PRESENT CHICOM POSITION ASKING US FOR PERFORMANCE ON REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT IN RETURN FOR PROMISE ON AMERICANS IS CLEARLY UNACCEPTABLE.

HOWEVER PROBLEM WE WILL BE FACING IS HOW MANY AMERICANS WE INSIST ON IN RETURN REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT. I HAVE UP TO THIS TIME AND WILL AS LONG AS IT SEEMS USEFUL TALK IN TERMS "ALL AMERICANS" ALTHOUGH IN CONTEXT GIVE AND TAKE AT TODAY'S MEETING I LEFT DOOR OPEN FOR SOMETHING SHORT OF THAT.

DO NOT

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-2- 417, AUGUST 11, 7 PM, FROM GENEVA

DO NOT FEEL WE WILL OBTAIN RELEASE ANY FURTHER AMERICANS PRIOR TO AGREEMENT ON REPRESENTATION BUT THAT WE SHOULD STRIVE FOR SIMULTANEOUS ANNOUNCEMENT RELEASE AMERICANS WITH ANNOUNCEMENT AGREEMENT ON REPRESENTATION.

AT SATURDAY'S MEETING I PLAN AGAIN TO PRESS WANG ON RELEASE AMERICANS POSSIBLY OBLIQUELY SUGGESTING SIMULTANEOUS ANNOUNCEMENT AS MENTIONED ABOVE AND ARGUE AGAINST BROADENING OUR SUGGESTED ARRANGEMENT ON REPRESENTATION.

WOULD APPRECIATE DEPT'S PRELIMINARY REACTIONS TO WANG'S "DRAFT AGREEMENT".

GOWEN

AAL

Note: Reference believed to be EMBTEL 364 from Geneva.
Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 8/11/55 5:24 p.m. EMB CWO

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Control: 6218
Rec'd: AUGUST 11, 1955
8:45 PM

Action Assigned to
Action Taken

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 418, AUGUST 11, 8 PM

FROM JOHNSON

FOLLOWING ARE OUR GENERAL OBSERVATIONS THUS FAR. WHILE WANG HAS BEEN BARGAINING HARD HE HAS BEEN AVOIDING UNCOMPROMISING AND EXTREME POSITIONS USUALLY TAKEN BY COMMUNIST NEGOTIATORS. AT TODAY'S MEETING IN PARTICULAR HIS REVIEW OF MY PREVIOUS STATEMENTS WAS NOTABLY ACCURATE AND DEVOID OF USUAL ATTEMPTS AT DISTORTION AND MISREPRESENTATION. IN FACT HE SEEMED ENTIRELY TO ACCEPT MY PREVIOUS STATEMENTS AS MEETING THE REQUESTS EMBODIED IN HIS POINTS TWO AND THREE AND WHILE MENTIONING POINT ONE IN EFFECT DROPPED IT. HE IS ACTING MUCH MORE IN TRADITION OF OLD TIME CHINESE BARGAINER THAN COMMUNIST DIPLOMAT.

HE HAS ALMOST COMPLETELY AVOIDED USUAL COMMUNIST CLICHES AND LANGUAGE AS INTERPRETED BY HIS TRANSLATOR WHICH IS BASIS REPORTS OUR MESSAGES TENDS BE CONSIDERABLY MORE BRITTLE THAN IN ORIGINAL CHINESE.

HE IS UNIFORMLY COURTEOUS AT MEETINGS AND I NOW HAVE DEFINITE IMPRESSION FROM MANNER AS WELL AS SUBSTANCE THAT THEY DESIRE REACH AGREEMENTS.

GOWEN

AAL

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FEB 17 1959

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1955 AUG 12 AM 7 55
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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 466

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

611.93/8-1155

Your 402, 403 and 417. Our objections to Wang's draft agreement summarized separate telegram. You will be instructed in time for August 13 meeting.

FYI We wish avoid formal agreement with Chinese Communists. Prefer unilateral US declaration which would be matached by corresponding Chinese Communist declaration. We are considering draft declaration reading as follows:

QTE/1. The United States of America declares that Chinese nationals in the United States who desire to return to the China mainland are entitled to depart for the China mainland.

2. The Embassy of the Republic of India in the USA is authorized to assist in such return as follows:

(a) If a Chinese National believes that, contrary to the above Declaration, he is encountering official obstruction in departure, he may so inform the Indian Embassy and the Indian Embassy will, if desired by the C.P.R., intervene on such civilian's behalf with the Government of the United States.

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FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 8/11/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

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(b) If a Chinese national in the USA who desires to return to the China mainland has difficulty in paying for his return journey, the Indian Embassy may render him the financial assistance needed to permit of his return.

3. The Government of the United States will give wide publicity to the foregoing provisions of this Declaration and the Embassy of India in the USA may also do so.

4. This Declaration shall remain in force for at least 90 days and thereafter until notice of termination has been given by the Government of the United States to the Indian Embassy in the USA.

5. The provisions of Paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 hereof shall come into force when a corresponding Declaration (with the substitution of the Government of the United Kingdom for the Government of the Republic of India) has been made by the C.P.R. UNQUOTE

Transmit your reaction immediately so that we may have the benefit of your views before instructions drafted tomorrow afternoon.

Dulles

DULLES

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(69)

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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Control: 6732
Rec'd: August 12, 1955
12:21 p.m.

Action Assigned to

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Action Officer

Comments to DC/R

GOWEN

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 425, August 12, 3 p.m.

FROM JOHNSON

Reference: McConaughy's August 10 letter.

Martin departing August 16.

TT/6

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
- ☐ Releasable
- ☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
- ☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
- ☐ Deny)
- ☐ Downgrade to _____
- ☐ Review Again _____
- ☑ Reviewer _____ Date 10/24/75

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1955 AUG 12 PM 2 32
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WJ-R

DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Geneva, Switzerland

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August 11, 1955

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Lot 72 D 415

Dear Walter:

Just a very hasty note this morning before I leave for the meeting to thank you for your letter of August 8 which arrived yesterday. I find that because of the Atomic Conference there is a pouch leaving today in which I will send this letter.

With regard to the four names, Ralph states he had left them off because they were not on the list Gowen gave the Chinese on May 30th. They have now been added and I do not see this has necessarily raised any particular difficulty.

As we said in our telegram, we had not seen the Denny article and had no idea what it said until your letter. Ralph is the only one who has seen Denny, and he tells me that he definitely did not make any statement to Denny along the lines quoted and I am sure that this is correct.

I feel very much it would have been a serious mistake for me to press the point that the preponderance of Chinese students in the United States maintain their allegiance to the GRC. Wang has been very careful not to raise the issue of the allegiance of all students, as I am sure that he knows the facts and the problems which this would present. We both have been carefully talking only about Chinese who desire to return. Any such sweeping statement on my part would immediately raise the question of how do we know, and it seems to me clearly lead to a proposal for polling all students by some third country, which is exactly the issue we are trying to avoid. If we get into any hot, heavy debate on the subject, it is something I have very much in the back of my mind but do not expect that we will do so.

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☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 9/9/82

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director,
Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State.

SECRET

do so.

I gave you my feeling on the press backgrounder in my last letter, and I still feel that I have been right. I am confident that in spite of the strain to which they have been subjected, my relations with the correspondents are still on a friendly and sympathetic basis. I have taken a great deal of time in seeing them individually, talking about what I could talk about, explaining my position on secrecy and they are very understanding.

I hope you will continue frankly to keep me informed so that I can promptly clear up any questions as to why I do or do not do this or that.

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

P.S. As another brief note, going back over the record, we noted that when on August 2 Wang gave me a list of Americans and said the cases of those who had been convicted of offenses were being reviewed, he carefully omitted that statement in regard to Downey and Fecteau, who were put in a separate category. This reinforces my belief they are going to be the most difficult and I am not quite sure how best to handle it. While I am of course going to push the maximum on their cases, at the same time I hope to avoid doing anything that would jeopardize the release of the others. I would welcome any ideas you have on the subject.

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Department of State

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Control: 6741
Rec'd: August 12, 1955
12:14 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 426, August 12, 3 p.m.

SENT HONG KONG 4 REPEATED INFORMATION DEPARTMENT 426.

FROM JOHNSON

It would be helpful if you could inform me number Chinese students from US who have arrived Hong Kong en route Communist China since August 1 and transmit such figures on a continuing basis whenever any significant change.

Action Assigned to CNOR
GOWEN
Action Taken

TT/6

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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- [ ] Releasable if _____ concurs
- [ ] Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
- [ ] Deny)
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Control: 6622

Rec'd: AUGUST 12, 1955 11:20 A.M.

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 428, AUGUST 12, 4 P.M.

NIACT

FROM JOHNSON

DEPTEL 466 JUST RECEIVED 2:35 P.M. DUE TO OVERLOADED CODE FACILITIES HERE.

1. BELIEVE FORM SHOULD BE UNILATERAL SIMULTANEOUS DECLARATIONS AGREED IN ADVANCE AND ISSUED HERE AS SUGGESTED MY 317.

2. DO NOT SEE NECESSITY FOR PHRASE "IF DESIRED BY CPR" IN PARA 2(A).

3. BELIEVE DESIRABLE PARTICULARLY ON BEHALF AMERICANS IN CHINA RETAIN ELEMENT OF INVESTIGATION VALIDITY COMPLAINT SUGGESTED IN MY ORIGINAL PRESENTATION.

4. BELIEVE 90 DAY LIMIT AS PRESENTLY WORDED NOT (REPEAT NOT) DESIRABLE AS CARRIES ERRONEOUS IMPLICATION THAT AT END 90 DAYS US MAY NO LONGER BE WILLING PERMIT DEPARTURE CHINESE ALIENS. IF 90 DAY LIMITATION CONSIDERED NECESSARY BELIEVE SHOULD BE LIMITED TO PARA TWO.

5. PARA 5 WOULD TEND DESTROY OUR PRESENT BARGAINING POSITION IN USING REPRESENTATION AGREEMENT AS CHEESE TO OBTAIN AMERICANS AND WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY UNDER CONCEPT IN PARA ONE ABOVE. CHICOMS COULD WELL FULLY SUBSCRIBE THIS AGREEMENT AND CONTINUE HOLD AMERICANS WHOM THEY ALLEGE HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES OR HAVE UNSETTLED CLIAMS.

DO NOT BELIEVE IT NECESSARY OR DESIRABLE SUBMIT COUNTER PROPOSAL TOMORROW. BELIEVE WE REQUIRE FURTHER TIME FOR CAREFUL STUDY

SECRET

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AND DECISION ON ANY COUNTER PROPOSAL AND AT TOMORROW'S MEETING I CAN CONFINE MYSELF TO DEBATE ON CHUCOM BROADENING OUR PROPOSAL, IF DEPARTMENT CONCURS, SUGGESTING FORM UNILATERAL SIMULTANEOUS DECLARATIONS, SAY WE ARE STILL STUDYING AND WILL HAVE FURTHER OBSERVATIONS LATER. ALSO WILL CONTINUE PRESS WANG ON RELEASE AMERICANS ALONG LINES I FOLLOWED AT LAST MEETING.

GOWEN

RWN

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1955 AUG 12 PM 2 30
OFFICE OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** 182 **ACTION COPY**

3 13 (72)

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Action Taken

Control: 6659

Rec'd: AUGUST 12, 1955 10

~~11:37 A.M.~~

Date of Action

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Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

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Action
FE
Info
RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 429, AUGUST 12, 4 P.M.

NIACT

FROM JOHNSON

AM NOT CLEAR ON THINKING UNDERLYING DRAFT DECLARATION CONTAINED DEPTEL 466 BUT FROM CONTENT ASSUME THOUGHT MIGHT BE TO ISSUE ENTIRELY UNILATERALLY, POSSIBLY PUBLICLY AS FINAL EFFORT IN THESE NEGOTIATICNS. IF SUCH IS CASE I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT POINT YET REACHED IN NEGOTIATIONS HERE. BY THROWING DOWN PUBLIC CHALLENGE TO CHICOMS AT THIS POINT SEEMS TO ME WOULD RETARD RATHER THAN EXPEDITE RELEASE. IF WE ARE WILLING ENTER INTO ANY REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT BEFORE RELEASE ANY AMERICANS I BELIEVE WE CAN ACCOMPLISH MUCH MORE IN CONTEXT NEGOTIATIONS HERE BY MY WORKING OUT WITH WANG AN AGREED PUBLIC STATEMENT WHICH WOULD BE IN FORM INDIVIDUAL UNILATERAL DECLARATIONS OF WHICH OTHER WOULD TAKE NOTE. I WOULD STRIVE HAVE INCLUDED IN HIS STATEMENT AS FIRM AND DEFINITE COMMITMENT AS COULD BE OBTAINED ON RELEASE IMPRISONED AMERICANS IN PARTICULAR.

GOWEN

TT

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- [ ] Deny)
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- [x] Reviewer _____ Date 8/12/

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178

055155

1955 AUG 12

OC/R Central Files

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA ~~PRIORITY~~ NIACT 470

FOR JOHNSON

611.93/8-1153

Your 402 and 417. Department reaction is [redacted] Wang draft [redacted]

1. [redacted] represents no basic advance over Chinese Communist position of 1954 on detained Americans. Cases all detained Americans are classified by Communist as criminal or civil, and there is still no commitment to release them until QUOTE settlement UNQUOTE to Communist satisfaction.

2. Provision for QUOTE Investigation upon request of Government UNQUOTE would destroy strictly limited nature [redacted] contemplated representation arrangement by making it possible for CPR through Indian Embassy [redacted] request investigation of and make representations regarding unlimited numbers Chinese in US.

Other objections exist in matters of detail but they are secondary to these basic objections which disqualify [redacted] proposal.

Dulles

ASR

DU

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 8/12/55

Clearance:

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson ~~Walter P. McConaughy~~

S/S-CR

AUG 12 1955 P.M.

10951

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (74)

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05787
AUG 12 PM 7 46
DC/T

183

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 478

FOR JOHNSON

Your 428

1. Agree form should be unilateral simultaneous declarations and our 466 was designed to suggest the form of such a declaration.

2. QTE If desired by C.P.R. UNQTE can be deleted at your discretion. We proposed it with a view to creating a situation such that in the C.P.R. Declaration the Government of the United Kingdom would not be obligated to seek the return of American turncoats in China whom we do not want to get back.

3. See no objection to insertion in 2(a) of words QTE if it deems such a complaint valid UNQTE as precondition to intervention on civilians' behalf. Some such language would conform to your original presentation which is unobjectionable.

4. 90-day clause was designed to permit of subsequent modification if conditions change. We do not want to be committed in perpetuity to a situation where Chinese Communist spies could operate in this country, knowing that if caught there would never be any penalty other than their

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Drafted by: S JFDulles:ma 8/12/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: S JFDulles

Clearances:

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CA MCConaughy

S/S 7/Fee

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AUG 12 1955 P.M.

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prepaid first-class ticket to China. However, possibly it is sufficient to drop out reference to 90 days and merely provide that the Declaration shall be valid until notice of termination given or possibly nothing need be said explicitly about termination as long as it is understood that it is not necessarily in perpetuity but subject to reasonable termination.

5. We do not understand what you mean as the Declaration referred to includes of course the whole Declaration, including paragraph numbered one which the Chinese could not subscribe to. In other words the Chinese Communists do not get benefit of Indian participation unless and untill they have declared that all American nationals in Communist China who desire to return to the USA are entitled to depart.

AND CONTINUE HOLD AMERICANS.

We do not suggest you should submit counterproposal until in your judgment this is appropriate or until otherwise instructed. At some point, however, we feel it may be necessary to submit a concrete proposal in form which could be subsequently made public in the event that no agreement is reached.

At your meeting tomorrow, we think it of utmost importance that you should firmly reject the objectionable features of the CHICOM proposal (your 402 Depts 470). We doubt whether you should be stating that you are QTE still studying UNQTE giving the impression that we are uncertain and open to persuasion. It seems to us that a firm negative reaction will probably be more productive.

Dulles

10953

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DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Geneva, Switzerland

OFFICIAL - INFORMAL
SECRET

August 12, 1955

Letter No. 3

Dear Walter:

Thanks very much for your letter of August 10. I understand the same more frequent pouch schedule will be in effect through next week so I will take full advantage of it.

I had thought that my previous telegram on a replacement for Ed Martin had overtaken your letter. Therefore I had not replied to this point. However, I today sent a telegram simply stating that he was leaving August 16th. As I previously said, Ed has been invaluable to me here and I greatly regret his going. If there were any possible way of keeping him without sacrificing his opportunity to go to the War College I would certainly want to do so. However, I do not see that a few days one way or the other is going to make much difference as long as he is leaving in any event, and, therefore, have agreed to his leaving in time for him to get back for the opening. I also feel that it will be very useful to both of us for him to have the opportunity to discuss fully with you in Washington the situation here as we see it. He plans to come to the Department just as quickly as he arrives.

I am particularly anxious that he discuss with you the question of broadening the scope of representation as suggested in my 364. So I will defer any discussion of that in this letter.

I appreciated the information on income tax clearance for departing aliens. I was aware of this requirement when I was discussing the matter with Wang, but I am glad to have the exact information. As you will see from the full report

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director,
Office of Chinese Affairs,
Department of State.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

of the meeting, the discussion was in the context of exit permits. I was trying to make my statement just as strong as possible and believe that it is fully correct within the context. It seems to me that it goes without saying that before anyone departs he should take care of his obligations, including taxes. It just points out that Treasury handles income tax matters in the manner it does. It is in no sense a control over the departure of aliens. I intend to stand on statements I have made in this regard.

Thanks very much for the Denny article, which we had not seen. As you observed, most of the article is deduction on the basis of a few scraps of information, and not very good deduction at that.

The Secretary's last press conference was of tremendous help to me. I was able to point out to correspondents here that he said almost exactly what I have been saying to them. Please thank the Secretary for me. I believe our press problem is now rapidly approaching its proper proportion.

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

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5-25

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August 12, 1955

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

SECRET

Dear Alex:

We have decided to send Douglas Forman, FSO-4, to assist you when Ed Martin leaves. We are awaiting word as to whether you intend to request a short extension of Ed's stay before we issue Doug's travel orders. He will be severely missed in CA and it does not seem necessary to send him until about the time that Ed will be leaving.

Doug is well qualified for the assignment. He has been doing most of the leg-work on your messages here and is thoroughly familiar with the issues, both from his service here and his experience in Hong Kong. He is an able and dependable officer and is good in Chinese. Ed and Ralph can tell you more about him.

There has been quite a debate here as to whether USIA should be allowed to give normal "straight" news play to the story of the mistreatment of the eleven airmen. Naturally they would not be allowed to "play it up" while the Geneva talks are going on. Everybody is agreed that we should not do anything to inflame the Chinese Communists needlessly or afford them a pretext for continuing to hold the remaining Americans. The question is whether straight normal news play, without comment or beating of the drums, accurately reflecting the attention received by the story in the American press, would be hurtful. The present instruction is for them to play it down--in effect suppress it temporarily, and we understand Defense is instructing the airmen to keep quiet for the present.

One piece of quite sensitive rumor, which is solely for your private background info. Yesterday we saw the interrogation of one of the eleven released airmen, Benjamin. He reported that he had seen quite a bit of Fecteau for a while in prison. He said Fecteau had

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

had been able to give him bits and pieces of his story. Fecteau expressed some doubt as to whether the two American pilots of his plane had been killed in the crash. He said the plane landed fairly flat without any lethal impact. He said he regretted to have to admit that he and Downey had left the vicinity of the plane immediately without investigating what happened to the two pilots so he had no real evidence. Personally I am quite skeptical that the pilots are still alive. It is doubtful if the Chinese Communists would have any motive for public announcement that they were dead if this was not the case. In any event it is unlikely the pilots will ever turn up after the announcement that they were killed. Of course, nothing has been said about this to the next of kin or anyone else outside of a very restricted group.

We are awaiting your reply to our 466 of last night regarding the formula for parallel unilateral declarations. Your report giving the detailed account of the fifth meeting on Thursday has just come in and I have not had a chance to digest it yet. Since the pouch is closing, this letter cannot wait.

Your 418 on Wang's general negotiating attitude is of special interest. I believe there is a tendency here to read less significance into his conciliatory approach than you may be inclined to do from there. The semblance of reasonableness and willingness to go part way may be recognizable, but when his draft agreement is taken apart there is really nothing in the way of tangible concession at all. There is as yet no assurance that the Chinese Communist position on the Americans is any different from what it was last year. Undoubtedly they would be willing to release the Americans in return for the sort of broad representation arrangement which they are seeking. But a concession on this from us is not to be expected. In the absence of a complete yielding by us on the representation issue, can any substantial "give" by the Communists on the detained Americans really be expected? Maybe so, but there is as yet nothing we can rely on.

There is something of a feeling here that you do not need to show a great measure of tolerance of Wang's proposals when their terms reflect no assured advance.

The Secretary does not like the idea of a formal agreement with the Chinese Communists. He feels definitely that parallel unilateral declarations are preferable, as indicated in our 466.

We are well aware of the tough row you have to hoe. The questions coming up now are in a different sense more trying than the relatively superficial press problem you had to wrestle with the first week.

We are

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We are naturally troubled as you are by the dilemma we may soon be faced with if we have an opportunity to spring only part of our people in return for a limited representation arrangement.

Enclosed is the transcript of the Secretary's August 10 press conference.

Good wishes,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy
Director for Chinese Affairs

Enclosure:

Transcript of Secretary's press conference of August 10, 1955.

FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:mlw - 8/12/55

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(77) (184)

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9:26 AM
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Name of Officer
Direction to DO/R

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 448, AUGUST 12, 1 PM

NIACT

FROM JOHNSON

WANG OPENED THIS MORNING'S MEETING WITH STATEMENT THAT IF I WOULD IMMEDIATELY AGREE UPON HIS DRAFT AGREEMENT HE WOULD BEFORE ANNOUNCEMENT THEREOF MADE GIVE ME AND PUBLICLY RELEASE RESULTS REVIEW THOSE CASES AMERICANS BOTH PRISONERS AND EXIT PERMIT CASES IN WHICH REVIEW COMPLETED. WAS CLEAR TO US THAT QTE REVIEW UNQTE NOT RPT NOT QTE COMPLETED UNQTE CASES ALL AMERICANS. IN CONTEXT SATISFIED QTE COMPLETION OF REVIEWS UNQTE MEANT RELEASE BUT WAS UNABLE OBTAIN ANY INDICATION NUMBER.

DURING COURSE MUCH GIVE AND TAKE THERE WAS STRONG IMPLICATION THAT HE WAS PROBABLY PREPARED ACCEPT MY ORIGINAL FORMULATION FOR THIRD PARTY REPRESENTATION.

DURING COURSE GIVE AND TAKE I ALSO OBTAINED FROM HIM CATEGORICAL STATEMENT THAT CASES ALL AMERICANS INCLUDING CATEGORY (D) HIS AUGUST 2 LIST (DOWNEY AND FECTEAU) BEING QTE REVIEWED UNQTE.

IN REPLY I REFERRED AGAIN TO MEASURES TAKEN BY US GOVERNMENTP PERMIT DEPARTURE CHINESE, OUR CATEGORICAL ASSURANCES NONE PREVENTED FROM DEPARTING AND STATED I HAD HOPED RESULTS OF QTE REVIEW UNQTE ON CHINESE SIDE WOULD PERMIT HIM MAKE SAME STATEMENT TO ME, THAT IS NO AMERICAN DESIRING RETURN BEING DETAINED. I STRESSED INEQUALITY OF SITUATION AND EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT EARLY SETTLEMENT FORECAST BY CHOU EN-LAI HAD NOT MATERIALIZED. I COULD NOT CONSIDER AGENDA ITEM ONE SETTLED UNTIL ALL AMERICANS ABLE RETURN.

I THEN

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I THEN COMMENTED ON DRAFT AGREEMENT STATING OUR ORIGINAL FORMULATION FULLY AND ADEQUATELY MEETS SITUATION AND THAT PROVISION FOR QTE INVESTIGATION UPON REQUEST OF GOVERNMENT UNQTE ENTIRELY UNNECESSARY. I SAID I WAS NOT IN POSITION ACCEPT DRAFT AGREEMENT OR ITS PRESENT FORM AND RESERVED RIGHT FOR FURTHER COMMENT.

WANG THEN PRESSED ME TO STATE ANY OTHER OBJECTIONS. IN REPLY I POINTED OUT SECOND SENTENCE FIRST PARAGRAPH HIS DRAFT OFFERED NOTHING TO AMERICANS DETAINED IN CHINA.

I THEN OUTLINED OUR THOUGHTS ON FORM OF SIMULTANEOUS UNILATERAL STATEMENTS GIVING AS RATIONALE THOSE MATTERS "CONCERNED INTERNAL AFFAIRS" EACH COUNTRY. I SAID ANY STATEMENT WE MADE WOULD INCLUDE CATEGORICAL STATEMENTS I HAD MADE TO HIM DURING COURSE OF MEETING ON FREEDOM CHINESE DEPART FROM US TOGETHER WITH WHATEVER ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR THIRD PARTY REPRESENTATIONS. I SAID I WOULD EXPECT ANY STATEMENT FROM HIS SIDE TO INCLUDE WHATEVER ACTION THEY HAD TAKEN WITH REGARD TO AMERICANS AND THAT I WOULD HOPE AND EXPECT IT WOULD INCLUDE CATEGORICAL STATEMENT SIMILAR TO THAT WE HAVE MADE CONCERNING DEPARTURE CHINESE TOGETHER WITH ARRANGEMENTS FOR THIRD PARTY REPRESENTATION. I SAID THIS WAS MY TENTATIVE THINKING AT THE MOMENT NOT A FORMAL PROPOSAL BUT THAT I WOULD EMBODY MY THOUGHTS INTO A SPECIFIC PROPOSAL AT OUR NEXT MEETING. WANG STRONGLY RESISTED CONCEPT SAYING IT WOULD SHOW WE HAD NOT BEEN ABLE AGREE. I POINTED OUT THAT NEED NOT BE CASE, THAT HE HAD PERHAPS MISUNDERSTOOD MY CONCEPT WHICH WAS THAT THE UNILATERAL STATEMENTS OF WHICH THE OTHER WOULD TAKE NOTE WOULD BE RELEASED BY JOINT AGREEMENT. HE WOULD NOT AGREE TO CONCEPT, PUSHING HARD FOR "JOINT ANNOUNCEMENT" ALONG LINES JULY 25 STATEMENT AND OUR AGREEMENT ON AGENDA. I SAID RATHER THAN DISCUSS FURTHER WOULD GIVE HIM CONCRETE SUGGESTION NEXT MEETING.

I SHARED WANG'S CONCERN OVER AMOUNT OF TIME SPENT AGENDA ITEM ONE POINTING OUT IT COULD HAVE IMMEDIATELY AND EXPEDITIOUSLY BEEN RESOLVED BY RELEASE ALL AMERICANS IN CHINA.

THIS

THIS WOULD HAVE "LAID SOUND BASIS" UPON WHICH WE COULD ENTER INTO MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT ON THIRD PARTY REPRESENTATION AND PERMIT FRUITFUL DISCUSSION OTHER PRACTICAL MATTERS.

NEXT MEETING TUESDAY, AUGUST 16, 10 AM. COMMENTS FOLLOW.

GOWEN

PAF

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(78)

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5:04 PM

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Date of Action

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Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 452, AUGUST 13, 6 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

FROM JOHNSON

AT SIXTH MEETING, AUGUST 13, 10 A.M., WANG LED OFF READING PREPARED STATEMENT. SAID AT LAST MEETING HE HAD ADVANCED DRAFT AGREEMENT CONCERNING RETURN CIVILIANS BOTH SIDES TO THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES, BASED ON ARRANGEMENT I HAD SUGGESTED. HE CONSIDERED THAT ALTHOUGH ARRANGEMENT COULD FULLY MEET REQUIREMENTS AMERICAN NATIONALS IN CHINA COULD NOT FULLY MEET THOSE OF CHINESE NATIONALS US. NEVERTHELESS IN INTEREST REACHING AGREEMENT HE HAD BASICALLY ACCEPTED MY PROPOSAL. WAS REGRETTABLE I HAD BEEN UNABLE PROMPTLY ADOPT HIS DRAFT AGREEMENT LAST MEETING.

WANG CONTINUED I HAD STATED LAST MEETING THAT MEASURES TAKEN REGARDING CHINESE NATIONALS FULLY MET DESIRES CHINESE SIDE AND THAT NO PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES DELAYED DEPARTURE CHINESE NATIONALS FROM US. THIS NOT IN ACCORDANCE FACTS. AS HE HAD ALREADY POINTED OUT TO DATE CHINESE NATIONALS ESPECIALLY STUDENTS ENCOUNTERED ALL SORTS OBSTACLES TO LEAVING US. IN EVERY CASE OF CHINESE STUDENTS WHO WANTED RETURN BUT WHOSE DEPARTURE HAD BEEN RESTRICTED MANY STILL UNABLE TO RETURN UP UNTIL NOW. HOW COULD THIS BE CONSTRUED AS MEETING REQUIREMENTS CHINESE SIDE? WHILE HE HAD FURNISHED INFORMATION ALL AMERICANS IN CHINA I HAD FAILED PROVIDE LIST ALL CHINESE US. HOW COULD THIS BE CONSTRUED AS FULLY MEETING REQUIREMENTS CHINESE SIDE? HE HAD ALSO POINTED OUT THIRD PARTY ARRANGEMENT DID NOT FULLY MEET THEIR NEEDS, THEREFORE IT COULD NOT BE CONSTRUED AS FULLY MEETINHIS REQUEST. NEVERTHELESS HE ENDEAVORING REACH AGREEMENT IN SPIRIT CONCILIATION.

WANG

1955 AUG 15 AM 8 07

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WANG SAID AT LAST MEETING I HAD RAISED QUESTION PUBLIC OPINION. AS HE HAD ALREADY POINTED OUT, IF STATUS AMERICANS IN CHINA COULD BE KNOWN TO AMERICAN PEOPLE IN ITS ENTIRETY HE BELIEVED THEY WOULD REALIZE TREATMENT THESE AMERICANS JUST AND LENIENT. HOWEVER IN PRESENT AMERICAN PROPAGANDA MANY THINGS GRAVELY PROVOKED FEELING CHINESE PEOPLE. FOR EXAMPLE, CHINESE GOVERNMENT TOOK INITIATIVE RELEASE 11 AIRMEN. AS RESULT AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS AND EVEN OFFICIAL SPOKESMEN HAD SEEN FIT DIRECT ALL SORT SLANDERS AGAINST CHINESE GOVERNMENT. UP TO PRESENT CHINESE PEOPLE VIEWED ALL SUCH UTTERLY UNREASONABLE SLANDERS WITH EXTREME RESTRAINT. IF ONE WERE TO TALK OF THINGS PROVOKING PUBLIC OPINION HE WOULD HAVE TO RAISE QUESTION OF THOUSANDS CHINESE VOLUNTEERS FROM KOREA STILL DETAINED. THIS CAUSED STRONG FEELING ON PART CHINESE PEOPLE. HOWEVER HIS SIDE HAD REFRAINED FROM RAISING THIS QUESTION BOTH OUTSIDE AND INSIDE TALKS FOR IF BOTH SIDES DWELT ON THIS TYPE QUESTION RESULTS WOULD BE PROPAGANDA DEBATE UNFAVORABLE TO TALKS.

WANG SAID CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAD RELEASED 11 AIRMEN ON EVE OF TALKS FOR PURPOSE CREATING FAVORABLE EFFECT ON TALKS. WANG SAID HE HAD REPEATEDLY EXPOUNDED REASONABLE AND LENIENT POLICY OF CHINESE GOVERNMENT TOWARD AMERICANS IN CHINA. DURING YEAR FROM INITIATION TALKS LAST YEAR TO PRESENT, 38 AMERICANS HAD LEFT CHINA AS RESULT REVIEW THEIR CASES BY CHINESE GOVERNMENT. HE HAD ALSO INFORMED ME THAT CHINESE GOVERNMENT NOW REVIEWING CASES AMERICANS IN CHINA AND THAT HE WOULD ADVISE ME OF RESULTS. IN INTEREST SPEEDILY REACHING AGREEMENT ON RETURN CIVILIANS BOTH SIDES AND IN SPIRIT OF CONCILIATION, HE WILLING MAKE STILL ANOTHER EFFORT. DECLARED HE "HEREBY INSTRUCTED" INFORM ME THAT UNDER CONDITION OF AN AGREEMENT ON RETURN CIVILIANS BOTH SIDES (IT WAS CLEAR THIS REFERRED TO REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT) CHINESE GOVERNMENT PREPARED INFORM US SIDE ON RESULTS OF CASES OF AMERICANS IN CHINA REVIEW OF WHOSE CASES COMPLETED. HE WOULD ALSO AGREE TO ANNOUNCEMENT OF RESULTS THIS REVIEW PRIOR TO ANNOUNCEMECT ON AGREEMENT REGARDING RETURN CIVILIANS BOTH SIDES.

WHEN I

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WHEN I ASKED WANG TO CLARIFY THIS STATEMENT HE SAID HIS GOVERNMENT HAD BASICALLY ACCEPTED AN ARRANGEMENT PROPOSED BY ME AND HAD WORKED IT OUT IN PRACTICAL FORM. IF WE COULD REACH AGREEMENT ON THIS DRAFT AGREEMENT HE COULD PROMPTLY INFORM ME OF RESULTS OF REVIEW CASES OF THOSE AMERICANS ON WHOM REVIEWS COMPLETED. IF AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED AT TODAY'S MEETING HE COULD TELL ME RESULTS TODAY.

I SAID I HAD UNDERSTOOD AT SECOND MEETING WHEN HE GAVE ME NAMES OF AMERICANS IN CHINA DIVIDED INTO VARIOUS CATEGORIES THAT HIS STATEMENT CONCERNING REVIEWING CASES AND INFORMING ME OF RESULTS DID NOT APPLY TO THOSE PERSONS UNDER CATEGORY (D) DESCRIBED AS AMERICAN MILITARY PERSONNEL COMMITTING CRIMES. I ALSO MENTIONED OUR PREVIOUS EXCHANGE ON THIS IN WHICH I HAD POINTED OUT THAT CLASSIFICATION TWO PERSONS IN THIS CATEGORY WAS ERRONEOUS AS THEY WERE IN FACT CIVILIANS.

WANG REPLIED AS HE HAD REPEATEDLY INFORMED ME HIS GOVERNMENT PREPARED REVIEW ALL CASES INVOLVING AMERICANS IN CHINA. ASKED TO REPEAT THIS STATEMENT HE SAID REVIEWS NOT CONFINED TO ANY SINGLE CATEGORY OF AMERICANS BUT APPLIED TO ALL AND REPEATED "ALL CASES BEING REVIEWED".

I SAID TO WANG WE HAD COME HERE TO DISCUSS RETURN OF CIVILIANS TO THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. I HAD INFORMED HIM MEASURES TAKEN BY MY COUNTRY INCLUDING THE ONE MAN HE HAD MENTIONED AS BEING DETAINED. SAID IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR ME TO UNDERSTAND WHY IT NOT POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO DO SAME REGARDING AMERICAN NATIONALS HIS COUNTRY. IF HE WAS IN POSITION NOW TO INFORM ME UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS REGARDING STEPS TAKEN REGARDING SOME OF OUR NATIONALS IT WAS OBVIOUSLY NOT COMPLETION OF REVIEW PROCEDURE THAT PREVENTED OUR BEING GIVEN THIS INFORMATION. I WOULD HOPE THAT RESULTS HE ABLE GIVE ME OF REVIEW THESE CASES WOULD BE SUCH THAT HE COULD MAKE SAME STATEMENT TO ME AS I MADE TO HIM.

THAT IS

THAT IS THAT HIS GOVERNMENT NOT PREVENTING DEPARTURE ANY AMERICAN IN CHINA WHO DESIRED RETURN TO US. I HAD TOLD HIM CATEGORICALLY MY GOVERNMENT HAD TAKEN ALL NECESSARY REMAINING STEPS TO PERMIT RETURN OF ANY CHINESE NATIONALS WITHOUT EXCEPTION TO HIS COUNTRY. AT OUTSET OF TALKS I HOPED AND EXPECTED HE COULD MAKE SAME STATEMENT TO ME REGARDING AMERICANS IN CHINA. MY GOVERNMENT TOOK ACTION IT DID REGARDING CHINESE NATIONALS IN US IN ORDER PROMPTLY DISPOSE OF QUESTION UNDER AGENDA ITEM ONE. I SAID IT DIFFICULT RECONCILE SITUATION STILL FACING AMERICAN NATIONALS IN CHINA WITH STATEMENT OF HIS PRIME MINISTER TO WHICH HE HAD REFERRED THAT NUMBER OF AMERICANS IN CHINA SMALL AND QUESTION COULD BE EASILY SETTLED.

I WAS EXPECTING IT POSSIBLE EQUALIZE SITUATION OUR TWO GROUPS OF NATIONALS AND THUS LAY BASIS FOR MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT ON THIRD PARTY REPRESENTATION. THAT WAS BEST WAY LAY GROUND FOR DISCUSSION NEXT AGENDA ITEM.

GOWEN

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Action
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Action Assigned to ____
Action Taken ____
Control: 7395
Rec'd: AUGUST 13, 1955
9:04 PM
Date of Action ____
Action Office Symbol ____
Name of Officer ____

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 452, AUGUST 13, 6 P.M. (SECTION TWO OF TWO)

REFERRING TO WANG'S DRAFT AGREEMENT I SAID IT WENT CONSIDERABLY BEYOND SCOPE OF SUGGESTION I HAD TOLD HIM BEING CONSIDERED BY MY GOVERNMENT. I REMINDED HIM MY SUGGESTION WAS THAT IF ANY CHINESE CIVILIAN IN US FELT HE BEING PREVENTED FROM LEAVING HE COULD COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY WHICH WOULD TAKE APPROPRIATE ACTION. I STRESSED THIS WOULD APPLY TO ANY CHINESE CIVILIAN IN US AND THAT THERE WOULD BE NO HINDRANCE WHATSOEVER IN THEIR COMMUNICATING WITH EMBASSY ANY WAY THEY WISHED. WE WOULD EXPECT ANY AMERICAN CIVILIAN IN CHINA WOULD HAVE SAME RIGHT WITH RESPECT TO BRITISH EMBASSY THERE. IF THIS DONE IT SEEMED ENTIRELY UNNECESSARY PROVIDE FOR ACTION AT REQUEST INDIVIDUAL'S GOVERNMENT. ONLY EACH INDIVIDUAL HIMSELF KNEW WHETHER IN FACT HE DESIRED RETURN AND WHETHER HE FELT HE BEING PREVENTED FROM DOING SO BY GOVERNMENT HIS COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE. I BELIEVE FORMULATION WHICH I SAID MY GOVERNMENT CONSIDERING FULLY AND ADEQUATELY MET SITUATION. THEREFORE I UNABLE ACCEPT HIS DRAFT AGREEMENT IN PRESENT FORM.

I CONTINUED THAT DURING TALK EACH OF US HAD TALKED ABOUT MEASURES WHICH OUR GOVERNMENTS HAD BEEN CONSIDERING OR WILLING TO TAKE, INCLUDING QUESTION THIRD PARTY REPRESENTATION. IT SEEMED ALMOST ALL THESE THINGS INVOLVED INTERNAL MATTERS EACH COUNTRY. US HAD ALREADY TAKEN ACTION REGARDING SOME THESE MATTERS AS I HAD SAID. SAID WANG HAD INFORMED ME CERTAIN ACTIONS HIS GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN OR WILLING TAKE. WHAT I WAS LEADING UP TO WAS FORM OF ANY UNDERSTANDING WE MIGHT REACH. SEEMED TO ME MIGHT BE MOST PRACTICABLE EACH MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT OF ACTION WE HAD TAKEN INCLUDING ACTION ON THIRD PARTY REPRESENTATION QUESTION. EACH COULD

TAKE NOTE

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TAKE NOTE IN SUCH PUBLIC STATEMENT OF STATEMENTS MADE BY OTHER. WHILE WE WOULD AGREE TO MAKING OF STATEMENTS AND THEY WOULD APPEAR TOGETHER THIS METHOD WOULD NOT INVOLVE US IN SAME PROBLEMS AS TRYING TO REACH AGREEMENT ON ANY ONE TEXT. WE WOULD EXCHANGE TEXTS OF STATEMENTS EACH PROPOSED TO MAKE, THE TWO TEXTS TO EMBODY UNDERSTANDING REACHED HERE. THEY WOULD APPEAR TOGETHER BUT WOULD NOT BE IN FORM AGREEMENT.

I SAID WHAT I HAVE IN MIND WAS A STATEMENT THAT AMBASSADOR WANG HAD INFORMED ME HIS GOVERNMENT HAD TAKEN SUCH AND SUCH STEPS REGARDING AMERICANS IN CHINA AND MAKING SUCH AND SUCH ARRANGEMENTS REGARDING THIRD PARTY REPRESENTATION. I WOULD MAKE SIMILAR STATEMENT THAT US GOVERNMENT HAD TAKEN SUCH AND SUCH STEPS REGARDING CHINESE NATIONALS US AND MAKING SUCH AND SUCH ARRANGEMENTS REGARDING THIRD PARTY REPRESENTATION. MY STATEMENT REGARDING CHINESE IN US WOULD REPEAT ASSURANCES WHICH I HAD GIVEN HIM HERE, THAT NO CHINESE DESIRING TO LEAVE US BEING PREVENTED AND I WOULD EXPECT HIM TO MAKE SIMILAR STATEMENT REGARDING AMERICANS IN CHINA. I CONCLUDED THAT THIS ONLY MY TENTATIVE THINKING AND NOT FORMAL PROPOSAL BUT I HOPED INCORPORATE IT IN EXACT FORM FOR NEXT MEETING.

WANG INQUIRED WHETHER I DIFFERED IN PRINCIPLE WITH RESPECT TO HIS DRAFT AGREEMENT.

I REPLIED THAT AS I HAD POINTED OUT I DIFFERED ON ONE POINT. IT SEEMED ENTIRELY UNNECESSARY PROVIDE FOR ACTION AT REQUEST OF INDIVIDUAL'S GOVERNMENT. I RESERVED RIGHT MAKE FURTHER COMMENT LATER ON DRAFT.

WANG DECLWRED WE HAD ALREADY HELD SIX SESSIONS ON AGENDA ITEM ONE AND THAT HIS SIDE NOT SATISFIED THAT SO MUCH TIME SPENT ON IT. FROM BEGINNING HE HAD GIVEN COMPLETE LIST AMERICANS

IN CHINA

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IN CHINA BUT AMERICAN SIDE FAILED RECIPROCATE. FIRST PARAGRAPH DRAFT AGREEMENT SETS OUT VERY CLEARLY THAT NATIONALS RESIDING IN OTHER COUNTRY WISHING TO RETURN THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES ENTITLED TO DO SO. SAID WE SHOULD NOT DISCUSS RETURN CIVILIANS IN ABSTRACT BUT FIND WAYS SETTLE THEIR RETURN. AS HE HAD ALREADY STATED HE HAD BASICALLY ACCEPTED OUR ARRANGEMENT AND NATURALLY WAS PREPARED TO LISTEN TO OUR OPINION ON HIS DRAFT AGREEMENT WHICH WAS PREPARED ON BASIS ARRANGEMENT SUGGESTED BY US SIDE. HE FELT THERE SHOULD BE CONCRETE IDEAS ON ALL POINTS RATHER THAN ABSTRACT. HE COULD PERCEIVE ONLY THREE POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES REGARDING DRAFT AGREEMENT, NAMELY REJECTION, ACCEPTANCE OR AMENDMENT. SINCE ORIGINAL ARRANGEMENT HAD BEEN PUT FORWARD BY AMERICAN SIDE FOURTH MEETING, HE FELT IT DIFFICULT UNDERSTAND WHY I COULD NOT FORM EXPLICIT OPINION CONCERNING DRAFT AGREEMENT.

WANG CONTINUED HE COULD NOT AGREE TO SEPARATE ANNOUNCEMENTS. IT WAS VERY CLEAR NOW AS RESULT JOINT DECLARATION OUR GOVERNMENTS THAT AS RESULT INITIATIVE TAKEN BY US GOVERNMENT WE WERE ABLE SIT DOWN TOGETHER AT GENEVA. FURTHERMORE AT VERY BEGINNING OF TALKS JOINT ANNOUNCEMENT HAD BEEN MADE CONCERNING AGENDA. THESE TWO COMMUNIQUES VERY WELL RECEIVED BY WORLD OPINION. THEY WERE DIRECTED TOWARD FINDING WAYS AND MEANS TO SOLVE QUESTIONS FACING US.

SAID HE WAS PUZZLED THAT SINCE WE HAD AGREED ON COMMON WAY TO FIND SETTLEMENT THESE PROBLEMS WE COULD NOT AGREE TO JOINT ANNOUNCEMENT. AFFECT OF SEPARATE ANNOUNCEMENT ON PUBLIC OPINION WOULD BE THAT WE HAD FAILED FIND COMMON METHOD SETTLE RETURN OF NATIONALS. IMPRESSION WOULD BE EACH SIDE HAD OWN WAY INSTEAD OF COMMON METHOD WHICH WOULD BE REVERTING TO ORIGINAL SITUATION BEFORE DISCUSSIONS BEGAN. IT IS NOT EXPRESSING SINCERITY TO SUGGEST SEPARATE ANNOUNCEMENT ON THIS QUESTION. THIS IS NOT FIRST TIME OUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE MADE JOINT ANNOUNCEMENTS OR STATEMENTS. HE COULD NOT

UNDERSTAND

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UNDERSTAND WHY TODAY I SHOULD SUDDENLY FIND I COULD NOT AGREE TO JOINT STATEMENT. SAID MY SUGGESTION WAS NOT CONDUCIVE TO PROGRESS PRESENT TALKS.

I SAID POSSIBLY I HAD NOT MADE MYSELF CLEAR. I WAS NOT SUGGESTING THAT ANNOUNCEMENTS NOT BE ISSUED TOGETHER BUT REFERRED TO FORM THEY SHOULD TAKE. I SAID THAT RATHER THAN DISCUSS FURTHER I WOULD GIVE HIM CONCRETE PROPOSAL NEXT TIME.

REFERRING TO DRAFT AGREEMENT I SAID I DID NOT SEE IT SOLVED PROBLEM OF AMERICANS. SECOND SENTENCE OF FIRST PARAGRAPH LEFT EVERY AMERICAN NOW BEING DETAINED IN EXACTLY SAME SITUATION AS AT BEGINNING OUR TALKS. I SHARED HIS CONCERN REGARDING AMOUNT OF TIME SPENT ON FIRST AGENDA ITEM. ALSO AGREED IT OF LITTLE USE DISCUSS ABSTRACT PRINCIPLES. SAID WE HAVE PRACTICAL SITUATION TO RESOLVE. FIRST AGENDA ITEM WAS RETURN TO THEIR COUNTRIES OF CIVILIANS DESIRING TO RETURN. SIMPLE AND QUICK WAY TO RESOLVE THIS, I COULD NOT FEEL SO FAR AS AMERICANS CONCERNED AGENDA ITEM ONE COMPLETED UNTIL ALL AMERICANS IN CHINA DESIRING TO RETURN WERE ABLE TO RETURN.

WANG REPLIED IT UNNECESSARY AGAIN SAY ANYTHING ON DEPARTURE AMERICANS FROM CHINA. HE HAD REPEATEDLY SAID CASES OF AMERICANS IN CHINA UNDER REVIEW AND HE WOULD ADVISE ME RESULTS OF REVIEW. HE WANTED ME TO BELIEVE THAT HE WOULD DO WHATEVER HE SAID HE WOULD DO AND ANYTHING HE NOT IN POSITION TO DO HE WOULD NOT SAY. FOR INSTANCE, IN CASE AMERICAN AIRMEN THEY NOT RELEASED AS RESULTS THESE TALKS BUT DONE BY INITIATIVE ON CHINESE SIDE TO ESTABLISH FAVORABLE ATMOSPHERE. AS TO FORM FOR ANNOUNCEMENT OF DRAFT AGREEMENT HE WAS READY TO LISTEN TO ANY OPINION I HAD. SAID THERE WERE ALREADY TWO PRECEDENTS FOR JOINT STATEMENTS OR COMMUNIQUES WHICH WERE VERY GOOD EXAMPLES.

NEXT MEETING TUESDAY, AUG 16, 10 A.M.

GOWEN

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Control: 7384
Rec'd: AUGUST 13, 1955
1955 AUG 15 AM 7:43
5:23 PM

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 457, AUGUST 13, 9 PM

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FROM JOHNSON.

DEVELOPNENTS AT TODAY'S MEETING SHOW THAT OUR TACTICS OF KEEPING REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT AS BAIT FOR RELEASE AMERICANS HAS PAID DIVIDENDS. (I CAREFULLY AVOIDED AT TODAY'S MEETING ASKING "HOW MANY" AS SUCH A QUESTION COULD NOT HAVE BEEN PUT WITHOUT WEAKENING STAND ON RELEASE OF ALL.)

QUESTION WE NOW CLEARLY FACE IS WHETHER WE CAN OR SHOULD PURSUE THIS TACTIC FURTHER.

WE ALL HAVE STRONG IMPRESSION FROM TODAY'S MEETING THAT IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE FURTHER TO ADVANCE POSITION WE HAVE GAINED WITHOUT GREAT DIFFICULTY AND MUCH TIME.

QUESTION THEREFORE IS WHAT APPROACH IS GOING TO GET MOST AMERICANS OUT IN SHORTEST TIME. RELATED TO THIS IS QUESTION WHETHER WE ARE JUSTIFIED IN TAKING ACTION WHICH WILL RESULT THOSE AMERICANS WHOSE RELEASE WE CAN NOW OBTAIN REMAINING IN PRISON BECAUSE WE STRIVE TO OBTAIN SIMULTANEOUS RELEASE LARGER NUMBER OR ALL OF THEM. I REFRAIN FROM COMMENTING ON COLD-BLOODED ATTITUDE CHICOMS WHICH HAS BROUGHT ABOUT THIS SITUATION BUT SIMPLY SAY IT IS FACT WE MUST FACE IN DEALING WITH THESE PEOPLE HOWEVER DISTASTEFUL IT MAY BE.

WE HAVE CAREFULLY DISCUSSED AMONG OURSELVES ALL ASPECTS PROBLEM AND HAVE COME CONCLUSION THAT COURSE IN BEST OVERALL INTERESTS DETAINED AMERICANS IS TO REACH SOME AGREEMENT

ON

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ON REPRESENTATION AT PRESENT POINT.

FIRST WE STRONGLY FEEL THAT I WOULD NOT IN FORSEEABLE FUTURE BE ABLE TO MOVE CHINESE OFF OF LEGALISTIC APPROACH TO INDIVIDUAL AMERICAN CASES. THEY ARE NOT GOING TAKE SIMULTANEOUS ACTION ON CASES ALL AMERICANS WHICH WOULD JEOPARDIZE THEIR ABILITY MAINTAIN PUBLIC PRETENSE ACTION IS RESULT WORKINGS "JUSTICE". I HAVE TRIED HARD AVOID BACKING THEM INTO CORNER WHERE THEY COULD NOT DO THIS AND BELIEVE ANY OTHER COURSE WOULD ONLY INDEFINITELY DELAY RELEASE OF ANY AMERICANS REGARDLESS STRENGTH CHINESE DESIRE GET AHEAD TO ITEM TWO.

SECOND WE BELIEVE THAT AFTER RELEASE OF FIRST GROUP WE WILL BE ABLE MAINTAIN STEADY PRESSURE FOR RELEASE OF REMAINDER DURING COURSE TALKS ON "OTHER PRACTICAL MATTERS". CHICOMS OBVIOUSLY VERY ANXIOUS GET TO"OTHER PRACTICAL MATTERS" AND WHILE THEY WILL WANT MUCH WE NOT ABLE GIVE BELIEVE WE SHOULD BE ABLE PLAY HAND SO AS TO CONTINUE PRESSURE FOR RELEASE. I NOW HAVE COMMITMENT FOR "REVIEW" ALL CASES INCLUDING DOWNEY AND FECTEAU AND CAN TAKE MAXIMUM ADVANTAGE ALL OPPORTUNITIES EXPLOIT THIS. OF COURSE CHICOMS COULD CONTINUE HOLD REMAINING PRISONERS FOR FURTHER BARGAINING BUT THEY MAY WELL ESTIMATE PRISONERS ARE DIMINISHING ASSET AND I DO NOT EXCLUDE POSSIBILITY OF FAIRLY PROMPT RELEASE REMAINDER. OF COURSE, BEFORE AGREEING PROCEED SECOND AGENDA ITEM WE WOULD RESERVE RIGHT REVERT AGENDA ITEM ONE AS LONG AS ANY AMERICANS DETAINED.

THIRD, THEY HAVE COME SO FAR ON SUBSTANCE OUR REPRESENTATION PROPOSAL THAT IT IS DIFFICULT MAINTAIN FURTHER DISCUSSION THIS EXCEPT IN CONTEXT STRAIGHT TRADE FOR RELEASE AMERICANS. IN FACT THIS POINT VIRTUALLY REACHED AT TODAY'S MEETING. IN THIS CONNECTION BELIEVE IT HELPFUL RECALL THAT ORIGINAL CONCEPT BEFORE THESE TALKS WAS THAT AGREEING TO REPRESENTATION PROPOSAL WOULD ASSIST IN OBTAINING RELEASE AMERICANS. I UNDERTOOK TACTIC USE AS BAIT OBTAIN RELEASE SOME AMERICANS AND AVOID ANTICIPATED CHICOM TACTIC OF ASSERTING AGENDA ITEM ONE COMPLETED

WITH

WITH AGREEMENT ON REPRESENTATION. BELIEVE IT WOULD BE MISTAKE NOW TO EXTEND THIS TACTIC TO POINT OF MAKING RELEASE ALL AMERICANS PRICE OF REPRESENTATION AGREEMENT.

IF DEPT AGREES WITH FOREGOING POSITION IT WILL BE VERY IMPORTANT THAT AT TUESDAY'S MEETING I HAVE THE MAXIMUM DISCRETION DEPT IS WILLING TO GIVE ME AND INSTRUCTIONS ON OUR MINIMUM POSITIONS ON POINTS AT ISSUE.

I WOULD PLAN AT TUESDAY'S MEETING TO PRESENT WANG WITH A DRAFT OF SIMULTANEOUS UNILATERAL STATEMENTS TO BE ISSUED BY JOINT AGREEMENT ACCORDANCE OUR AGREEMENT ON PRIVATE NATURE THESE TALKS. (SEE FOLLOWING TEL FOR TEXT.)

FOR BEST BARGAINING POSITION I WOULD REQUIRE CONSIDERABLE DISCRETION EXACT LANGUAGE WE WOULD BE WILLING ACCEPT SO THAT I CAN PRESS HIM FOR AGREEMENT AND REACH FIRM AS POSSIBLE UNDERSTANDINGS. POSSIBILITY SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED HE WILLING REACH IMMEDIATE AGREEMENT AND MAKE STATEMENT PUBLIC.

I DO NOT BELIEVE I SHOULD BE IN POSITION OF ASKING HIM HOW MANY THEY ARE RELEASING BEFORE ENTERING INTO AGREEMENT ON REPRESENTATION, OR BEING REQUIRED TO HAGGLE OVER NUMBERS OR IN ANY WAY EVER TO IMPLY THAT WE ARE SATISFIED WITH ANYTHING OTHER THAN RELEASE OF ALL. DO NOT BELIEVE I SHOULD GO ANY FURTHER TOWARD BALD POSITION OF BARGAINING REPRESENTATION AGREEMENT AGAINST AMERICANS.

I WILL ALSO REQUIRE INSTRUCTIONS ON OUR MINIMUM POSITION ON ENLARGING SCOPE OF REPRESENTATION PROPOSAL TO INCLUDE GOVERNMENTAL INQUIRIES OR INQUIRIES FROM FAMILIES. THERE WERE SOME INDICATIONS AT TODAY'S MEETING WANG MAY BE PREPARED RECEDE ON THIS POINT AND I WILL OF COURSE PRESS HARD ON IT. HOWEVERL IF WE ARE WILLING TO CONCEDE IN ANY WAY (AND I BELIEVE WE SHOULD FOR REASONS SET FORTH MY TEL 364) IT WOULD BE OF MAXIMUM BARGAINING USE TO ME AT TUESDAY'S MEETING.

IF DEPT

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IF DEPT DOES NOT ACCEPT FOREGOING GENERAL APPROACH SITUATION IS SUCH I DO NOT AT MOMENT SEE ANY ALTERNATIVE FOR TUESDAY'S MEETING OTHER THAN ASKING HIM FOR NUMBERS OF AMERICANS THEY PREPARED NOW TO RELEASE (WHICH I THINK UNDESIRABLE FOR REASONS STATED ABOVE), INDICATE NUMBER IS UNSATISFACTORY, AND RECESS TALKS, AT LEAST ON ITEM ONE, UNTIL THEY HAVE "COMPLETED REVIEW" OF MORE OR ALL CASES (I WOULD HAVE TO INDICATE WHICH) AND WE WOULD THEN HAVE TO BE PREPARED ON THAT POSITION.

WILL REMAIN HOTEL DU RHONE TOMORROW FROM 2 P.M. IN EVENT DEPT BELIEVES ANY PHONE DISCUSSION POSSIBLE OR DESIRABLE.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Control: 7391

Rec'd: AUGUST 13, 1955

1955 AUG 15 AM 9:46 PM

Date 45

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 458, AUGUST 13, 9 PM

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

RE MYTEL 457

PROPOSE HAND WANG FOLLOWING DRAFT TEXT "AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT" NEXT MEETING (TO BE RELEASED FOLLOWING WANG'S UNILATERAL ANNOUNCEMENT RESULTS "REVIEW" CASES DETAINED AMERICANS PROMISED TODAY):

"AMBASSADORS OF USA AND PRC HAVE AGREED TO ANNOUNCE THE MEASURES WHICH THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS HAVE ADOPTED WITH RESPECT TO RETURN OF NATIONALS OF EACH LOCATED IN COUNTRY OF OTHER. WITH RESPECT TO CHINESE NATIONALS RESIDING IN US, AMBASSADOR JOHNSON ON BEHALF OF US GOVERNMENT HAS INFORMED AMBASSADOR WANG THAT:

"1. USA RECOGNIZES THAT CHINESE NATIONALS IN US WHO DESIRE RETURN TO PRC ARE ENTITLED DO SO AND DECLARES THAT NO CHINESE NATIONAL WHO DESIRES DEPART US FOR PRC IS BEING PREVENTED FROM DOING SO. THIS INCLUDES ALL THOSE CHINESE NATIONALS WHO WERE AT ONE TIME PREVENTED FROM DEPARTING US.

"2. EMBASSY OF REPUBLIC OF INDIA IN US WILL BE AUTHORIZED ASSIST RETURN TO PRC OF THOSE CHINESE NATIONALS WHO DESIRE TO DO SO AS FOLLOWS:

"(A) IF A CHINESE NATIONAL BELIEVES THAT CONTRARY TO DECLARED POLICY OF US HE IS ENCOUNTERING OFFICIAL OBSTRUCTION IN D-

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DEPARTURE HE MAY SO INFORM INDIAN EMBASSY AND INDIAN EMBASSY WILL, IF IT DEEMS SUCH COMPLAINT VALID AND IF DESIRED BY PRC, INTERVENE ON SUCH NATIONAL'S BEHALF WITH GOVERNMENT OF US.

"(B) IF A CHINESE NATIONAL IN US WHO DESIRES TO RETURN TO PRC HAS DIFFICULTY PAYING RETURN JOURNEY, INDIAN EMBASSY MA RENDER HIM FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE NEEDED TO PERMIT HIS RETURN.

"3. GOVERNMENT OF US WILL GIVE WIDE PUBLICITY TO FOREGOING ARRANGEMENTS AND EMBASSY OF INDIA IN US MAY ALSO DO SO.

WITH RESPECT TO AMERICAN NATIONALS RESIDING IN PRC, AMBASSADOR WANG HAS INFORMED AMBASSADOR JOHNSON ON BEHALF OF PRC THAT:

"1. PRC RECOGNIZES THAT AMERICAN NATIONALS IN PRC WHO DESIRE RETURN TO US ARE ENTITLED TO DO SO AND DECLARES THAT NO AMERICAN NATIONAL WHO DESIRES TO DEPART PRC FOR US IS BEING PREVENTED FROM DOING SO. THIS INCLUDES ALL THOSE AMERICAN NATIONALS WHO WERE AT ONE TIME PREVENTED FROM DEPARTING PRC.

"2. EMBASSY OF UK IN PRC WILL BE AUTHORIZED TO ASSIST RETURN TO US OF THOSE AMERICAN NATIONALS WHO DESIRE TO DO SO AS FOLLOWS:

"(A) IF AN AMERICAN NATIONAL BELIEVES THAT CONTRARY TO DECLARED POLICY OF PRC HE IS ENCOUNTERING OFFICIAL OBSTRUCTION IN DEPARTURE HE MAY SO INFORM UK EMBASSY AND UK EMBASSY WILL, IF IT DEEMS SUCH COMPLAINT VALID AND IF DESIRED BY US, INTERVENE ON SUCH NATIONAL'S BEHALF WITH GOVERNMENT OF PRC.

"(B) IF AN AMERICAN NATIONAL IN PRC WHO DESIRES RETURN TO US HAS DIFFICULTY PAYING RETURN JOURNEY, UK EMBASSY MAY RENDER HIM FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE NEEDED TO PERMIT HIS RETURN.

"3. GOVERNMENT OF PRC WILL GIVE WIDE PUBLICITY TO FOREGOING ARRANGEMENTS AND EMBASSY OF UK IN PRC MAY ALSO DO SO."

SINCE

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SINCE WANG WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY REJECT FOREGOING STATEMENT ON GROUNDS THAT HIS GOVERNMENT IS NOT YET PREPARED STATE THAT ALL AMERICANS, INCLUDING THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN DETAINED, ARE FREE TO LEAVE, I WOULD LIKE TO BE IN POSITION TO AGREE TO SUBSTITUTE PARAGRAPH ONE SOMEWHAT ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

BEGIN QUOTE

PRC RECOGNIZES THAT AMERICAN NATIONALS IN PRC WHO DE-
SIRE RETURN TO US ARE ENTITLED DO SO AND DECLARES THAT ASIDE
FROM THOSE AMERICAN NATIONALS PREVIOUSLY PREVENTED FROM
LEAVING PRC WHOSE RELEASE HAS JUST BEEN ANNOUNCED PRC HAS
UNDERTAKEN SPEEDILY REVIEW CASES ALL REMAINING AMERICANS WHOSE
DEPARTURE BEING PREVENTED BY REASON OF IMPRISONMENT OR OTHERWISE
ND PROMPTLY SETTLE THESE CASES IN SPIRIT OF FOREGOING DECLARATION
F POLICY.

END QUOTE

IN ANTICIPATED EVENT THAT AGREEMENT ON REPRESENTATION REACHED WITHOUT ASSURANCE ALL AMERICANS ARE BEING RELEASED, I WOULD ALSO PROPOSE FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT BE RELEASED TO PRESS HERE:

BEGIN QUOTE

IN VIEW OF FACT THAT AMBASSADOR WANG HAS INFORMED AMBASSADOR JOHNSON THAT ------- AMERICANS, REVIEW OF WHOSE CASES COMPLETED, ARE BEING PERMITTED DEPART FOR US AND THAT HIS GOVERNMENT IS PROCEEDING EXPEDITIOUSLY WITH REVIEW OF CASES OF REMAINING AMERICANS DETAINED, TWO AMBASSADORS HAVE AGREED SUSPEND FOR TIME BEING FURTHER DISCUSSION OF AGENDA ITEM ONE PENDING COMPLETION OF REVIEW THESE CASES BY PRC AND WILL AT THEIR NEXT MEETING PROCEED TO DISCUSSION AGENDA ITEM TWO. IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT DISCUSSIONS OF AGENDA ITEM ONE MAY BE RESUMED UPON INI-
TIATIVE OF EITHER AMBASSADOR.

ND QUOTE

WITH

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-4- 458, AUGUST 13, 9 PM, FROM GENEVA.

WITH REFERENCE PARA 4 DEPTEL 428 I HAD ALWAYS ASSUMED WE COULD NOT AND WOULD NOT AGREE BLANKET RETURN ANY CHINESE WHATEVER CRIME HE MAY HAVE COMMITTED. I HAVE BEEN TAKING MAXIMUM ADVANTAGE FACT AS FAR AS WE KNOW OR CHICOMS HAVE ALLEGED NO CHINESE DESIRING RETURN NOW UNDER ARREST. BELIEVE I HAVE THUS FAR BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN AVOIDING ISSUE WHAT WE WOULD DO THIS EVENT. ABOVE DRAFT ATTEMPTS FOCUS ON PRACTICAL SITUATION RATHER THAN RAISING THIS STILL THEORETICAL ISSUE. HOWEVER IF WE CAN AND ARE WILLING ASSURE DEPARTURE EVEN FOR LIMITED PERIOD OF ANY CHINESE REGARDLESS CRIME HE MAY HAVE COMMITTED WOULD APPRECIATE BEING INFORMED. NOT SURE THIS WOULD STRENGTHEN MY BARGAINING POSITION BUT WOULD LIKE TO BE IN POSITION USE IF IT SEEMS DESIRABLE.

GOWEN

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☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

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SENT TO: Amconsul

GENEVA PRIORITY 492

FOR JOHNSON 611.93/8-1255
Your 448
We feel very satisfied with the line you have taken.

We would be willing to have a joint statement which would say in effect:

QUOTE The USA and the CPR have respectively declared on the one hand that Chinese nationals in the US who desire to return to the Chinese mainland are now free to do so, and on the other hand that US nationals on the Chinese mainland who desire to return to the US are now free to do so.

If any national so entitled to return believes that contrary to the above, he is encountering official obstruction to departure, he may in the case of a Chinese inform the Indian Embassy in the USA, and in the case of a US citizen inform the UK mission to the CPR which may investigate the facts and intervene on such civilian's behalf. Furthermore, these missions may render fina ncial assistance needed to permit any civilian to return.

Wide publicity will be given in each case to the provisions of respective declarations and the referred-to missions may also give appropriate publicity.

UNQUOTE

We are willing to omit paragraph 4 ~~your~~ our 466 relying in substitution upon the word "now" in the first paragraph above. Also, paragraph 5 of 466 would in the

Drafted by: S JFDulles/df 8/13/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearance: CA WPMcConaughy

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present form become unnecessary.

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WSR

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06270

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SENT TO: AMCONSUL GENEVA PRIORITY 495

FOR JOHNSON

611.93/8-1352

Your 457 and 458 presumably crossed our 492 which authorizes you to agree to joint statement as urged by Wang. This is only concession you should make at August 16 meeting apart from minor drafting changes not involving matters of substance. No retreat position as suggested by proposed substitute paragraph in latter part your 458 authorized and no possibility of any retreat position should be intimated.

We believe it essential to hold tenaciously to our basic position on return of all detained nationals as part of any agreement on representation before we proceed to discussion of Item 2 of Agenda. Wang is eager to obtain representation arrangement and to open up Item 2. If we yield on these key points before we obtain firm commitment covering all our nationals we are left without any suitable pressures which we can exert on behalf remaining detained nationals. It would be doubtful if we could obtain their release without responding to new demands made by Chinese communists under Item 2.

You should

611.93/3-1355

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10956

DC/R 55

Drafted by FE/CA:WPMcConaughy 8/14/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by WPMcConaughy

Clearance Cleared in draft by The Secretary
" " " " FE:Mr. Sebald
" " substance by FE:Mr. Robertson 8/14/55

Typed in DC/T:JAW:aal 8/14/55

CS/M 611.93/8-1355

SECRET FILE

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SECRET
Classification

SECRET
Classification

You should maintain unremitting pressure on Wang for acceptance our principle, relying heavily on statements in Chou's July 30 speech that "The number of American civilians in China is small and their question can be easily settled" and "it should be possible ... to reach, first of all, a reasonable settlement of the question of the return of civilians to their respective countries."

Draft text "agreed announcement" your 457 approved subject to observations below based on our 492.

(A) In Para. 1, first sentence, "Chinese mainland" preferable to "PRC". You may concede this point if you consider advisable.

(B) In same sentence, "now" should be inserted before "entitled" and before "prevented" to make clear that declaration is subject to reasonable termination.

(C) Your Para 2 believed slightly less desirable than Para. 2 our 492, in that latter accords clear right of investigation to Embassy after initiative taken by a national entitled to return.

You should cable us promptly exact text you propose submit.

If you are unable induce Wang accept "agreed announcement" at August 15 meeting, you should express your regret at necessity for another meeting on Item 1.

Dulles

DULLES

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SECRET
Classification

SECRET

AMCONSUL GENEVA PRIORITY

For Johnson

Your 457 and 458 presumably crossed our 492 which authorizes you to agree to joint statement as urged by Wang. This is only concession you should make at August 16 meeting apart from minor drafting changes not involving matters of substance. No retreat position as suggested by proposed substitute paragraph in latter part your 458 authorized and no possibility of any retreat position should be intimated.

We believe it essential to hold tenaciously to our basic position on return of all detained nationals as part of any agreement on representation before we proceed to discussion of Item 2 of Agenda. Wang is eager to obtain representation arrangement and to open up Item 2. ~~This gives us what bargaining strength we have.~~ If we yield on these key points before we obtain firm commitment covering all our nationals we are left without any suitable pressures which we can exert on behalf remaining detained nationals. It would be doubtful if we could obtain their release without responding to new demands made by Chinese communists under Item 2.

You should maintain unremitting pressure on Wang for acceptance our principle, relying heavily on statements in Chou's July 30 speech that "The number of American civilians in China is small and their question can be easily settled." and "It should be possible .. to reach, first of all, a reasonable settlement of the question of the return of civilians to their respective countries."

Our unwillingness to take up Item 2 prematurely can not reasonably be construed as affording a plausible pretext to the CPR for continuing to hold for political purposes those Americans it might release now if we would compromise our principle. The prospects should be moderately good for the repatriation in any event of those cases where the "review" has already been "completed". We believe that a possible delay in these cases will be less costly than a surrender of our bargaining position in the more difficult cases.

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FW 111.9/E-1352

Draft text "agreed announcement" your 457 approved subject to observations below based on our 492.

(A) In Para. 1, first sentence, "Chinese mainland" preferable to "PRC". You may concede this point if you consider advisable.

(B) In same sentence, "now" should be inserted before "entitled" and before "prevented" to make clear that declaration is subject to reasonable termination.

(C) Your Para 2 believed slightly less desirable than Para. 2 our 492, in that latter accords clear right of investigation to Embassy after [redacted] initiative taken by [redacted] a national entitled to return.

You should cable us promptly exact text you propose submit.
If/Wang you are unable induce accept "agreed announcement" [redacted] at August 16 meeting, you should express your regret [redacted] at the necessity for another meeting on Item 1, [redacted]

DULLES

Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

Cleared in draft by The Secretary
" " " " FE - Mr. Sebald
" " substance by FE - Mr. Robertson.

Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

611.93/8-1555 PA SECRET FILED FEB 19 1959

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...MING TELEGRAM *Department of State* (17) ACTION COPY

(83)

...ED TO STATE

SECRET

Action ...

1955 AUG 15 AM 10 26

Control: 7587
Rec'd: AUGUST 15, 1955
8:08 AM

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Action
FE
Info
RMR
P
JR
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O
CA
CS

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State ...AU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

NO: 463, AUGUST 15, 11 AM

PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

FOLLOWING IS TEXT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT I PLAN PRESENT WANG AUGUST 16 WHICH INCORPORATES OBSERVATIONS DEPTEL 495:

"AMBASSADORS OF USA AND PRC HAVE AGREED TO ANNOUNCE THE MEASURES WHICH THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS HAVE ADOPTED WITH RESPECT TO RETURN OF NATIONALS OF EACH LOCATED IN COUNTRY OF OTHER. WITH RESPECT TO CHINESE NATIONALS RESIDING IN US AMBASSADOR JOHNSON ON BEHALF OF US GOVERNMENT HAS INFORMED AMBASSADOR WANG THAT:

1. USA RECOGNIZES THAT CHINESE NATIONALS IN US WHO DESIRE RETURN TO CHINA MAINLAND ARE NOW ENTITLED DO SO AND DECLARES THAT NO CHINESE NATIONAL WHO DESIRES DEPART US FOR CHINA MAINLAND IS NOW BEING PREVENTED FROM DOING SO. THIS INCLUDES ALL THOSE CHINESE NATIONALS WHO WERE AT ONE TIME PREVENTED FROM DEPARTING US.

2. EMBASSY OF REPUBLIC OF INDIA IN US WILL BE AUTHORIZED ASSIST RETURN TO CHINA MAINLAND OF THOSE CHINESE NATIONALS WHO DESIRE TO DO SO AS FOLLOWS:

(A) IF A CHINESE NATIONAL BELIEVES THAT CONTRARY TO DECLARED POLICY OF US HE IS ENCOUNTERING OFFICIAL OBSTRUCTION IN DEPARTURE HE MAY SO INFORM INDIAN EMBASSY AND INDIAN EMBASSY MAY, IF DESIRED BY PRC, INVESTIGATE FACTS AND INTERVENE ON SUCH NATIONAL'S BEHALF WITH GOVERNMENT OF US.

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SECRET

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(B) IF A CHINESE NATIONAL IN US WHO DESIRES TO RETURN TO CHINA MAINLAND HAS DIFFICULTY PAYING RETURN JOURNEY, INDIAN EMBASSY MAY RENDER HIM FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE NEEDED TO PERMIT HIS RETURN.

3. GOVERNMENT OF US WILL GIVE WIDE PUBLICITY TO FOREGOING ARRANGEMENTS AND EMBASSY OF INDIA IN US MAY ALSO DO SO.

WITH RESPECT TO AMERICAN NATIONALS RESIDING ON CHINA MAINLAND AMBASSADOR WANG ON BEHALF OF PRC HAS INFORMED AMBASSADOR JOHNSON THAT:

1. PRC RECOGNIZES THAT AMERICAN NATIONALS ON CHINA MAINLAND WHO DESIRE RETURN TO US ARE NOW ENTITLED DO SO AND DECLARES THAT NO AMERICAN NATIONAL WHO DESIRES TO DEPART CHINA MAINLAND FOR US IS NOW BEING PREVENTED FROM DOING SO. THIS INCLUDES ALL THOSE AMERICAN NATIONALS WHO WERE AT ONE TIME PREVENTED FROM DEPARTING CHINA MAINLAND.

2. EMBASSY OF UK RPT UK IN PRC WILL BE AUTHORIZED TO ASSIST RETURN TO US OF THOSE AMERICAN NATIONALS WHO DESIRE TO DO SO AS FOLLOWS:

(A) IF AN AMERICAN NATIONAL BELIEVES THAT CONTRARY TO DECLARED POLICY OF PRC HE IS ENCOUNTERING OFFICIAL OBSTRUCTION IN DEPARTURE HE MAY SO INFORM UK EMBASSY AND UK EMBASSY MAY, IF DESIRED BY US, INVESTIGATE FACTS AND INTERVENE ON SUCH NATIONAL'S BEHALF WITH GOVERNMENT OF PRC.

(B) IF AN AMERICAN NATIONAL ON CHINA MAINLAND WHO DESIRES RETURN TO US HAS DIFFICULTY PAYING RETURN JOURNEY, UK EMBASSY MAY RENDER HIM FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE NEEDED TO PERMIT HIS RETURN.

3. GOVERNMENT OF PRC WILL GIVE WIDE PUBLICITY TO FOREGOING ARRANGEMENTS AND EMBASSY OF UK IN PRC MAY ALSO DO SO."

COMMENTS FOLLOW.

GOWEN

MEM

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84

194

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

18-13

SECRET

Action

FE

Info

Control: 7583
Rec'd: August 15, 1955
7:31 a.m.

Action Assigned to

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

me of Officer

ion to DC/R file

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 464, August 15, 10 a.m.

PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

Comments on agreed announcement my telegram 463 follow.

1. Expect Wang to object "China Mainland" and would be prepared agree to PRC for small bargaining advantage from this concession. Assume Department would prefer "PRC" to "China".

2. If Wang appears willing consider substance but objects form I will as concession suggest working gour* (Clough form our side) combine text information form along lines Department telegram 492 ad referendum.

GOWEN

JAK-15

*As received, verification upon request.

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611.93/8-1555

PA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
- [x] Releasable
- [ ] Releasable if _____ concurs
- [ ] Excise as shown) Basis 1-301
- [ ] Deny)
- [ ] Downgrade to _____
- [ ] Review Again _____
- [x] Reviewer _____ Date _____

FEB 17 1959

FILED

SECRET FILE

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

1955 AUG 15 AM 9 23

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Hold for S A Brown

CONFIDENTIAL

Action VMP/ [illegible]

Control: 7865
Rec'd: AUGUST 15, 1955
6:42 P.M.

FROM: USUN NEW YORK

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 112, AUGUST 15, 6 P.M.

BUREAU OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS
AUG 16 AM 8

OFFICE OF UNITED NATIONS POLITICAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS
AUG 1 1955
2/16/56

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611.93/8-1555

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VERBATIM TEXT.

PRE US-CHINESE COMMUNIST TALKS.

SYG SENT LODGE TODAY "PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL" NOTE ENCLOSING COPY OF AUGUST 4 LETTER FROM CHOU EN-LAI AND MEMO OF SYG'S CONVERSATION WITH WANG PING-NAN. MEMO POUCHED DEPARTMENT, LETTER READS:

"I THANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE OF AUGUST 2, TRANSMITTED TO ME THROUGH AMBASSADOR WANG PING-NAN.

"AS I HAVE TOLD YOU THROUGH AMBASSADOR WISTRAND, THE ACTION TAKEN BY THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN CONNECTION WITH THE RELEASE OF THE 11 GUILTY AMERICAN AIRMEN HAS NOTHING TO DO WHATSOEVER WITH THE RESOLUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS OR WITH THE REPORT TO THE UNITED NATIONS. I ONCE AGAIN WANT YOU TO TAKE NOTE OF THIS BECAUSE THE AMERICAN SIDE IS NOW MAKING PROPAGANDA AGAIN IN AN ATTEMPT TO LINK THIS ACTION OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT WITH THE UNITED NATIONS.

"I APPRECIATE YOUR GOODWILL IN EXPRESING TO AMBASSADOR WANG PING-NAN YOUR DESIRE TO MAKE YOUR BEST EFFORTS TO FACILITATE THE SINO-AMERICAN TALKS. THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY ACTED IN A WAY WHICH WILL FACILITATE POSITIVE RESULTS FROM THE SINO-AMERICAN TALKS. I HOPE YOU WILL PERSUADE THE AMERICAN SIDE TO RESPOND ALSO BY DEEDS. SIGNED CHOU EN-LAI."

WADSWORTH

RW

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LWC FILED MAR 16 19

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86

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

06304

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SENT TO: AMCONSUL Geneva NIACT 496

Origin

Info:

FOR JOHNSON

In ~~the~~ event ~~that~~ a break threatens over Point 1 of agenda, we think you should inform Wang that we suggest a recess of two weeks or some such time to permit CHICOM to complete their investigation of certain American cases, a short time which should be ample in view of Chou En-lai's July 30 statement that "the number of American civilians in China is small, and their question can be easily settled" and that ~~the~~ US, at ~~the~~ time of recessing, would make a public statement somewhat as follows:

QTE The US is prepared to make a joint declaration with the C.P.R. which would confirm formally a) that all nationals of either under the authority of the other who desire to return home are now free to do so; b) that a third party in each country may be designated to assist such return if ever a national desiring to return believes that, contrary to declared policy, he is encountering official obstruction, and c) that such third party may also be the means of providing financial assistance to those desiring to return.

However, this joint declaration is not now being made because the C.P.R. reports that it has not yet completed its investigation of certain US cases. Therefore, the talks are recessed for quote blank unqte 1 weeks at the end of which time we hope the C.P.R. will join with the US in making a joint declaration such as

Dist. Desired

(Offices Only)

Drafted by: S - JFDulles

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: FE - William J. Sebald

Clearances: CA - WPMcConaughy

S/S-CR

AUG 15 1955 A.M.

10958

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Classification

611.93/8-1555

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611.93/8-1555

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Classification

the US is now prepared to make.

Despite the present recess, the US is continuing its own policy of permitting Chinese ~~nationals~~ nationals in the US who desire to return to the mainland to do so.

The US hopes and believes that agreement on the release of Americans on the China mainland can be reached by the end of the period of recess, having in mind Mr. Chou En-lai's statement of July 30, 1955 that "the number of American civilians in China is small, and their question can be easily settled." UNQTE

Dulles (ltr)
DULLES

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10959

(87)

Department of State

06710

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SECRET
Classification

15 PM 8 09

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amembassy NEW DELHI PRIORITY 361
RPT INFO: Amconsul GENEVA 513

FOR JOHNSON

611.93/8-1455

Your 305 repeated Geneva 27.

You may inform Nehru, stressing information confidential unless and until agreement announced, that we understand Chinese Communists, if agreement on return of nationals reached at Geneva, intend designate India as their representative to assist Chinese in US who express wish to return to mainland. Assure Nehru US will welcome such designation if agreement on repatriation materializes and if Chinese Communists do in fact designate India. US will be glad facilitate discharge of Indian Embassy responsibilities under agreement.

FYI Question of third party representation being discussed Geneva. No disagreement either side regarding identity suggested third parties PAREN UK in case Americans, India in case Chinese PAREN. Delay in agreement has resulted primarily from Chinese Communist unwillingness so far match U.S. position of declaring categorically all other-side nationals free depart. This unwillingness in marked and disappointing contrast Chou En-lai's July 30 statement QUOTE number American civilians in China is small and question can be easily settled UNQUOTE. At meeting

Geneva

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611.93/8-1455

CS/A

611.93/8-1455

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Drafted by: FE:CA:DLOsborn:ek/mlw 8/15/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald

Clearances:

S - The Secretary

CA - Mr. McConaughy

NEA - Mr. Allen

SOA - Mr. Jones

10960

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Classification

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SECRET
Classification

Geneva 16th will again attempt secure Chinese Communist agreement joint announcement this basis. On basis of proposal, third-country embassy would, in response complaint from returning national that he encountering obstruction to departure, be empowered investigate facts and intervene on such national's behalf. Could also render financial assistance for travel as needed.

Dulles

Dulles (WW)

DILLES

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10961

(88)

☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date _____

(5-26)

August 15, 1955

SECRET
OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

Dear Alexis:

Doug Forman left this morning for Geneva. I believe he will be able to give you a useful fill-in on the thinking here and the general background of the decisions which have been taken. We took special pains to bring him in on meetings with both the Secretary and Mr. Robertson so he has the feel of their approach to the various problems.

Walter Robertson left at noon yesterday for a two weeks rest and sick leave at Meadow Farm and at Richmond. He wants us to keep him closely informed of any major developments, either favorable or unfavorable, this notwithstanding the fact that he is supposed to dismiss official cares while he is away. He saw your 457 and 458 just before he left on Sunday, and could not have been more emphatic in his reaction that we should not give up our main trading points in return for half a loaf or less. He felt that to do so would mean throwing in the sponge when we may have come close to the point of agreement on all the Americans. His view was generally shared by all who were working on the matter including the Secretary. Still a lot of thought went into the preparation of our 495.

Enclosed is an excerpt from a report we have received from Airman Benjamin in regard to Snoddy and Schwartz the pilots of the Downey-Fecteau plane mentioned in my last letter:

"1. In a

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

"1. In a debriefing of the 11 airmen in Hong Kong and Tokyo, Airman Benjamin stated that he and Fecteau had become close friends during the period between 7 to 28 December 1954 when the airmen and Downey and Fecteau were held in the same cells. Airman Benjamin said that Fecteau had stated the following in regard to Knoddy and Schwartz, the pilots of the plane:

> 'On the second pass the Chinese Communist guns opened up with incendiaries, the aircraft was hit and crashed...The plane was not badly smashed. I ran from the plane and feel badly that I did not check on the pilots. Several minutes later I heard shots and was captured. I was led down a trail stained with blood. Possibly the pilots are alive.'

Benjamin himself said that he thought he had seen the pilots in a group of prisoners and believed they were still alive."

I do not believe that you can usefully exploit this information in your current talks. Let us know if you think differently.

We are looking forward to Ed Martin's return on the 18th. No doubt he will be able to give us much illuminating background on the talks which will enable us to visualize the situation better.

We intend to arrange for him to see the Secretary shortly after his arrival.

I do not anticipate that Wang will precipitate a complete impasse at tomorrow's meeting, but a message which the Secretary has just drafted suggesting the possibility of a two week recess and a public statement by us will cover that contingency.

Regards and good wishes,

Sincerely,

(89)

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18 B

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(197)

Action FE

Info RMR

Control: 8089
Rec'd: AUGUST 16, 1955
8:51 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 485, AUGUST 16, 1 P.M.

P
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NIACT

FROM JOHNSON

CA
CS

TWO HOUR TWENTY MINUTE MEETING WITH NO PROGRESS. NEXT MEETING THURSDAY.

MEETING CONSISTED ALMOST ENTIRELY OF REITERATION PREVIOUS POSITIONS OF BOTH SIDES. WANG PRESSING HARD ON MY UNWILLINGNESS AGREE TO SECOND SENTENCE FIRST PARAGRAPH HIS AUGUST 11 DRAFT AND I PRESSING HARD FOR RELEASE ALL AMERICANS. NO SIGN ANY RELAXATION THEIR POSITION BUT ATMOSPHERE WAS RELATIVELY MILD AND HE WAS NOT PUSHING FOR ANY BREAK. STATED QTE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN UNQTE RESULTING FROM RELEASE 11 FLIERS WAS HAVING QTE ADVERSE EFFECT UNQTE ON TALKS HERE.

DETAILS AND COMMENTS FOLLOW.

GOWEN

VH

Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 8/16/ 9:20 a. m. EMB (CWO)

Action Assigned to

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

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CONFIDENTIAL Direction to RM/R

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611.93/8-1655

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Department of State

ACTION COPY

11-3

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Action
FE

Info
RMR

Control: 8315
Rec'd: AUGUST 16, 1955
2:08 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 490, AUGUST 16, 5 P.M.

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON.

AS STATED MY 485 NO VISIBLE PROGRESS MADE TODAY ON FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE OF RETURN OF AMERICANS. WANG STUCK FIRMLY TO HIS PREVIOUS POSITION ON CASES BEING REVIEWED AND WE WOULD PROMPTLY BE INFORMED RESULTS THOSE COMPLETED. HE RAISED NO OBJECTIONS TO FORM OUR DRAFT AGREED ARNOUNCEMENT (MYTEL 463) AND CONFIED OBJECTIONS TO PARA ONE, PRESSING FOR SUBSTITUTION PARA ONE HIS DRAFT AND FOR BROADENING SCOPE PARA 2 (A) TO INCLUDE INQUIRIES INITIATED BY RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS. ONLY OTHER POINT WAS SUBSTITUTION "CHINA" FOR "CHINA MAINLAND" TO WHICH I COUNTERED WITH SUBSTITUTION BY PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA TO WHICH HE MADE NO DEFINITE REPLY. HOWEVER HE RESERVED RIGHT FURTHER COMMENT.

I AGAIN ARGUED AGAINST BROADENING SCOPE PARA 2 (A) AS UNNECESSARY AND POINTED OUT DIRECT MENTION OF AND DISCRETION GIVEN PRC OUR DRAFT THAT PARA. DISCUSSION THIS POINT INCONCLUSIVE.

HOWEVER DISCUSSION CENTERED AROUND TWO VERSIONS PARA ONE WITH MUCH TALK FROM WANG ABOUT INTERNATIONAL LAW, SOVEREIGNTY, EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY, JURISDICTION OVER FOREIGNERS, ATTEMPT BY US ESTABLISH PRINCIPLE AMERICANS NOT SUBJECT PRC LAW, RECIPROCAL AND BILATERAL NATURE THEIR PARA ONE WHICH RECOGNIZES US JURISDICTION OVER CHINESE IN US, THEY NOT ASKING US EXEMPT FROM US JURISDICTION CHINESE IN US INVOLVED IN CRIMES OR HAVING UNSETTLED DEBTS, WHY SHOULD WE ASK THEM DO SO FOR AMERICANS IN CHINA ETC.

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IN REPLY I DISCLAIMED INTENTION RAISE THEORETICAL QUESTIONS JURISDICTION. OUR PARA ONE DEALT WITH PRACTICAL SITUATION AND WE ASKED THEM SAY NO MORE THAN WE SAID OURSELVES. SAID I RECOGNIZED THEIR DESIRE HANDLE MATTER WITHIN FRAMEWORK THEIR LAW, PARA ONE OUR DRAFT SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED ENABLE THEM TO DO SO, WAS NOT SOMETHING IMPOSED BUT SIMPLY STATEMENT WHAT EACH GOVERNMENT DECIDED DO WITHIN FRAMEWORK ITS SOVEREIGNTY AND LAWS. CHOU'S STATEMENT BEFORE TALKS LED ME BELIEVE WOULD PROMPTLY AND EASILY BE DONE WITH RESPECT AMERICANS. PUZZLEMENT AT TIME THUS FAR CONSUMED WITH NO RESULTS WHATEVER ON AMERICANS. ALL I HAD WERE VAGUE STATEMENTS CASES BEING "REVIEWED". SIMULTANEOUS RELEASE OF FLYERS WHO HAD RECEIVED VARYING SENTENCES POINTED UP WHAT COULD BE DONE WHEN THEY WANTED TO (HE HAD PREVIOUSLY ALLUDED TO FLYERS) ETC. IN REPLY MY SPECIFIC QUESTIONS AS TO WHAT HE OBJECTED IN PARA ONE OUR DRAFT HE INDICATED MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE IF SECOND SENTENCE FIRST PARA HIS DRAFT ADDED. I IMMEDIATELY REJECTED POINTING OUT THAT AS FAR AS AMERICANS IN CHINA CONCERNED THIS TOOK AWAY EVEAXVI*I GIVE TO TWO SENTENCES OUR DRAFT AND STILL LEFT AMERICANS WHERE THEY WERE WHEN THESE TALKS STARTED. SAID I HELD NO BRIEF FOR EXACT WORDING OUR PARA ONE, WHAT I WAS INTERESTED IN WAS SUBSTANCE WHICH I CONSIDERED VITAL. WILLING CONSIDER ANY WORDING HE MIGHT SUGGEST WITH SAME SUBSTANCE. AT END LONG DISCUSSION THESE LINES BOTH TACITLY AGREED NEITHER HAD ANYTHING MORE TO SAY AND AGREED MEET THURSDAY WITH USUAL FENCING AS TO WHO WAS GOING TO DO MOST THINKING OVER SUBJECT DURING INTERIM.

AT CLOSE THIS PHASE HE SAID WISHED "RAISE ANOTHER POINT" AND BROUGHT UP "PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN" WHICH HAD BEEN "LAUNCHED IN ORDER SLANDER CHINESE PEOPLE" ETC. SINCE BEGINNING TALKS PRC "HAS REPEATEDLY MADE CLEAR ITS CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE" QUESTIONS "MISTREATMENT" RAISED. PRC COULD "ENDLESSLY RECOUNT MISERABLE TREATMENT" CAPTURES CHINESE IN KOREA, CAMPAIGN WAS HAVING "ADVERSE EFFECTS" TALKS HERE ETC. I HAD CLEAR FEELING HE HAD RECEIVED SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS MAKE STATEMENT AND THAT HE WAS SOMEWHAT RELUCTANT DO SO. I DELIBERATELY SHOWED ANGER AND CURTLY REPLIED I DID NOT

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UNDERSTAND HIS MOTIVE IN RAISING, ACCOUNTS I HAD SEEN WERE FACTUAL INTERVIEWS WITH MEN RELEASED. OUR FREE PRESS, ACCOUNTS NOT UNIQUE ALMOST ALL RELEASED HAVE TOLD SIMILAR ACCOUNTS, FAULT WAS NOT WITH ACCOUNTS BUT WITH TREATMENT THAT GAVE RISE TO ACCOUNTS, THESE REPORTS HAD RAISED ANXIETY IN US OVER AMERICANS IN CHINA AND MADE IT ALL MORE IMPORTANT FIND EARLY RESOLUTION TO PROBLEM. HE WAS SOMEWHAT TAKEN ABACK AND ENDEAVORED SMOOTH ATMOSPHERE BEFORE WE LEFT.

GOWEN

LFS AND MEM

* AS RECEIVED. WILL BE SERVICED UPON REQUEST.

NOTE: MR. WADDELL'S OFFICE (FE) NOTIFIED 8/17/55 3:25 P.M.
EMB (CWO)

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(91)

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

(199)

ACTION COPY

6

Action FE

Info

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 8470
Rec'd: AUGUST 16, 1955
5:58 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 499, AUGUST 16, 8 P.M. (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

Action Assigned to

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to PC/R file

FROM JOHNSON

AT 7TH MEETING AUGUST 16 I BEGAN BY REFERRING TO WANG'S STATEMENT LAST MEETING THAT HE DESIRED DEAL CONCRETELY WITH PROBLEM OF RETURN CIVILIANS OF RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES RATHER THAN IN ABSTRACT TERMS. SAID I AGREED ENTIRELY THIS APPROACH AND I HAD COME HERE TO SEEK CONCRETE, PRACTICAL WAY OF EFFECTING RETURN TO US OF AMERICAN NATIONALS DETAINED HIS COUNTRY AND WAS PREPARED MAKE EVERY REASONABLE EFFORT MEET HIS VIEWPOINT CONCERNING CHINESE NATIONALS US. WITH REGARD TO LATTER HE HAD MADE CERTAIN PROPOSALS AND I HAD IMMEDIATELY INFORMED HIM MY GOVERNMENT HAD TAKEN MOST FAR-REACHING ACTION WITHIN ITS POWER TO MEET BASIC QUESTION RAISED BY HIS PROPOSALS. THAT IS US GOVERNMENT HAD RESCINDED ALL MEASURES HERETOFORE RESTRICTING DEPARTURE SOME FEW CHINESE AND THERE NOW WAS NO MEASURE PREVENTING ANY CHINESE DESIRING DO SO FROM FREELY DEPARTING. IN ADDITIONAL EFFORT MEET HIS VIEWPOINT I HAD TOLD HIM CONSIDERATION BEING GIVEN HIS PROPOSAL ON THIRD PARTY REPRESENTATION.

I CONTINUED I HAD CONSISTENTLY ATTEMPTED MAKE IT CLEAR I EXPECTED HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD TAKE SIMILAR MEASURES REGARDING AMERICANS DETAINED HIS COUNTRY. THAT IS TAKE WHATEVER MEASURES NECESSARY PERMIT RETURN TO US OF ALL WHO DESIRED RETURN THUS EQUALIZING SITUATION TWO GROUPS NATIONALS THIS REGARD IN RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. SAID I HAD TRIED MAKE CLEAR I NOT ATTEMPTING DICTATE WHAT ACTION HIS GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE TO BRING ABOUT THIS RESULT SINCE THIS OBVIOUSLY SOMETHING ONLY HIS GOVERNMENT COULD AND SHOULD DECIDE. POINTING OUT THIS WAS 7TH MEETING AND 3RD WEEK THESE TALKS, I SAID I DID NOT KNOW OF SINGLE AMERICAN CIVILIAN PREVIOUSLY DETAINED HIS COUNTRY WHO HAD BEEN ABLE DEPART SINCE BEGINNING OF TALKS. HE HAD ONLY INFORMED ME CASES ALL DETAINED AMERICANS BEING REVIEWED AND THAT HE WOULD INFORM

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HE WOULD INFORM ME RESULTS THOSE CASES IN WHICH REVIEWS COMPLETED IF I WOULD MEET CERTAIN CONDITIONS. I COMMENTED THAT ACTION TAKEN BY US GOVERNMENT WITH RESPECT CHINESE NATIONALS IN US WAS WITHOUT CONDITIONS.

I SAID I FOUND MYSELF PUZZLED BY SITUATION AND AMOUNT OF TIME IT WAS TAKING TO SETTLE PROBLEM, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW STATEMENT HIS PRIME MINISTER THAT NUMBER AMERICAN CIVILIANS IN CHINA SMALL AND QUESTION EASILY SETTLED. PRIME MINISTER ALSO HAD SAID IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE REACH FIRST OF ALL REASONABLE SETTLEMENT QUESTION RETURN CIVILIANS THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. I HAD BEEN PATIENTLY HOPING AND EXPECTING HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD TAKE ACTION TO BRING ABOUT THIS RESULT BUT MY HOPES THUS FAR IN VAIN.

I TOLD WANG I HAD GIVEN MUCH THOUGHT TO SEEKING RESOLUTION SITUATION WE FACED AND HAD ALSO ATTEMPTED MEET HIS DESIRES WITH RESPECT TO SINGLE AGREED TEXT. I THEN READ TEXT OF DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT (MYTEL 463). I POINTED OUT LANGUAGE IN DRAFT IDENTICAL WITH RESPECT EACH COUNTRY. I WAS NOT PROPOSING OR SUGGESTING ANYTHING WITH RESPECT AMERICANS HIS COUNTRY THAT I WAS NOT PREPARED TO SAY WITH RESPECT CHINESE IN US. IT SEEMED TO ME THIS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT FULLY MET NEEDS NATIONALS BOTH COUNTRIES ON BASIS FULL EQUALITY AND RECIPROCITY. IT WAS BASED IN LARGE PART UPON PROPOSAL HE FIRST MADE AUGUST 2 AND ALSO CONTAINED MUCH FROM HIS AUGUST 11 DRAFT PROPOSAL. I CONCLUDED I WAS PREPARED IMMEDIATELY AGREE WITH HIM ON THIS DRAFT AND ANNOUNCE IT TODAY.

FOLLOWING 10 MINUTE RECESS REQUESTED BY WANG, HE STATED HE HAD MADE PRELIMINARY COMPARISON MY DRAFT WITH HIS AUGUST 11 DRAFT. HE NOTED MY DRAFT DID NOT INCLUDE A FEW POINTS IN HIS.

1. QUOTING FIRST PARAGRAPH HIS AUGUST 11 DRAFT, WANG DECLARED WE SHOULD NOT OBJECT PROVISIONS THIS PARAGRAPH. AT LAST MEETING HE HAD STATED THAT UNDER CONDITION THAT AGREEMENT REACHED ON QUESTION RETURN CIVILIANS BOTH SIDES CHINESE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE IN POSITION INFORM ME OF RESULTS INVESTIGATION CASES OF AMERICANS ON WHICH INVESTIGATION COMPLETED. IN MY DRAFT NO MENTION MADE OF NATIONALS INVOLVED IN CIVIL OR CRIMINAL CASES. INTERNATIONAL LAW RECOGNIZES RIGHT OF SOVEREIGN STATE EXERCISE JURISDICTION OVER CIVIL OR CRIMINAL CASES IN ITS

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TERRITORY. TO DEMAND A STATE REFRAIN FROM EXERCISING JURISDICTION IS OBVIOUSLY INFRINGEMENT ON ITS SOVEREIGNTY. IN PAST USED TO BE SUCH THINGS AS EXTRATERRITORIALITY IN CHINA BUT SUCH UNREASONABLE THINGS NOW GONE FOREVER. WANG SAID I HAD REPEATEDLY INDICATED MY AIM WAS TO SECURE RETURN ALL AMERICANS IN CHINA WHO DESIRED RETURN. AS HE HAD REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT ALL THOSE NOT INVOLVED IN CIVIL OR CRIMINAL CASES ABLE TO LEAVE ANYTIME. EVEN WITH RESPECT TO AMERICANS INVOLVED IN UNFINISHED CASES, CHINESE GOVERNMENT WOULD REVIEW CASES AND GRANT LENIENT TREATMENT MAKING ALLOWANCE FOR NATURE OF CRIME AND CONDUCT OF INDIVIDUAL IN ACCORDANCE CHINESE LEGAL PROCESS. SUCH PERSONS COULD LEAVE PROMPTLY ON COMPLETION THEIR CASES. HE WAS SURE I COULD APPRECIATE SINCERITY OF THIS OFFER. HOWEVER IF MY INTENTION WAS THAT AMERICAN NATIONALS NOW OR IN FUTURE SHOULD BE PERMITTED LEAVE PRIOR TO SETTLEMENT THEIR CASES HE MUST POINT OUT FRANKLY THIS IMPOSSIBLE. THERE MIGHT ALSO BE FEW CASES OF CHINESE IN US INVOLVED IN CIVIL OR CRIMINAL CASES THOUGH HE DIDN'T KNOW OF ANY. COULD BE SEEN SITUATION TWO SIDES QUITE DIFFERENT. US MAINTAINED LIAISON STATION HONG KONG TO GATHER INFORMATION ON AMERICAN CITIZENS IN CHINA. HE HAD ALSO GIVEN ME INFORMATION ON ALL AMERICAN NATIONALS IN CHINA. HOWEVER HIS GOVERNMENT HAD NO LIAISON STATION CLOSE TO US AND HE HAD BEEN UNABLE OBTAIN LIST CHINESE NATIONALS FROM ME. HENCE HE NOT IN POSITION KNOW WHETHER ANY CHINESE NATIONALS INVOLVED IN CIVIL OR CRIMINAL CASES. HE DID NOT BELIEVE I HAD INTENDED PROPOSE CHINESE NATIONALS INVOLVED IN CIVIL OR CRIMINAL CASES SHOULD NEVER COME UNDER JURISDICTION AMERICAN LAW AND SHOULD BE PERMITTED LEAVE PRIOR SETTLEMENT THEIR CASES. HENCE HE HELD THAT REFERENCE IN DRAFT TO NATIONALS INVOLVED IN CIVIL OR CRIMINAL CASES WAS REASONABLE AND APPLIED EQUALLY BOTH SIDES.

2. REFERENCE WAS MADE IN DRAFT TO CASES AMERICAN NATIONALS PREVIOUSLY DETAINED IN CHINA. HE MUST POINT OUT AS GENERAL PRINCIPLE CHINESE GOVERNMENT DID NOT DETAIN AMERICAN NATIONALS IN CHINA. SO THERE WAS NOTHING IN COMMON WITH THE SITUATION IN US WHERE ORDERS ISSUED TO PREVENT DEPARTURE CHINESE STUDENTS. ALL AMERICANS IN CHINA APPLYING TO DEPART GRANTED EXIT PERMITS PROMPTLY. WHERE SUCH APPLICATION INVOLVED PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS THEY GRANTED PERMISSION PROMPTLY ON COMPLETION PROCEDURAL QUESTION. EVEN IN CASE AMERICAN CIVILIANS VIOLATING CHINESE LAW THEY DEALT WITH IN LENIENT SPIRIT AND IN ACCORDANCE LEGAL PROCEDURE. THEREFORE HE MUST POINT OUT ALLEGATION THAT CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAD DETAINED AMERICAN NATIONALS WAS QUITE CONTRARY TO FACT.

3. IN AUGUST

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3. IN AUGUST 11 DRAFT HE HAD PROPOSED GOVERNMENT OF EACH SIDE MIGHT ON BEHALF ITS NATIONALS REQUEST INTERVENTION OF ENTRUSTED POWER IN ORDER SOLVE DIFFICULTIES IN CONNECTION THEIR DEPARTURE OR CONDUCT INVESTIGATION SO AS TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS ON BASIS INVESTIGATION. HE CONSIDERED THIS PROPOSAL REASONABLE AND NECESSARY. AFTER IMPLEMENTATION OF THIRD PARTY ARRANGEMENT IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT NATIONALS COULD REQUEST WITHOUT RESTRICTION INTERVENTION BY THIRD PARTY. HOWEVER AMONG THOSE DESIRING RETURN MIGHT BE SOME WHO WANTED TO LET THEIR GOVERNMENT KNOW THEIR DIFFICULTIES. IN PAST THERE WERE NUMBER OF CHINESE NATIONALS WHO APPEALED HIS GOVERNMENT ASSIST THEIR RETURN. DR. TSIEN WAS ONE SUCH CASE. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES GOVERNMENT CONCERNED OBLIGATED TO REQUEST THIRD PARTY TAKE NECESSARY ACTION. FURTHERMORE SINCE OUTSET OF DISCUSSION FIRST AGENDA ITEM HE AND I HAD BEEN MAKING REPRESENATION ON BEHALF NATIONALS EACH SIDE DESIRING RETURN. OBVIOUSLY WE COULD NOT MAKE SUCH DIRECT REPRESENTATIONS REGULARLY AS THERE WERE NO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. AFTER IMPLEMENTATION THIRD PARTY REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT QUESTIONS OF NATIONALS DESIRING RETURN COULD ALWAYS BE REFERRED TO THIRD COUNTRY. HENCE IT WAS NECESSARY PROVIDE FOR ACTION OF NATIONAL'S COUNTRY ON HIS BEHALF.

4. WANG ADDED HE OBJECTED TO ONE MINOR POINT OF WORDING, THE REFERENCE TO "CHINESE MAINLAND". HE DID NOT THINK THIS TERM APPROPRIATE AND SUGGESTED REPLACE WITH "CHINA". WANG CONCLUDED THESE WERE PRELIMINARY COMMENTS AND COULD BE REGARDED AS AMENDMENTS TO MY DRAFT. HE WAS READY LISTEN MY COMMENTS AND IF I AGREED HIS FEW AMENDMENTS HE HOPED AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED TODAY.

I REPLIED MAJOR DIFFICULTY BETWEEN US SEEMED PARAGRAPH ONE. WE BOTH AGREED WE WERE HERE TO DEAL WITH PRACTICAL SITUATION - THAT OF OUR NATIONALS IN OTHER COUNTRY. I HAD TRIED IN PARAGRAPH ONE TO AVOID THEORETICAL CONCEPTS AND ISSUES AND TRIED TO KEEP TO PRACTICAL SITUATION. I DIDN'T THINK ANYTHING IN PARAGRAPH ONE INFRINGED ON OR RAISED QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY OR JURISDICTION. THIS WAS ONE REASON IT CONTAINED TWO PARTS. IT SIMPLY A STATEMENT EACH GOVERNMENT WOULD MAKE IN ITS OWN RIGHT AND IN FULL RECOGNITION ITS SOVEREIGNTY. IT WAS NOT INTENDED TO ESTABLISH ANY THEORETICAL CONCEPT FOR FUTURE. INTENT WAS TO DEAL WITH PRACTICAL SITUATION NOW FACING US UNDER CONDITIONS OF COMPLETE RECIPROCITY AND EQUALITY. I HAD CAREFULLY TRIED AVOID ANY ATTEMPT

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DICTATE TO OR DEMAND OF HIS GOVERNMENT WHAT IT SHOULD DO. ONLY HIS GOVERNMENT COULD AND SHOULD DECIDE MEASURES TO TAKE TO DEAL WITH PRACITCAL SITUATION.

I POINTED OUT I HAD NOT USED THE WORD "DETAINED" IN AGREEMENT AND AS USED IN MY STATEMENT MEANT TO REFER ONLY TO THOSE AMERICANS PREVENTED FROM LEAVING CHINA. WHATEVER THE REASONS WE BOTH RECOGNIZED THAT AMERICANS BEING PREVENTED FROM LEAVING HIS COUNTRY. I WAS NOT SUGGESTING HIS GOVERNMENT SAY ANYTHING MY GOVERNMENT WAS UNWILLING TO SAY. AS I HAD POINTED OUT, HIS PARAGRAPH ONE DID NOT IN ANY WAY SOLVE PROBLEM AMERICAN NATIONALS.

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Control: 8487
Rec'd: AUGUST 16, 1955
7:28 P.M.

Date of Action
Action taken
Name of officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 499, AUGUST 16, 8 P.M. (SECTION TWO OF TWO)

I HAD THOUGHT IT POSSIBLE WE COULD QUICKLY REACH AGREEMENT ON SOME FORM THAT WOULD RESOLVE SITUATION OUR NATIONALS. SEEMED TO ME MY PARAGRAPH DID THAT. I DIDN'T HOLD ANY BRIEF FOR EXACT WORDING BUT THOUGHT CONTAINED THERE MUST BE EMBODIED IN ANY ANNOUNCEMENT. I HAD COME HERE TO DISCUSS RETURN OF AMERICAN NATIONALS. STATEMENT THEIR CASES BEING REVIEWED DID NOT BRING ABOUT THEIR RETURN. I WAS NOT SUGGESTING HOW WANG SHOULD HANDLE MATTER BUT ASKED HIM HOW WE WERE TO SOLVE FIRST ITEM, THAT IS, RETURN OF OUR NATIONALS.

I SAID THESE WERE MY PRELIMINARY REMARKS, THAT I WAS ALWAYS WILLING CONSIDER MINOR CHANGES IN WORDING. AS FOR TERM "CHINA MAINLAND" IF HE PREFERRED TO SUBSTITUTE "PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA" WOULD NOT OBJECT.

REFERRING TO WANG'S DESIRE THAT DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT PROVIDE FOR ACTION BY INDIVIDUAL'S GOVERNMENT ON HIS BEHALF I REPEATED MY STATEMENT AT LAST MEETING THAT THIS UNNECESSARY. SAID WANG HAD POINTED OUT SOME NATIONALS IN PAST HAD WRITTEN DIRECTLY TO HIS GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER IF ARRANGEMENT WE WERE SUGGESTING WERE IN EFFECT THIS WOULD BE UNNECESSARY AS CHINESE IN US COULD COMMUNICATE DIRECTLY WITH INDIAN EMBASSY. I POINTED OUT MY DRAFT SPECIFICALLY PROVIDED THAT REPRESENTATION BY THE INDIAN EMBASSY ON BEHALF OF CHINESE NATIONALS WOULD ONLY BE UNDERTAKEN IF DESIRED BY HIS GOVERNMENT.

WANG SAID PROBLEM LIES IN FIRST PARAGRAPH OF PROPOSED AGREEMENT. FIRST PARAGRAPH HIS DRAFT ALREADY INCLUDED IDEA OF OURS. OF COURSE HE AGREED WE WERE HERE TO RESOLVE PRACTICAL ISSUES RATHER THAN DISCUSS THEORETICAL CONCEPTS. TWO POINTS WERE INVOLVED. ONE THAT BOTH SIDES DECLARE NATIONALS OF EACH IN OTHER DESIRING RETURN BE ALLOWED TO DO SO WITHOUT RESTRICTION

AND OTHER

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-2- 499, AUGUST 16, 8 P.M. (SECTION TWO OF TWO) FROM GENEVA.

AND OTHER THAT ANY SUCH NATIONAL INVOLVED IN CIVIL OR CRIMINAL CASE MIGHT ALSO RETURN AS SOON AS HIS CASE SETTLED. THERE WAS NO INTENTION INCLUDE ANYTHING UNFAIR TO ONE SIDE. MERELY ATTEMPT SETTLE PRACTICAL ISSUES. POINT TO KEEP IN MIND WAS MUTUAL RESPECT OF EACH FOR OTHER'S LAW OR SOVEREIGNTY. WANG SAID HE HAD NOT BEEN IN US AND NOT FAMILIAR WITH SITUATION THERE BUT COULD EASILY IMAGINE CASE OF A FOREIGN NATIONAL DOING BUSINESS THERE WHO HAPPENED INCUR DEBT HE UNABLE TO CLEAR. COULD US GOVERNMENT ALLOW HIM LEAVE BEFORE HE HAD CLEARED DEBT? SUPPOSE FOREIGN NATIONAL DRIVING AUTOMOBILE KILLED SOMEONE. COULD AMERICAN GOVERNMENT PERMIT HIM LEAVE WITHOUT FIRST SETTLING CASE? HE HOPED I WAS CONSIDERING PROBLEM FROM BOTH SIDES INSTEAD JUST ONE. HE WAS SURE BOTH OF US WILLING SEEK FORMULA TO SOLVE PROBLEM FACING US. FIRST PARAGRAPH HIS DRAFT SHOULD BE ACCEPTABLE SINCE NOT HARMFUL EITHER SIDE.

I REPLIED I HAD NEVER SUGGESTED CASES OF AMERICANS SHOULD BE SETTLED OUTSIDE FRAMEWORK HIS LAW. I UNDERSTOOD HIS VIEWPOINT. HOWEVER I HAD UNDERSTOOD FROM PUBLIC STATEMENT HIS PRIME MINISTER THAT SINCE AMERICAN CASES FEW THEY COULD BE SETTLED EASILY AND PROMPTLY. I ASSUMED HE DESIRED TO DO SO WITHIN FRAMEWORK HIS LAW. I HAD TRIED TO FIND FORMULA WHICH WOULD ACCOMPLISH RESULT I WAS SEEKING AND STILL NOT GO BEYOND FRAMEWORK HIS LAW. THERE MIGHT BE OTHER WAYS TO DO THIS BUT THIS WAS MY IDEA.

WANG REPLIED THAT STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER CHOU AND PROVISIONS OF FIRST PARAGRAPH WERE OF COURSE WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF LAWS OF SOVEREIGN STATE PERMITTING DEPARTURE OF THOSE NATIONALS WHO DESIRED GO EXCEPT THOSE INVOLVED IN CIVIL OR CRIMINAL CASES. PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT WAS PUT FORTH IN SPIRIT CONCILIATION IN ORDER SETTLE QUESTIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES.

WANG CONTINUED THAT HE RECALLED WHEN WE FIRST MET LAST YEAR I HAD INQUIRED WHETHER CHINESE LEGAL PROCEDURE PROVIDED FOR COMMUTATION OF SENTENCES OR PARDON. HE HAD REPLIED THAT IN CASES PERSONS VIOLATING CHINESE LAW CHINESE GOVERNMENT COULD

CONSIDER

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CONSIDER COMMUTATION IN LIGHT DEGREE OF CRIME AND PERSON'S CONDUCT. ALSO RECENT RELEASE OF AMERICAN AIRMEN PROVIDED CLEAR EXAMPLE THIS REGARD. THEY ALREADY SENTENCED BUT TO GIVE THESE TALKS GOOD ATMOSPHERE AND AS TOKEN GOODWILL TO AMERICAN PEOPLE, CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAD GRANTED EARLY RELEASE. PROVISIONS IN FIRST PARAGRAPH HIS DRAFT VERY REASONABLE PROVIDING THOSE DESIRING RETURN MAY DO SO AND THOSE VIOLATING LAW OR INVOLVED IN CIVIL CASES MAY PROMPTLY RETURN UPON SETTLEMENT THEIR CASES. SUPPOSE AMERICAN MERCHANT IN CHINA SHOULD BE INVOLVED IN DEBT CASE. CHINESE GOVERNMENT WILLING HELP HIM CLEAR DEBTS AND RESOLVE CASE SO THAT HE CAN RETURN AT EARLY DATE. CHINESE GOVERNMENT ALWAYS WILLING GIVE GREATEST COOPERATION HELP SETTLE THESE QUESTIONS. IN LIGHT ALL THIS HE HOPED HIS PARAGRAPH ONE COULD BE RETAINED IN JOINT ANNOUNCEMENT.

I ASKED WANG HOW HE FELT MY PARAGRAPH DEPARTED IN PRINCIPLE FROM STATEMENTS HE HAD MADE. IT DIDN'T DENY CHINESE GOVERNMENT'S RIGHT TO HANDLE MATTERS ANY WAY IT DESIRED. IT SIMPLY STATED SOLUTION TO PRACTICAL PROBLEM.

WANG THEN SUGGESTED AMENDING MY PARAGRAPH BY INSERTING SECOND SENTENCE HIS PARAGRAPH. I POINTED OUT SECOND SENTENCE HIS PARAGRAPH TOOK AWAY FROM AMERICAN NATIONALS EVERYTHING GRANTED THEM IN REST OF PARAGRAPH SINCE AMERICAN NATIONALS PREVENTED FROM DEPARTING CHINA WERE DESCRIBED BY HIM AS INVOLVED IN CRIMES OR CIVIL CASES. SO FAR AS AMERICANS CONCERNED, THIS PUT US BACK WHERE WE STARTED.

WANG DENIED THIS COULD BE REGARDED AS RETURNING US TO STATUS QUO ANTE. HE REPEATED HE ONLY WANTED INDICATE THAT BOTH SIDES DO NOT RESTRICT RETURN OF CIVILIANS AND THAT PERSONS INVOLVED IN CIVIL OR CRIMINAL CASES COULD RETURN AS SOON AS CASES COMPLETED. THIS APPLIED BOTH SIDES EQUALLY AND HE HOPED I WOULD AGREE.

I REPLIED I COULDN'T AGREE SINCE IT LEFT PRACTICAL SITUATION OF DETAINED AMERICANS IN EXACTLY SAME SITUATION AS WHEN TALKS BEGAN.

WANG THEN PROPOSED I STUDY HIS PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO SEE IF WE COULD AGREE ON TEXT AT NEXT MEETING.

I REPLIED I WOULD

I REPLIED I WOULD GLADLY STUDY IT BUT COULD NOT SEE HOW IT SOLVED QUESTION MY NATIONALS HIS COUNTRY. HOW WERE WE TO RESOLVE PRACTICAL PROBLEM OF RETURN AMERICAN NATIONALS? I SAID WANG HAD MENTIONED THE ELEVEN FLIERS. WE HAD OUR OWN OPINION CONCERNING THAT AND I DIDN'T WANT TO ENGAGE IN CONTROVERSY. HOWEVER I UNDERSTOOD ALTHOUGH ALL WERE SENTENCED TO DIFFERENT TERMS THAT ALL RELEASED TOGETHER. IT SEEMED TO ME WOULD NOT BE IMPOSSIBLE FIND SOLUTION TO REST OF AMERICAN CASES. SAID I WOULD BE GLAD TO HEAR WANG'S IDEAS NEXT MEETING ON PROBLEM I WAS HERE TO DISCUSS, NAMELY RETURN OF AMERICANS. ADDED I HAD MADE MY BEST EFFORT FIND FORMULA TO MEET HIS VIEWPOINT.

WANG COMMENTED HE HOPED I WOULD NOTE THAT COMMENTS HE HAD MADE WERE NOT ONLY OF BENEFIT TO ONE SIDE BUT BOTH. HE HOPED HEAR AT NEXT MEETING RESULTS MY CONSIDERATION HIS COMMENTS.

WANG THEN SAID WOULD LIKE TO RAISE ANOTHER POINT. HE HAD NOTED LATELY PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN HAD BEEN LAUNCHED REGARDING RELEASE OF 11 AIRMEN IN ORDER SLANDER CHINESE PEOPLE. THIS PROPAGANDA PROVOKED FEELINGS OF CHINESE PEOPLE. SINCE TALKS BEGAN CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAD REPEATEDLY MADE CLEAR CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE. CHINESE PUBLIC OPINION ALWAYS CAUTIOUS REGARDING PROGRESS THESE TALKS. IF ONE WERE TO DRAW ON QUESTION OF MISTREATMENT THERE WOULD BE NO END TO HIS RECOUNTING MISERABLE TREATMENT OF CHINESE PEOPLE'S VOLUNTEERS CAPTURED IN KOREA. HE HAD AVOIDED RAISING THIS SORT OF QUESTION SINCE IT WOULD NOT BE IN INTEREST PRESENT TALKS. HE ONLY WANTED EXPRESS FEELING ON THEIR PART WHICH HE HOPED I WOULD NOTE.

I REPLIED I DIDN'T KNOW WANG'S MOTIVE IN RAISING THIS MATTER. FIRST, I DIDN'T KNOW WHAT HE MEANT BY "PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN". ALL I HAD SEEN WERE FACTUAL INTERVIEWS AND ACCOUNTS OF THE MEN RELEASED. I TOLD WANG HE WAS PERFECTLY AWARE AMERICAN PRESS PRACTICE AND OUR FREE PRESS. ALSO PERFECTLY AWARE US GOVERNMENT COULD NOT, EVEN IF IT WOULD, PREVENT PUBLICATION SUCH ACCOUNTS. FURTHERMORE THESE MEN'S ACCOUNTS NOT UNIQUE. ALMOST EVERY PERSON RELEASED FROM PRISON HIS COUNTRY HAS GIVEN SIMILAR ACCOUNTS. FAULT DOES NOT LIE WITH THESE ACCOUNTS BUT IN TREATMENT THAT GAVE RISE TO THEM. ACCOUNTS OF ELEVEN FLIERS HAD TREMENDOUSLY INCREASED ANXIETY OF AMERICAN PEOPLE

OVER THOSE

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OVER THOSE AMERICANS REMAINING IN HIS COUNTRY. THIS MADE IT ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT TO FIND SOLUTION FOR RETURN THOSE WHO REMAIN. SAID I HAD NO DESIRE DISCUSS THIS WITH WANG BUT SINCE HE HAD RAISED IT I HAD BEEN FORCED TO DO SO. I DIDN'T SEE HOW IT CONTRIBUTED TO SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS WE HAD COME HERE TO SOLVE.

WANG SAID HE DIDN'T INTEND FOR US TO DEBATE THIS QUESTION AND HAD RAISED POINT ONLY TO REMIND ME THERE SHOULD BE CONCILIATORY ATMOSPHERE AROUND OUR TALKS. AS THINGS STOOD, IF ANTI-CHINESE PROPAGANDA ALLOWED CONTINUE IT WOULD NOT CONTRIBUTE BUT DO HARM TO OUR DISCUSSIONS. IF I HAD ANY CONCERN OF THIS SORT HE HOPED I WOULD TELL HIM OF IT. HE WAS SIMPLY BEING VERY FRANK AND TELLING ME WHAT THEY FELT. HE SAW NO REASON TO ENGAGE IN FURTHER DEBATE HERE.

NEXT MEETING AUGUST 18, 10 A.M.

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Control: 8497
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8:09 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

1955 AUG 17 AM 7:53

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 500, AUGUST 16, 10 P.M.

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Action Taken

Date of Action

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FROM JOHNSON.

BELIEVE FOLLOWING ARE AMONG CONSIDERATIONS IN PLANNING OUR NEXT MOVES:

1. DO NOT BELIEVE WE SHOULD MINIMIZE IMPORTANCE CHICOM DEVOTION TO "LEGAL FORMS" IN SPITE THEIR AGILITY IN ADOPTING THEIR FORMS TO SUIT THEIR POLITICAL NEEDS. IT WILL BE SEEN FROM TODAY'S MEETING AS WELL AS PREVIOUS I HAVE TRIED HARD TO LEAVE THEM A "LEGAL" WAY OUT AND BELIEVE THIS SHOULD BE CONTINUED.

2. ALSO BELIEVE THEY NOW CONSIDER FLYER RELEASE WAS PROBABLY TACTICAL MISTAKE THAT HAS LARGELY BACKFIRED ON THEM RATHER THAN PRODUCING HOPED-FOR RESULTS. THIS HAS NOT INCREASED STANDING PEIPING PROPONENTS OF RELEASE OF AMERICAN PRISONERS.

3. POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL FACTOR IS SUSPICION FROM OUR TACTICS WE HAVE BEEN TRYING TRICK THEM INTO RELEASING AMERICANS WHILE HOLDING OUT BAIT THIRD PARTY REPRESENTATION WHICH WE INTENDED FIND EXCUSES FOR WITHDRAWING AFTER RELEASE ACCOMPLISHED. OUR PROPOSAL TODAY WILL HAVE REMOVED ANY DOUBTS THEY MAY HAVE HAD THIS REGARD.

BELIEVE PRESENT TACTIC CAN BE CONTINUED FOR LITTLE WHILE LONGER PARTICULARLY AT THURSDAY'S MEETING WHEN WANG WILL HAVE HAD OPPORTUNITY RECEIVE PEIPING REACTION OUR TODAY'S PROPOSAL. NOW BELIEVE WE SHOULD IF POSSIBLE AVOID ANY PROLONGED RECESS WHICH WOULD REQUIRE PUBLIC EXPLANATION AND INEVITABLY

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INEVITABLY RETURN PROBLEM TO PUBLIC PROPAGANDA FORUM WHILE AMERICANS REMAINED IN PRISON. THEREFORE BELIEVE THAT I SHOULD STRIVE AS NECESSARY KEEP DISCUSSION GOING WHILE CONTINUING MAINTAIN MY PRESENT POSITION.

IN ORDER ACCOMPLISH THESE PURPOSES AND IN LIGHT TODAY'S DISCUSSION, REQUEST AUTHORIZATION PROPOSE AT NEXT MEETING AMENDMENT FIRST SENTENCE NUMBERED PARAGRAPH 1 DRAFT "AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT" (MYTEL 463) BY INSERTION PHRASE "AS A RESULT OF OFFICIAL ACTION TAKEN IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS GOVERNMENTAL PROCESSES" FOLLOWING WORDS "AND DECLARES THAT". SAME AMENDMENT TO BE MADE IN PARAGRAPH ONE PRC SECTION.

WOULD APPRECIATE ANY OTHER SUGGESTIONS DEPARTMENT MAY HAVE IN THIS REGARD.

I DO NOT ANTICIPATE WANG IS GOING TO ATTEMPT PRECIPITATE ANY "BREAK" IN DISCUSSIONS BUT RATHER THAT HE WILL FACE ME WITH STATEMENT THEY HAVE GONE AS FAR AS THEY CAN GO AND THERE IS NOTHING FURTHER TO TALK ABOUT UNDER ITEM ONE.

AT THAT POINT I PERCEIVE NO ALTERNATIVE UNDER OUR PRESENT TACTIC EXCEPT TO PROPOSE A RECESS AS SUGGESTED IN FIRST PARAGRAPH DEPTEL 496. HOWEVER I BELIEVE THAT TO PUBLICLY EXPLAIN THE RECESS I SHOULD FIRST PROPOSE TO WANG WE MAKE A SIMPLE JOINT STATEMENT SOMEWHAT TO THE EFFECT THAT TWO OF US HAVE DECIDED THAT A RECESS WOULD BE HELPFUL IN RESOLVING THE REMAINING PROBLEMS STANDING IN THE WAY OF FINAL AGREEMENT. I FEEL WE SHOULD IF POSSIBLE AVOID UNILATERAL PUBLIC STATEMENT ALONG LINES SUGGESTED DEPTEL 496 AS SEEMS TO ME THIS WOULD CONSTITUTE A PUBLIC CHALLENGE AND RETURN PROBLEM TO PROPAGANDA FORUM.

DEPT WILL OBSERVE WANG PRESSED ME HARD TODAY ON QUESTION RAISED LAST PARA MYTEL 458 AND MY EFFORTS AVOID DIRECT REPLY. WOULD APPRECIATE DEPT'S SUGGESTIONS ON WHAT FURTHER I MIGHT USEFULLY SAY IF AS ANTICIPATED HE CONTINUES PRESS ME ON THIS.

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 523

Origin

For Johnson.

Code Room: Please repeat USUN's 112 of August 15, 1955, Control Number 7865.

611.93/8-1555

Dulles" DULLES
(WPMcC)

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611.93/8-1555
CS/Y

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Rec'd 55

Drafted by: WPMcC
FE:CA:WPMcConaughy

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy
Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:
IO/UNP - Mr. Bond

AUG 16 1955 P.M.

Confidential File
611.93/8-1555

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CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

OUTGOING (94)
TELEGRAM

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

201
1955 AUG 16 PM 8 00
DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 526

PERSONAL FOR JOHNSON FROM SECRETARY

Your 490 11-12/8-1655

I have the distinct impression that the CHICOMS had intended after announcing release of flyers to proceed promptly at Geneva conference to announce release of US civilians, all in expectation this would create wave of good feeling toward them which would enable them to make gains in discussing other matters. I have also impression they have altered this policy because release of flyers and report of their treatment has created considerable wave of indignation and indeed the editorial and press comment expresses itself with greater hostility toward CHICOMS since the release of flyers than before. Parenthetically, I might mention that after first report of torturing of Colonel Arnold came from Tokyo we asked Defense to try to moderate this theme in interest of civilians and they are cooperating this end.

CHICOMS should realize that whenever prisoners are returned they tell is inevitably initial wave of resentment as they/their stories. This is a phase which CHICOMS must live through and they do not

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Drafted by: S JFDulles:ma 8/16/55 WO/R

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: S JFDulles

Clearances:

10962

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611.93/3-1655

Confidential File CS/M 6 8/16/55

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

get anywhere by postponing it. However, once the American civilians are out of China, then we may be compelled to alter our policy toward visitors to the China ~~mixx~~ mainland because principal reason for deterring those visitors will have ceased, namely that we do not want more Americans to get in until it has been demonstrated that those now there can get out. Subject to possible restraint of Foreign Assets Control Regulations visits will then occur which would bring back reports which if facts justify may lead to a different judgment. I do not know whether CHICOMS realize this possible sequence of events or whether you will want to intimate it to them in a very cautious way without of course any promises. In any event, it may be useful for you to know my thinking on this matter.

" DULLES

Dulles (Rai)

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10963

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

95

SECRET

203

24-26
Action

FE
Info

RMR

Control: 8743
Rec'd: August 17, 1955
2:34 p.m.

This Document must be Returned to the RM/R Central Files

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 504, August 17, Noon

PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

On re-reading my telegram 500 this morning believe I overstated case against recess in first paragraph following "three considerations." Still believe prolonged recess should be avoided if possible but if it could be carried out as suggested second sentence penultimate paragraph my telegram 500, do not (repeat not) believe it would "inevitably remain problem to public propaganda forum." I would put recess to Wang as constructive helpful suggestion rather than any challenge and attempt agree on simple joint statement of public explanation. Of course any recess this context would be conditional on Wang's agreement and believe he would probably resist. I do believe issuance unilateral statement as suggested Department's telegram 496 would have adverse effect and should be avoided unless and until it is clear I can make no further progress in private talks and it is desirable return to public forum.

GOWEN

T1S

611.93/8-1755

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
- [x] Releasable
- [ ] Releasable if _____ concurs
- [ ] Excise as shown) Basis-1-301 ___
- [ ] Deny)
- [ ] Downgrade to _____
- [ ] Review Again _____
- [x] Reviewer _____ Date 8/12/82

Action Assigned to NA/WIR

Action Taken _____

Date _____

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(96)

24-26

SECRET

Action
FE

Info

Control: 9003
Rec'd: AUGUST 17, 1955
2:49 PM

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Assigned to

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 516, AUGUST 17, 7 PM

PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON.

REFERENCE PENULTIMATE PARA MYTELS 500 AND 504. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH I WOULD PROPOSE TO WANG IN EVENT RECESS AGREED UPON.

"DURING THE COURSE OF THE TALKS BEING CONDUCTED BY THE AMBASSADORS OF THE USA AND THE PRC, IT HAS BECOME EVIDENT THAT A CERTAIN PERIOD OF TIME WILL BE REQUIRED BEFORE IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO AGREE ON A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION TO AGENDA ITEM ONE. THEREFORE IT HAS BEEN AGREED THAT THEIR NEXT MEETING WILL BE HELD (BLANK). THIS WILL ALSO GIVE THE TWO AMBASSADORS AN OPPORTUNITY TO ATTEND TO AFFARIS AT THEIR REGULAR POSTS. IT IS HOPED THAT AT THE NEXT MEETING IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO REACH A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT OF THE PROBLEMS RAISED IN THE DISCUSSION OF AGENDA ITEM ONE SO THAT THE AMBASSADORS CAN PROCEED TO AGENDA ITEM TWO."

GOWEN

AAL

611.93/8-1755

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FEB 17 1959

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FILE AID OF

1955 AUG 17 PM 5 09

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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TELEGRAM (97)

INDICATE [ ] COLLECT
[ ] CHARGE TO

Department of State

07895 (202)

SECRET
Classification

1955 AUG 17

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For DC/T use only

SENT TO: Amconsulate GENEVA PRIORITY 541

FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info:

Your 500 last paragraph.

Department presently unable to give you anything which would enable you make additional statement on still theoretical problem Chinese possibly in prison US who might wish return to mainland. Your handling Wang queries on this subject based on fact it is not practical problem has our approval and commendation. As you are aware this question in principle has difficult constitutional, administrative and political ramifications. It will be looked into by Office Legal Adviser but it is doubtful we can come up with anything which would be helpful to you in context present talks. If no concrete problem this sort arises we anticipate you will be able continue parry Wang's thrusts along lines already established.

Dist Desired

Offices Only

DULLES

(WPMcC)

311.93/8-1655

Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

10964

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:ek 8/17/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

Approved in draft by: S - The Secretary
FE - Mr. Sebald

SECRET
Classification

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SECRET PI

611.93/8-1655

OUTGOING TELEGRAM (98)

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

209

07896

1955 AUG 17 PM 7 31

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 542

FOR JOHNSON

611.93/8-1755

Your 499, 500, 504, 516.

Department agrees with your analysis situation following seventh meeting. You are authorized in your discretion at eighth meeting tomorrow agree insert phrase QUOTE as a result of official action taken in accordance with its governmental process UNQUOTE in numbered paragraph 1 both sections of draft QUOTE Agreed Announcement UNQUOTE, following words QUOTE and declares that UNQUOTE. Our only reservation on this language stems from fact that US has no exit permit system and statement on US side does not seem completely consistent with our position that no US Government approval ordinarily necessary in order for alien depart from US. However, this objection not fundamental and can be disregarded if you believe incorporation of phrase might be helpful.

It would seem undesirable for you take initiative in proposing recess at next meeting. Our position is that no reason exists for delay in settling all matters under item 1. Therefore, if recess needed it would be only because required by Chinese Communists, and they should take responsibility for proposing it. We should be prepared meet again on

10965

Drafted by: S:JFDulles
FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:ek 8/17/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: J. F. Dulles

FE - Mr. Sebald - cleared in draft

SECRET
Classification

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611.93/8-1755

611.93/8-1755 ES/M SECRET FILE

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on item 1 after usual two-day interval if other side does not propose recess. Proposal of recess by us except in case of threatened break would not be consistent with our desire maintain continuous strong pressure on Wang and encourage general impression that action by Chinese Communists to match ours is awaited and expected.

FYI Our 496 was designed primarily to enable you demonstrate to Wang that we were in a strong public relations position. If matters should break we assumed that if Wang were informed as suggested he would ask for time and perhaps reconsider his own position and would most probably strive to avoid recess.

We do feel however that if there should be any extended recess, it would be necessary to state the issue more than indicated your 516. Bear in mind that we do not know anything whatever now that we did not know before regarding return our citizens. They have given nothing, not even information. Also we do not want ourselves to become committed to proposition that it will take time to clear up Item One of the Agenda. In view of Chou En-lai's July 30 statement the interpretation unless rebutted would be that we are making difficulties. Furthermore, we do not want to let Chou off the hook.

Dulles DULLES

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(99)

5-27

3

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Telegram
☐ Declassify in part ____ concurs
☐ Excise as noted
☐ Deny) Basis 1-301
☐ Downgrade to ____
☐ Review Again ____
☑ Reviewer ____ Date ____

SECRET
OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

Dear Alex:

Since my last letter I have received your first three letters, of August 10, 11, 12. The pouch service seems to be working better now. I hope we can make some arrangement for pouch service more frequent than once a week after the Atomic Conference closes.

Last evening the Secretary sent you a personal message from him concerning the likelihood of travel by Americans to China after all detained Americans are released. You will note that a qualification was put in concerning the possible effect of the Foreign Assets Control Regulations. This is something that would have to be discussed with Treasury and Commerce. If we made exceptions for American travelers there would be immediate pressures to make corresponding provision for Americans who wanted to buy Chinese Communist merchandise. The whole economic warfare effort to deny dollars to the Chinese Communists might well be undermind. So the question will have to be considered in the broader context of our entire policy of total severance of financial, trade and transportation relations with the China mainland. There is still food for thought in the Secretary's suggestion though it may not be entirely clear how you can best exploit it, if at all in your talks with Wang.

Ed Martin is due here today and we hope that he will have a chance to talk to the Secretary this afternoon.

You are

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 115

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You are certainly getting a better press here now. The American press sees clearly the failure of the Chinese Communists to match our position on unrestricted right of return of nationals. You are getting a sympathetic press and there seems no longer to be any feeling that you are less out-giving to the press than is Wang Ping-nan.

I might mention, not for any use by you, but merely that your background may be as informed as possible, the fact that we are undoubtedly paying quite a stiff price in Taiwan for these conversations. There has been a subtle but none the less perceptible decline in morale and inclination to follow through with full energy and cooperativeness on various programs there. The MAAG, ICA and CAS missions in Taipei have all felt this and to some extent have been handicapped by it. There is a let down which we must hope will be temporary. The informed people in the Government, of course, know in considerable detail of your instructions and the progress of the talks. They know that they are not going to be let down but this assurance apparently does not extent to the Legislative Yuan, the press and the general public. Even those who know that we are not going to undermine their interests at Geneva feel that the mere fact of the talks improves the status of the Chinese Communists and betters the prospects of success in their campaign for general acceptance as the only Chinese Government. Foreign Vice Minister Shen is here on a brief visit. He has received further assurances from us. Just to show the trend of the thinking of our people in Taipei, the following is quoted from a letter received from Bill Cochran our Charge at Taipei, while Karl Rankin is on home-leave:

> "Saigon's 3 August 5 (535 to Dept.) reports considerable uneasiness there as regards the Ambassadorial talks in Geneva. This, added to the bad effects caused here, raises in my mind the question: will the benefits obtained from the talks outweigh the damage done to the confidence of our real, fighting friends (as distinguished from our fair-weather friends, the fence-sitters, and the amici hermaphroditi who aren't sure what they are) in our resolution, persistence, and dependability. If not, won't we have lost something more valuable than we have gained? — for we can never satisfy the avidity of the neutralists for concessions on our part."

The Secretary has been informed of the message of appreciation conveyed in your letter of August 12. He in turn is pleased at the way you are handling the negotiations. You have undoubtedly carried out your instructions to apply unremitting pressure to Wang at the August 16 meeting. We feel that he is on the defensive on the basic issue, despite all his efforts to transfer the onus. We will be interested to see if you consider it advisable to use the

authority

authority you have to suggest a recess if there is no progress at the eighth meeting on August 16. We feel that only you can determine this in the light of Wang's position and demeanor at the next meeting. It should be becoming increasingly apparent to Wang that there is no give in our position on this fundamental issue.

We have authorized Cooper to tell Nehru of the prospective arrangement for limited Indian representation, emphasizing the fact that it is sensitive information and that no agreement has yet been reached. Cooper is authorized to assure Nehru that if the arrangement goes through, we will welcome the proposed Indian role and will accord all facilities for its discharge.

I am letting Carl McCardle know of the pretty cogent reasons you gave why you decided against holding a backgrounder. In Walter Robertson's absence Bill Sebald is being kept closely informed of the contents of your official-informals, and anything which we think would be useful for the Secretary to have is being passed on to him.

Congratulations on your adroit handling of countless difficulties and good luck,

Sincerely,

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(100) (206)

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17 B
Action
FE
Info

CONFIDENTIAL

8/18/55, 9:50 a.m.
CORRECTED COPY

Control: 9505
Rec'd: August 18, 1955
10:40 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 520, August 18, 2 p.m.

NIACT

R
A

FROM JOHNSON

Two hours and 20 minutes this morning repetition same themes both sides with no progress.

A
S
P

Wang presented proposal virtually identical with our August 16 draft agreement announcement except for vital first paragraph which he proposed be amended read as follows:

"1. The People's Republic of China recognizes that American Nationals in the PRC who desire to return are entitled to do so and declares that it has adopted and will further adopt appropriate measures so that they can exercise their right to return."

His theme was this was "key which would open door" to solution problem Americans in China and again offered promptly give me names whose cases "review completed" making clear this grant release.

My theme was contrast action we had taken Chinese US. He was asking I open door without showing me what was behind it, that if he would show me what was behind it and if it met my request on release all Americans question timing could be worked out.

He inflexibly resisted my persistent pressure give me any assurance or even indication that his solution would bring about release all Americans. Result was complete deadlock but no effort by him to precipitate any break or hint at recess. Next meeting Saturday, 10 a.m.

GOWEN

LMS:BD

Note: Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 8/18/11:52 a.m. EMB(CWG)

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SECRET

8/19/55, 9:54 a.m.
CORRECTED PAGE 1
LMS:BD

Control: 2675
Rec'd: AUGUST 18, 1955
4:09 P.M.

Action Taken

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R file

Action FE
Info RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 537, AUGUST 18, 7 P.M.

PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. IN ADDITION MY 520, AT THIS MORNING'S MEETING MANY REFERENCES BY WANG TO "PRESSURE", "DEMANDS", "WOULD NEVER RESPOND PRESSURE" ETC ALL OF WHICH I OF COURSE ATTEMPTED COUNTER. WHEN ON THIS THEME HE SHOWED MORE FEELING THAN ON ANY OTHER POINT.

2. HOWEVER IRRATIONAL, THEIR POSITION SEEMS TO BE THAT IF THEY RELEASE ALL AMERICANS BEFORE OR SIMULTANEOUS WITH REPRESENTATION AGREEMENT IT WOULD PUBLICLY BE INTERPRETED AS "YIELDING TO PRESSURE". THEY ARE WILLING ANNOUNCE RELEASE SOME AMERICANS AS PURELY UNILATERAL ACT PRIOR TO PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT BUT MUST FIRST HAVE FIRM COMMITMENT. THEY WILL THEN SUBSEQUENTLY ANNOUNCE FURTHER RELEASE AMERICANS BUT WILL NOT COMMIT THEMSELVES TO ALL AS THIS WOULD BE "INTERFERENCE WITH THEIR SOVEREIGNTY, LEGAL PROCESSES" ETC. ETC.

3. I WENT AS FAR AS I FELT I COULD UNDER MY PRESENT INSTRUCTIONS TO MEET WHATEVER SUBSTANCE THIS MAY HAVE IN THEIR MINDS BY STATING THAT IF THEIR SOLUTION ENCOMPASSED RELEASE ALL AMERICANS AND IT WAS ONLY QUESTION TIMING IN RELATION ANNOUNCEMENT REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT THIS COULD BE WORKED OUT. HOWEVER, WANG SHOWED NO INTEREST. HE ALSO SHOWED NO INTEREST IN MY AMENDMENT PARA ONE BY INSERTION PHRASE "AS RESULT OFFICIAL ACTION TAKEN IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS GOVERNMENTAL PROCESSES".

4. HIS REPLIES

611.93/8-1855

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4. HIS REPLIES TO MY REFERENCES CHOU'S STATEMENT WERE WEAK AND BESIDE THE POINT. HE AVOIDED DIRECT REPLY TO MY REMINDER THAT HE HAD PROMISED ME LAST YEAR "REVIEW" CASES AND THAT IN INTERIM ONLY FIVE CIVILIANS OUT OF THIRTY HAD BEEN RELEASED FROM PRISON.

5. DEADLOCK IS NOW VERY TIGHT AND LITTLE SCOPE FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION UNTIL THERE IS SOME SHIFT IN POSITION ONE SIDE OR OTHER.

6. SUBJECT TO DEPT'S SUGGESTIONS OR INSTRUCTIONS BELIEVE I CAN DO LITTLE AT NEXT MEETING BUT REITERATE OUR POSITIONS AS NECESSARY AND PICK UP REMAINING QUESTIONS ON REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT WHICH IS SUBJECT SEPARATE TEL.

(I DELIBERATELY AVOIDED DETAILS REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT TODAY IN ORDER CONCENTRATE ON AND HIGHLIGHT FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE.)

7. WOULD APPRECIATE DEPT'S INSTURCTIONS ON WHETHER IF NEGOTIATING SITUATION PERMITS IT WOULD APPROVE MY ATTEMPTING EXPLORE POSSIBILITY RELEASE SOME NOW WITH COMMITMENT RELEASE REMAINDER WITHIN DEFINITE TIME LIMIT, SAY THREE MONTHS. EVEN IF IT COULD BE OBTAINED CHICOMS WOULD IN ALL PROBABILITY NOT BE WILLING MAKE SUCH COMMITMENT PUBLIC.

GOWEN

AAL

NOTE: MR. WADDELL (FE) NOTIFIED, 8/18/55, 5:30 PM, LWH.

(#) OMISSION. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

1955 AUG 19 AM 8 12

(102) (210)

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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26
Action

Control: 9768
Rec'd: AUGUST 18, 1955
7:39 PM

SS

FROM: GENEVA

1

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 538, AUGUST 18, 6 PM

EYES ONLY FOR THE SECRETARY.

FROM JOHNSON.

I HAVE FEELING NOW WOULD BE USEFUL TIME FOR ME TO INVITE WANG TO PRIVATE DINNER WITH ONLY INTERPRETERS PRESENT. HAVE AVAILABLE PLACE I BELIEVE SAFE FROM PRESS ATTENTION.

IF WE ARE GOING MAINTAIN OUR PRESENT POSITION BELIEVE I CAN DO MUCH IN SUCH AN ATMOSPHERE REINFORCE FIRMNESS OUR STAND AND AT SAME TIME PUT ACROSS THOUGHTS CONTAINED URTEL 526 IN WAY THAT IS NOT POSSIBLE IN ATMOSPHERE MEETINGS.

HE IS OBVIOUSLY AT END HIS INSTRUCTIONS AND I HAVE FEELING GESTURE SUCH AS THIS AT THIS TIME MIGHT HELP IN MOVING CHOU.

HOWEVER WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR ADVICE.

GOWEN

AB/32

611.93/8-1855

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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- [ ] Releasable if _____ concurs
- [ ] Excise as shown) Basis-1-301 ___
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- [ ] Downgrade to _____
- [ ] Review Again _____
- [x] Reviewer JD Date 1/12/82

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X-2 (211) 8/20/55 10 p.m.

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(103)

CONFIDENTIAL

Action Assigned to

Control: 9833
Rec'd: AUGUST 18, 1955
10:16 PM

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Action Taken

This Document must be Returned to the RM/R Central Files

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 540, AUGUST 18, 5 PM

FROM JOHNSON

1. REVISED DRAFT GIVEN ME BY WANG AUGUST 18 MADE FOLLOWING CHANGES IN DRAFT TRANSMITTED MYTEL 463:

A. NUMBERED PARAGRAPH ONE REVISED AS REPORTED MYTEL 520.

B. WORDS "THE USA AGREES THAT" INSERTED AT BEGINNING NUMBERED PARAGRAPH TWO.

C. WORD "OFFICIAL" OMITTED FROM PHRASE "ENCOUNTERING OFFICIAL OBSTRUCTION" IN PARAGRAPH 2 (A).

D. "OFFICE OF THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF THE UK" USED THROUGHOUT IN PLACE "EMBASSY OF THE UK".

E. PARAGRAPH 2 (A) REWORDED TO READ: "(A) IF ANY CHINESE NATIONAL BELIEVES THAT CONTRARY TO DECLARED POLICY OF THE US HE IS ENCOUNTERING OBSTRUCTION IN DEPARTURE HE MAY SO INFORM THE INDIAN EMBASSY AND REQUEST IT TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS ON HIS BEHALF WITH THE US GOVERNMENT. IF DESIRED BY THE PRC THE INDIAN EMBASSY MAY ALSO MAKE INVESTIGATION ON THE FACTS."

F. "PRC" SUBSTITUTED THROUGHOUT FOR "CHINA MAINLAND".

2. IN ADDITION TO ABOVE CHANGES IN TEXT WANG ALSO READ AND HANDED ME COPY OF STATEMENT INTENDED TO ESTABLISH SUPPLEMENTARY UNDERSTANDINGS NOT TO BE INCORPORATED IN TEXT OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. GIST OF POINTS MADE WAS:

A. I HAD STATED THAT NOTHING IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT IN ANY WAY INFRINGED ON SOVEREIGNTY OR JURISDICTION AND THAT I PRESUMED

CASES

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1955 AUG 22 AM 8 23

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CASES OF AMERICANS WOULD BE SETTLED WITHIN FRAMEWORK CHINESE JUDICIAL PROCEDURE. ON BASIS WANG'S UNDERSTANDING OF THESE STATEMENTS OF MINE HE WILLING TO OMIT SENTENCE HIS ORIGINAL DRAFT REFERRING TO PERSONS INVOLVED IN UNFINISHED CIVIL OR CRIMINAL CASES.

B. IF NATIONALS EITHER SIDE REPORTED TO OWN GOVERNMENT THEY BEING PREVENTED FROM LEAVING, THEIR GOVERNMENT COULD REFER SUCH COMPLAINT TO THE THIRD COUNTRY FOR INVESTIGATION OR REPRESENTATION. IF WE WOULD AGREE TO UNDERSTANDING TO THIS EFFECT, WANG WOULD BE WILLING OMIT THIS PROVISION FROM AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

3. COMMENTS ON PARA ONE ABOVE.

A. OBVIOUSLY UNACCEPTABLE.

B. DO NOT SEE THIS IS MATERIALLY OBJECTIONABLE IN CONTEXT BUT PREFER LANGUAGE OUR DRAFT.

C. BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT RETAIN "OFFICIAL" AS IN OUR DRAFT.

D. WOULD APPRECIATE BEING INFORMED WHETHER UK OBJECT TO THIS TERMINOLOGY.

E. NOT CLEAR ON MOTIVE BEHIND THIS OSTENSIBLY SLIGHT CHANGE BUT MAY BE RELATED TO THEIR PROPOSAL ON "UNDERSTANDINGS" MENTIONED PARA TWO (B) ABOVE. WOULD APPRECIATE DEPT'S INSTRUCTIONS.

F. UNOBJECTIONABLE.

4. COMMENTS ON PARA TWO ABOVE.

A. MEANINGLESS UNLESS AGREEMENT REACHED ON RELEASE ALL AMERICANS. HOWEVER THIS AGAIN RAISES POINT OF THEIR JURISDICTION OVER AMERICANS AND CONVERSELY OUR JURISDICTION OVER CHINESE. BELIEVE AT SOME POINT IT IS GOING BE NECESSARY FOR ME SAY JURISDICTION NOT QUESTIONED AT LEAST FOR FUTURE. THAT IS MAKE CLEAR WE NOT ATTEMPTING RE-ESTABLISH ANY EXTRATERRITORIAL PRINCIPLE.

B. WILL MAINTAIN OUR PRESENT POSITION.

GOWEN

JJ

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

213

ACTION COPY

104

CONFIDENTIAL

Action
FE

Info
RMR

Control: 9917
Rec'd: AUGUST 19, 1955
12:50 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 543, AUGUST 18, 8 P.M.

FROM JOHNSON

1. WANG OPENED MEETING WITH PREPARED STATEMENT AND REVISION TEXT PROPOSED ANNOUNCEMENT. (TEXT REVISIONS IN SEPARATE TEL) HE SAID HIS AGREEMENT TO REVISED TEXT BASED ON UNDERSTANDING TWO POINTS:

A. THAT ANNOUNCEMENT IN NO WAY INFRINGED UPON OR RAISED QUESTION ABOUT CHINESE SOVEREIGNTY OR JURISDICTION OVER AMERICANS IN CHINA AND THAT US DID NOT ATTEMPT DICTATE PRC WHAT MEASURE IT SHOULD TAKE, THAT BEING MATTER ONLY HIS GOVERNMENT COULD DECIDE WITHIN FRAMEWORK THEIR OWN JURIDICAL PROCEDURES.
B. THAT NATIONALS EITHER SIDE MAY REPORT TO ENTRUSTED THIRD COUNTRY AND ALSO THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT IN ORDER LATTER MAY REFER COMPLAINTS TO THIRD COUNTRY IN CASE THEIR DEPARTURE BEING PREVENTED.

2. WANG REQUESTED THESE TWO POINTS BE INCLUDED IN RECORD OF MEETING AS CONDITIONS GOVERNING HIS AGREEMENT TO REVISED PROPOSAL WHICH HE STATED FOLLOWED FORM AND CONTENT OUR PROPOSAL.

3. I REPLIED I WAS INTERESTED IN PRACTICAL SITUATION AMERICANS HIS COUNTRY. ASKED WHAT WAS AFFECT WANG'S REVISED PARAGRAPH ONE WITH RESPECT ALL AMERICANS NOW PREVENTED FROM RETURNING US FOR WHATEVER REASON.

4. WANG STATED CHINESE GOVERNMENT NEVER PUT RESTRICTIONS ON AMERICAN NATIONALS. THOSE DESIRING RETURN FREE DO SO BUT THOSE WHO VIOLATED LAW QUITE ANOTHER PROBLEM. THESE LATTER AMERICANS MAY ALSO LEAVE COUNTRY UPON SETTLEMENT THEIR CASES, AS GUARANTEED BY PROPOSED AGREEMENT. ITEM ONE OF AGENDA NOW SETTLED BY PROVISIONS THIS FIRST PARAGRAPH BECAUSE AMERICANS WHO DESIRED RETURN COULD DO SO.

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DO SO. US GOVERNMENT IN PAST RESTRICTED DEPARTURE CHINESE STUDENTS BUT THESE ORDERS RESCINDED SO NO NEED INCLUDE IN FIRST PARAGRAPH.

5. I REPLIED NOT AT ALL CLEAR TO ME HOW STATEMENT HIS PROPOSED TEXT AFFECTS AMERICAN NATIONALS NOW PREVENTED FROM RETURNING.

6. WANG REPEATED THESE ARE TWO DIFFERENT MATTERS, AND NOT POSSIBLE MAKE CONCRETE STIPULATION IN ANNOUNCEMENT REGARDING EITHER CHINESE STUDENTS OR AMERICAN NATIONALS. IF AGREEMENT REACHED ON ANNOUNCEMENT THEN THESE SPECIFIC MATTERS COULD BE SETTLED IN LIGHT OF AGREEMENT. ADDED IT WAS HIS OPINION SENTENCE REGARDING AMERICANS WHOSE CASES UNSETTLED COULD HAVE BEEN INCLUDED IN ANNOUNCEMENT BUT BECAUSE I OBJECTED THEY WILLING LEAVE OUT SENTENCE PROVIDED UNDERSTANDING REACHED REGARDING SOVEREIGNTY AND JURISDICTION OVER SUCH ALIENS. AS TO SPECIFIC CASES RETURN CERTAIN AMERICANS, HE PROMISED INFORM US RESULTS AFTER AGREEMENT ON ANNOUNCEMENT AND EVEN THIS MORNING. HE REPEATED THAT REFERENCE TO NATIONALS BEING PREVENTED FROM RETURNING APPLIED ONLY TO AMERICAN GOVERNMENT RESTRICTIONS ON STUDENTS AS CHINESE NEVER ISSUED ORDERS PREVENTING DEPARTURE AMERICANS.

7. WANG CONTINUED THAT WE HAD REFERRED TO CHOU EN-LAI'S STATEMENT NUMBER OF AMERICAN SMALL AND PROBLEM EASILY SOLVED. HE SAID CHOU'S MEANING IS CLEAR THAT IF AGREEMENT REACHED ON METHOD SPECIFIED IN ANNOUNCEMENT THEN SPECIFIC CASES COULD BE SOLVED USING THIS METHOD. EMPHASIZED INFRINGEMENT ON SOVEREIGN AND INTERNAL AFFAIRS CHINESE STATE CLEARLY COULD NOT BE TOLERATED.

8. I REPLIED I COULD NOT UNDERSTAND MEANING HIS REFERENCE TO INFRINGING SOVEREIGNTY HIS GOVERNMENT. WANG HAD ASKED ME TAKE MEASURES PERMIT ALL CHINESE IN US LEAVE IF THEY DESIRED. MEASURES WE TOOK PERMIT THEM LEAVE WERE COMPLETELY WITHIN OUR LAW. WE DID THIS IN RESPONSE REQUEST HIS GOVERNMENT AND WE DID NOT CONSIDER IT INFRINGEMENT OUR SOVEREIGNTY. IN SAME WAY WE ASKED HIM TAKE MEASURES PERMIT AMERICANS CHINA RETURN AND WE HOPED AND EXPECTED HE WOULD DO THIS DURING TALKS AS WE HAD DONE, UNILATERALLY AND WITHOUT CONDITIONS. HOWEVER, CHINESE HAD NOT ACTED AND I COULD NOT AGREE THAT QUESTION ANNOUNCEMENT AND QUESTION AMERICANS IN CHINA WERE TWO DIFFERENT MATTERS.

9. I CONTINUED THAT WANG AT LAST MEETING HAD RAISED QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY AND

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SOVEREIGNTY AND JURISDICTION OVER AMERICANS IN CHINA. SUGGESTED MIGHT HELP INSERT FOLLOWING CLAUSE IN PARAGRAPH ONE DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT: "AS THE RESULT OFFICIAL ACTION IN ACCORD WITH GOVERNMENT PROCESSES". I SUGGESTED THIS BECAUSE IT REAFFIRMED THAT EVERYTHING WE WERE DOING WAS IN ACCORD OUR LAWS AND GOVERNMENT PROCESSES.

10. WANG IGNORED THIS SUGGESTION AND RETURNED HIS ORIGINAL ARGUMENT, SAYING TWO PROBLEMS BEFORE US WERE: (A) WHETHER NATIONALS COULD RETURN FREELY TO THEIR COUNTRIES, AND (B) WHETHER GOVERNMENTS DOING WHATEVER POSSIBLE HELP THEIR RETURN. AMBASSADORIAL TALKS CONCERNED PRIMARILY BRING ABOUT RETURN NATIONALS DESIRING TO DO SO AND PROPOSED ANNOUNCEMENT SOLVED THIS QUESTION. HE SAID CHINESE TRIED MEET US HALFWAY AND LISTED COMPROMISES HE CLAIMED HIS SIDE HAD ALREADY MADE TO MEET OUR OBJECTIONS. HE STATED SPECIFIC CASES AMERICANS CANNOT BE INCLUDED IN TEXT OF AGREEMENT IN PRESENT FORM WHICH IS MOST JUST AND REASONABLE SOLUTION QUESTION. HIS GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN STEPS AND IS PREPARED TAKE FURTHER STEPS EFFECT RETURN AMERICANS.

11. I REPLIED PERHAPS HIS GOVERNMENT HAD NOT ISSUED SPECIAL ORDER PREVENTING DEPARTURE AMERICANS BUT IN FACT THEY UNABLE LEAVE CHINA. OUR TWO GOVERNMENT PROCESSES DIFFER AND US HAS NO EXIT PERMIT SYSTEM. WE HAVE EACH TAKEN MEASURES AGAINST SOME NATIONALS ON OTHER SIDE. I HAD INFORMED WANG EXACTLY WHAT WE HAD DONE AND AGAINST WHICH OF CHINESE CITIZENS. IN CONTRAST HE TOLD ME SIMPLY THAT CASES AMERICANS DETAINED CHINA BEING REVIEWED. THIS LEFT MY NATIONALS IN VERY VAGUE SITUATION. I ASKED AGAIN WHETHER REVIEW AND ACTION BY HIS GOVERNMENT ON AMERICAN CASES WOULD FULLY MEET REQUEST I MADE THAT ALL AMERICANS WILL "NOW" BE PERMITTED DEPART. I SAID IF I UNDERSTOOD HIS REMARKS CORRECTLY, THIS WAS NOT THEIR MEANING.

12. I CONTINUED BY SAYING AT OUR MEETING A YEAR AGO WANG INFORMED ME CASES AMERICANS BEING REVIEWED BUT DURING FOLLOWING YEAR ONLY FIVE AMERICAN CIVILIAN IMPRISONED IN CHINA WERE RELEASED AND 25 CIVILIANS REMAINED IN JAIL. JUDGING BY THIS EXPERIENCE, HIS STATEMENT CASES WILL BE REVIEWED DOES NOT INDICATE CIVILIANS WILL RETURN PROMPTLY US. I STATED I HAVE TRIED MAKE IT AS CLEAR AS POSSIBLE I WAS HERE TO DISCUSS RETURN ALL US CIVILIANS BUT WE ARE

NO CLOSER

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NO CLOSER TO RESOLUTION THAT PROBLEM THAN WHEN WE STARTED THREE WEEKS AGO. I HOPED STATEMENT MADE BY CHOU MEANT SITUATION DIFFERENT NOW FROM LAST YEAR BUT APPARENTLY NOT. I EMPHASIZED I HAD BEEN FRANK AND HOPED HE WOULD BE EQUALLY FRANK BECAUSE NOT IN INTEREST EITHER PARTY KEEP THIS MATTER DRAGGING ON. SIMPLE, STRAIGHT-FORWARD SOLUTION PROBLEM OF CIVILIANS WAS PERMIT THEM TO RETURN.

13. WANG RETURNED PREVIOUS LINE ARGUMENT BY SAYING MY REMARKS DEVIATED FROM DISCUSSION WORDING PROPOSED ANNOUNCEMENT. HE STATED WHEN LAST YEAR HE ASKED US RESCIND ALL RESTRICTIONS CHINESE NATIONALS I HAD SAID US LAWS COULD NOT BE CHANGED. HE SAID I SHOULD NOT NOW DEMAND CHINESE GOVERNMENT CHANGE THEIR LAW GOVERNING CIVILIANS INVOLVED CASES. SAID 1,523 AMERICANS LEFT CHINA SINCE 1949, 38 LEFT THIS YEAR AND REVIEW OF REMAINING CASES ARE ADDITIONAL INDICATIONS HIS GOVERNMENT'S LENIENT POLICY WITHIN FRAMEWORK CHINESE LAW. HE ADDED IF ANYONE HAD TRIED FORCE HIS GOVERNMENT RELEASE 11 AMERICAN AIRMEN THEY WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN FREED. THEY WERE RELEASED ONLY TO IMPROVE RELATIONS TWO COUNTRIES. ATTITUDE PRC TOWARD AMERICANS IN PRISON IS TO HELP THEM LEAVE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. HE SAID THEY HAD AGREED TO CHANGES IN TEXT JOINT ANNOUNCEMENT AND COULD NOT SEE REASON FOR FURTHER DELAY. THEY HAD MADE THEIR BEST EFFORT AND AMERICANS COULD NOT OBJECT OR CONSIDER ARRANGEMENT UNJUST.

14. I REPLIED AGAIN WP KPM*WAS NOT TEXT OF ANNOUNCEMENT BUT THE RETURN OF THE AMERICANS. PHRASE "PREVENTING DEPARTURE" SEEMED DESCRIBE ACTION CHINESE REGARDING AMERICAN CIVILIANS BUT MAYBE WANG KNEW BETTER WORK. ANY SOLUTION ARRIVED AT MUST MAKE CLEAR BEYOND DOUBT THAT QUESTION RETURN OF AMERICANS HAD BEEN RESOLVED. I EMPHASIZED WE NOT ATTEMPTING DICTATE HOW PROBLEM SHOULD BE HANDLED NOR ASK CHANGES LAWS OR PROCEDURES AND HOPED, IN VIEW CHINESE STATEMENT, PRC ABLE REACH SOLUTION IN ACCORDANCE THEIR LAWS.

15. WANG REPLIED AGREEMENT IS LIKE KEY AND WE HAVE ONLY TO TAKE IT TO OPEN DOOR TO SEE RESULTS REVIEW CASES AMERICANS. HE SAID EFFORTS REACH AGREEMENT SHOULD COME FROM BOTH SIDES BUT HE SAW NO COMPROMISES BEING MADE BY US.

16. I SAID HOPED HE WOULD FIND IT POSSIBLE NEXT MEETING OPEN DOOR WIDER

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DOOR WIDER AND TELL US WHETHER RESULTS HIS REVIEW WOULD BE RELEASE OF ALL AMERICANS. I ADDED IF HIS RELUCTANCE DO SO WAS A MATTER OF TIMING I WAS SURE THAT COULD BE WORKED OUT. THE ONE AND ONLY REQUEST I HAD MADE WAS THE RELEASE OF ALL AMERICANS AND I WOULD ACCEPT CHANGES IN WORDING OF TEXT TO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE. I HAD TOLD HIM EXACTLY WHAT WE PREPARED TO DO AND EXPECTED HIM REPLY EQUALLY FRANKLY.

17. WANG COMPLETELY IGNORED MY SUGGESTION THAT QUESTION OF TIMING COULD BE WORKED OUT. INSTEAD HE REPLIED IF WE NOT WILLING TAKE KEY, DOOR MUST REMAIN CLOSED AND COULD NOT BE OPENED BY "VIOLENCE". IF AMERICANS FORCED THEM DO ANYTHING, FRANKLY IT COULD NOT BE DONE. REPEATED CLAIMS AMERICAN GOVERNMENT MADE ON BASIS OF LIST TANTAMOUNT TO OBLIGING CHINESE TO COMPLY. THIS THEY COULD NOT DO BECAUSE IT WOULD MEAN REPUDIATION PROCEDURES IN FRAMEWORK CHINESE LAW.

18. I ASKED AMBASSADOR TELL ME WHAT I HAD SAID THAT HE INTERPRETED AS MY ATTEMPTING USE "FORCE". I CAME HERE TO FIND SOLUTION WITH HIM. IF HE TOOK ACTION REGARDING OUR NATIONALS COMPARABLE TO OUR ACTION TOWARD HIS, AGREEMENT WAS POSSIBLE. HE REPLIED BY STATING MY "REPEATED CLAIMS ON BASIS LIST" WAS "OBLIGING THEM TO COMPLY. THIS THEY COULD NOT DO" ETC, ETC.

19. MEETING CLOSED WITH MUCH SPARRING, I REPEATING THEME RELEASE ALL AMERICANS AND HE REPEATING THEME KEY WAS IN OUR HANDS.

GOWEN

WVC

* AS RECEIVED. WILL BE SERVICED UPON REQUEST.

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1955 AUG 18 PM 6 19

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 562

FOR JOHNSON

Your 520. 93/5-1855

We presume reference second paragraph to QUOTE August 12 draft Agreed Announcement UNQUOTE actually refers to draft agreed announcement quoted your 463 August 15 which was presented to Wang at August 16 meeting PAREN your 490 PAREN. 93/5-1555

Please confirm, giving full text Wang's draft if you have not already done so.

Dulles
(WPMcC)

DULLES

611.93/8-1855

DC/R
76

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611.93/8-1855

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Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:ek 8/19/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

10971

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Info

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219

Control: 10113
Rec'd: AUGUST 19, 1955
8:11 A.M.

Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 545, AUGUST 19, NOON

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

DEPTEL 562.

AUGUST 16 DRAFT CORRECT. UNDERSTAND TRANSMISSION ERROR ALREADY CORRECTED.

MYTEL 540 GAVE WANG'S AMENDMENTS OUR AUGUST 16 DRAFT. HOWEVER AVOID ANY POSSIBILITY ERROR FOLLOWING IS FULL TEXT FIRST PORTION WANG'S DRAFT. SECOND PORTION SAME MUTATIS MUTANDIS:

"THE AMBASSADORS OF THE PRC AND THE USA HAVE AGREED TO ANNOUNCE THE MEASURES WHICH THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS HAVE ADOPTED WITH RESPECT TO RETURN OF NATIONALS OF EACH LOCATED IN THE COUNTRY OF THE OTHER. WITH RESPECT TO AMERICAN NATIONALS RESIDING IN THE PRC, AMBASSADOR WANG PING-NAN ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC HAS INFORMED AMBASSADOR U. ALEXIS JOHNSON THAT:

1. THE PRC RECOGNIZES THAT AMERICAN NATIONALS IN THE PRC WHO DESIRE TO RETURN ARE ENTITLED TO DO SO AND DECLARES THAT IT HAS ADOPTED AND WILL FURTHER ADOPT APPROPRIATE MEASURES SO THAT THEY CAN EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN.

2. THE PRC AGREES THAT THE OFFICE OF THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF THE UK IN THE PRC WILL BE AUTHORIZED TO ASSIST THE RETURN TO THE USA OF THOSE AMERICAN NATIONALS WHO DESIRE TO DO SO AS FOLLOWS:

(A) IF ANY AMERICAN NATIONAL BELIEVES THAT CONTRARY TO DECLARED

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1955 AUG 19 AM 11 31

POLICY OF THE PRC HE IS ENCOUNTERING OBSTRUCTION IN DEPARTURE HE MAY SO INFORM THE OFFICE OF THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF THE UK AND REQUEST IT TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS ON HIS BEHALF WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC. IF DESIRED BY THE US THE OFFICE OF THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF THE UK MAY ALSO MAKE INVESTIGATION ON THE FACTS.

(B) IF ANY AMERICAN NATIONAL IN THE PRC WHO DESIRES TO RETURN TO THE US HAS DIFFICULTY IN PAYING THE RETURN EXPENSES, THE OFFICE OF THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF THE UK MAY RENDER HIM FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE NEEDED TO PERMIT HIS RETURN.

3. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC WILL GIVE WIDE PUBLICITY TO THE FOREGOING ARRANGEMENTS AND THE OFFICE OF THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF THE UK IN THE PRC MAY ALSO DO SO. "

GOWEN

TT

NOTE: Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 10 a.m. 8/19/55 EMB(CWO)

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16
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Info
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Control: 10112
Rec'd: AUGUST 19, 1955
8:09 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 547, AUGUST 19, NOON

NIACT

FROM JOHNSON

RE NEW DELHI'S 333 RPTD GENEVA 28.

SEEMS TO ME ATTEMPT REVISE DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT (MYTEL 463) FULLY TO MEET POINT RAISED BY GOI NOTE RAISES REAL PROBLEMS FOR US. I WOULD SUGGEST SUBSTITUTION PHRASE " REPUBLIC OF INDIA" IN PLACE "EMBASSY REPUBLIC OF INDIA IN US" IN NUMBERED PARA TWO, REMAINDER DRAFT TO BE LEFT AS IS BUT PRIOR AGREEMENT GOI THERETO TO BE OBTAINED. IN THEORY CHICOMS SHOULD OBTAIN GOI AGREEMENT BUT AS CHICOM INTEREST IS IN ENLARGING SCOPE REPRESENTATION BELIEVE IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE IF WE ALSO DID SO.

WOULD APPRECIATE INSTRUCTIONS PRIOR TO SATURDAY'S MEETING AS WANG WILL PROBABLY RAISE.

GOWEN

MEM

Note: FE Message Center notified 8:30 am 8/19 EMB(CWO)

Date of Action

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611.93/8-1955

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(108)

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Action Taken
Control: 10517
Rec'd: AUGUST 19, 1955
5:45 PM
Type of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 551, AUGUST 19, 5 PM

FROM JOHNSON

1. RE LAST PARAGRAPH DEPTEL 542 AND PREVIOUS ON STATEMENT TO BE MADE IN EVENT RECESS PROPOSED BY WANG OR PROPOSED BY ME IN CASE THREATENED BREAK. IN EITHER THESE EVENTS BELIEVE FIRST STEP SHOULD BE PROPOSAL BY ME OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO EXPLAIN RECESS. IF AS I ANTICIPATE WANG TURNS DOWN ANY AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO US WAY WOULD BE CLEARED UNDER OUR AGREEMENT ON PRIVATE NATURE OF MEETINGS FOR ME TO NOTIFY HIM THAT WE INTENDED MAKE UNILATERAL STATEMENT ALONG LINES DEPTEL 496. UNDER OUR AGREEMENT FEEL I AM OBLIGED GIVE HIM AT LEAST 24 HOUR NOTIFICATION. I WOULD OF COURSE HOPE THAT OUR THREAT MAKE UNILATERAL STATEMENT WOULD CAUSE HIM RECONSIDER.

2. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH I WOULD PROPOSE TO HIM:

3. "FOR THE PAST ..... WEEKS, THE AMBASSADORS OF THE USA AND THE PRC HAVE BEEN SEEKING A SETTLEMENT OF ITEM ONE ON THEIR AGENDA, THE RETURN OF CIVILIANS OF BOTH SIDES TO THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. AMBASSADOR JOHNSON HAS INFORMED AMBASSADOR WANG THAT ALL CHINESE IN THE US WHO DESIRE TO TRAVEL TO THE PRC ARE NOW FREE TO DO SO. AMBASSADOR WANG HAS INFORMED AMBASSADOR JOHNSON THAT ALL AMERICANS IN THE PRC WHO DESIRE TO LEAVE ARE NOW FREE TO DO SO, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THOSE INVOLVED IN UNFINISHED CIVIL OR CRIMINAL CASES. WITH RESPECT TO THE LATTER, AMBASSADOR WANG HAS STATED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT IS REVIEWING ALL CASES AND THAT HE WILL REPORT THE RESULTS OF THE REVIEWS TO AMBASSADOR JOHNSON.

4. "THE TWO AMBASSADORS, WITH THE APPROVAL OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS, HAVE ALSO AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO A JOINT DECLARATION TO BE MADE BY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WHICH WOULD FORMALLY CONFIRM

(A) THAT ALL

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(A) THAT ALL NATIONALS OF EITHER UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE OTHER WHO DESIRE TO RETURN HOME ARE NOW FREE TO DO SO;

(B) THAT A THIRD PARTY IN EACH COUNTRY MAY BE DESIGNATED TO ASSIST SUCH RETURN IF EVER A NAIONAL DESIRING TO RETURN BELIEVES THAT, CONTRARY TO DECLARED POLICY, HE IS ENCOUNTERING OFFICIAL OBSTRUCTION, AND

(C) THAT SUCH THIRD PARTY MAY ALSO BE THE MEANS OF PROVIDING FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO THOSE DESIRING TO RETURN.

5. "HOWEVER, AMBASSADOR WANG HAS INDICATED THE PRC IS UNABLE TO SUBSCRIBE UNCONDITIONALLY TO THIS DECLARATION PENDING COMPLETION OF THE REVIEW OF ALL AMERICAN CASES BY THE PRC. IN ORDER TO ALLOW FOR THE COMPLETION OF THESE REVIEWS, THE TWO AMBASSADORS HAVE AGREED TO RECESS THEIR TALKS FOR ..... WEEKS. IT IS ANTICIPATED THAT WHEN THE TALKS ARE RESUMED IT WILL BE POSSIBLE PROMPTLY TO REACH AN AGREEMENT WHICH WILL PERMIT THE DEPARTURE FROM THE PRC OF ALL AMERICANS WHO DESIRE TO LEAVE AND THE ISSUANCE OF A JOINT DECLARATION ALONG THE LINES OF THAT REFERRED TO ABOVE.

UNQUOTE.

GOWEN

HMR

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AFFAIRS

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(208)
08716 46
1955 AUG 19 AM 8
DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA ~~PRIORITY~~ NIACT 569

FOR JOHNSON FROM THE SECRETARY

Origin

11.93/8-1855

Your 520 and 537.

We do not yet have full text proposal referred to your 520. Superficially paragraph 1 seems to represent some advance. Indeed if ~~the~~ word QUOTE immediately UNQUOTE were inserted before QUOTE further adopt UNQUOTE and if ~~the~~ word QUOTE promptly UNQUOTE were inserted before QUOTE exercise UNQUOTE we would believe it might be acceptable. We would however want it clearly understood that QUOTE promptly UNQUOTE meant that a beginning would be made at once and completion effected within some such period as two or three months and that unless this in fact developed we would not consider they were acting in good faith and that further talks might then be broken off. However this understanding need not be made public unless it were breached.

As talks have developed it seems to us that ~~the~~ Chinese Communists are frustrating ~~the~~ agreed first purpose of ~~the~~ resumed ambassadorial level talks. That agreed first purpose was QUOTE to aid in settling the matter of repatriation of civilians who desire to return to their respective countries UNQUOTE. Also we again recall Chou En-lai's statement

Drafted by: S - J. F. Dulles:ek 8/19/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: W. J. Sebald

Clearances:
0972 CA - Walter P. McConaughy

S/S-CR
AUG 19 1955 A.M.

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statement that ~~the~~ purpose ~~of the~~ forthcoming talks at ~~the~~ ambassadorial level was QUOTE first of all UNQUOTE to reach a reasonable settlement of this matter.

As we read your cables, Wang's proposal would leave ~~the~~ situation in precisely ~~the~~ same unsettled state it was when new negotiations were agreed to. It seems to us that until Wang is prepared ~~to~~ agree that ~~the~~ Americans in China who want to return can promptly do so, we have no alternative but to stand pat constantly repeating that the agreed first purpose of ~~the~~ talks is to QUOTE settle UNQUOTE these cases and what settlement does he propose.

" DULLES "

Dulles (CWG)

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Department of State

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09150 (212)

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA NIACT 582

FOR JOHNSON

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ 1.93/8-1855

Origin

1. Your 540. Department believes principal objective is obtain Chinese Communist agreement our version paragraph 1 as set forth Secretary's 569. In order facilitate Wang's acceptance satisfactory version paragraph 1, we would be willing make some concessions on textual points enumerated your 540. While in each case our language believed somewhat preferable there is no fundamental issue involved as we see it and we would ~~XXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XX~~ yield in order afford additional face saving to Wang if he agrees on our proposed paragraph 1. Specifically we would accept paragraph B PAREN insertion of QUOTE USA agrees that UNQUOTE PAREN, C PAREN omission word QUOTE official UNQUOTE PAREN, E PAREN rewording of paragraph 2A PAREN subject clarification garble following words QUOTE if desired by the UNQUOTE, and F PAREN substitution quote/PRC unquote/for QUOTE China mainland QUOTE PAREN. Regarding D, PAREN substitution QUOTE Office of Charge d'Affaires of UK UNQUOTE for QUOTE British Embassy UNQUOTE PAREN British Embassy perceives no objection but has queried Foreign Office.

2. Your

DC/R
76

10974

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:ek 8/19/55
FE:WJSebald

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy
~~Walter J. Sebald~~

Clearances:

S - The Secretary cleared in substance

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2. Your 543. As to Wang's proposed supplementary statement Legal Adviser is working on this and we will not have anything definitive for you in time for tomorrow's meeting. Expect to send definite instructions by early next week. Believe this delay not important inasmuch as it seems unlikely that final agreement will be reached at tomorrow's meeting. Our preliminary reaction to paragraph 1. A. is that we could accept some sort statement making clear that each side is acting entirely on its own and that no question interference jurisdiction arises on either side. We will naturally desire avoid language which would imply US recognition CPR attributes of sovereignty.

As to paragraph 1.B. you should take position this point is adequately covered by representation provisions agreed announcement and it therefore is unnecessary.

3. Your 547, New Delhi's 333 repeated Geneva 28, We will respect wishes Indian Government in regard nomenclature. Presume Wang will introduce this question. You should be prepared accept language QUOTE Government of the Republic of India UNQUOTE in place of QUOTE Indian Embassy UNQUOTE only in first sentence paragraph 2 of agreed announcement. Subsequent references to Indian Embassy should be retained. We plan make it clear to GOI in our reply that it is our understanding Embassy ~~will~~ would be agency GOI for implementation agreement and that no Indian Commission or special team would be sent to US for this purpose. " DULLES

Dulles (WOMack)

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UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICIAL - INFORMAL
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August 19, 1955

Letter No. 4

Dear Walter:

I received your letter of August 17th today. This is very good pouch service and if it could be maintained would certainly be most helpful. I also received your letters of August 12th and 15th but did not reply in view of Ed Martin's return as I knew that he would fill you all in much better than I could by letter.

Doug Forman has arrived, and I greatly appreciate the effort which was made thoroughly to brief him before he left. It has been very helpful to me.

Frankly I am still bothered by what might not entirely accurately be described as our present "all or nothing" position. I fully appreciate that it is a question of judgment upon which it is not possible to be categorical one way or another. You may be entirely right that their desire to move on to item two is so strong that they will eventually concede, but I, nevertheless, stick to my original estimate even if this is true it is going to be a long, hard struggle. There is no question on the moral rightness of our position, but, unfortunately, that seems to have little influence on the people with whom I am dealing. What particularly bothers me is that our position is resulting in the retention of persons whose release could otherwise be obtained while we wrestle with getting all the others. I am finding it hard to equate the cases of say Harriet Mills and some of the missionaries with some of the other cases, much though we intend to get them all out. Of course, all this in turn largely depends upon whether it is Chou's intention to exploit those remaining for further concessions from us. Of course one cannot be sure, but I still have the feeling that they consider just about the maximum amount of capital has been squeezed from the prisoners and that the others

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director,
Office of Chinese Affairs,
Department of State.

SECRET

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others would gradually be released in their own way and in their own time.

It seems to me that also we are running some risk, slight though it may seem at the time, that the maintenance of our present position just might result in a breakdown of these talks, if not because of developments here but because of incidents elsewhere and that this would result in indefinite detention by the Chinese of those whose release we could have otherwise obtained. Of course, the only way in which I could fully and finally test the Chinese Communist position on this and bring maximum pressure would be to force the issue to the point of threatening a breakdown from our side. We would be gambling that their desire is so strong to go on to item two that they would not permit it to happen, but, on the other hand, if they called my bluff it would indefinitely delay the release of any Americans.

I do not say our present position is wrong and will, of course, continue to present it to the best of my ability. However, I hope that in reaching a decision full weight has also been given to these other considerations. I have never felt the situation was so simple as throwing in the sponge when we were near agreement on all Americans because I did not feel that we were that near that point. I hope that I am wrong.

I sent an "eyes only" to the Secretary last night on the possibility of my very privately having Wang to a meal, and, if it is our intention maintain our present position, putting it to him just as forcefully as I can. It is my feeling that if I would do this in this atmosphere it would be much more effective than anything further I might say in our meetings and that the gesture of inviting him to dinner just might help in bringing Chou around. I think that it is a situation which calls for using all the arts of our profession.

If I do not do this, it seems to me that I should probably adopt the opposite tack and, while trying to avoid anything that would precipitate a break, could take a much less "reasonable" attitude at meetings and attempt to give him a feeling that if we don't get what we are asking for we would be willing to see a break develop. This would be a difficult operation to perform without its leading to a break if they are in fact willing to break over the issue.

I am

I am also glad to see the improvement in the press. From what Doug Forman tells me, I fear that I had perhaps in the past not made clear enough to all of you, including Carl McCardle, that I have been spending a great deal of time seeing individual correspondents and believe that it has done some good.

The Department's telegrams of instructions are most prompt and helpful, and I greatly appreciate the tremendous amount of most urgent work that I know goes into each of them. The regional communications supervisor came over here from Paris and there has been a considerable improvement in our code room problems. With the ending of the Atomic Energy Conference, there should be further improvement. I am still distressed at the amount of time it takes things to move between us.

With kindest regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

P.S. I assume that you, Sebald and Robertson will see any "eyes only" transmitted to the Secretary. I will only very occasionally use this when I am particularly anxious matter not be given any further circulation in the Department.

You might tell the Secretary that he owes me a franc for the use of "conference" in his 526.

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(112)

(5-28)

"This document consists of 2 pages

Number 2 of 5 copies, Series A"

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August 19, 1955

Letter No. 6

SECRET
OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

Dear Alex:

The pouch service may be less frequent from now on. If there is going to be only one a week, we cannot depend very heavily upon the official-informal letter channel. I hope we can find some means of exchanging letters at least twice a week.

The deadlock seems pretty tight following the August 18 meeting. We thought, on the basis of your 520, that the Wang Paragraph 1 proposal might give some hope of progress, but your 537 affords less ground for optimisim. The Secretary's telegram 569 of last night gives you as much negotiating leeway as is possible under present circumstances without compromising the essential principle. This telegram gives the Chinese Communists an easy way out if they are willing to take it, for it means in effect that we would accept their promise as to Americans who would not be released immediately and the understanding on the remaining Americans would not have to be publicized at present. This is going a pretty long way. If we went any further to meet their demands, we would not even have a Communist promise in exchange for U.S. performance. We would indeed be "buying a pig in a poke".

The August 20 meeting might be fairly decisive. The added negotiating latitude given you in the Secretary's 569 probably will enable you to ascertain whether Chou's July 30 statement which you

have

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

SECRET

have hammered so hard, really means anything. If there is no affirmative action from Wang, the deadlock on Item 1 is indeed a tight one.

Ed Martin arrived here on Wednesday the 17th and gave us very full and illuminating reports over a period of several hours. He saw the Secretary for over half an hour in the afternoon and conveyed a clear picture of the atmosphere of the negotiations and the nuances of the give-and-take which cannot be obtained from the telegrams. We have a better grasp of what you are up against and a better visualization of the general environment of the talks.

The head of Foreign Assets Control of Treasury Department gave the Secretary a full briefing on the 17th regarding the relationship of Foreign Assets Control Regulations to possible travel of American citizens to Communist China. This was in relation to the Secretary's 526 to you. He made it clear that the licensing procedures under the Regulations are flexible and Treasury will of course readily accept foreign policy guidance from State.

We have informed Cooper on August 17 of the general nature of the impasse we have encountered and he has informed the Indian Government of the failure, as we see it, of Wang Ping-nan to live up to Chou En-lai's July 30 statement. Cooper has informed the Indian Government that Chinese nationals in the U.S. who wish to return to Communist China are free to do so and that the Chinese Communists have entirely failed to match this position. Cooper was authorized to inform the Indians that we were not prepared to go on to discuss other matters until the agreed first item was disposed of. Bohlen in Moscow has also been informed. It is conceivable that the Indians or the Soviets or both may exert some influence on Peiping to moderate its position, although we have carefully avoided a request of any intervention by either Government. If they do anything it will be on their own initiative and responsibility.

There is nothing but admiration for the ingenuity, resolution and patience you are showing in holding Wang to the basic issue through these seemingly interminable exchanges.

I hope you were not disappointed when no telephone call came through last Sunday. You will understand it was not as a result of any lack of desire to talk, but solely because we are apprehensive about possible monitoring and the difficulty of having a meaningful conversation which does not skirt on sensitive matters.

All the best and sincere regards,

Sincerely

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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Rec'd: AUGUST 20, 1955

Date of Action 9:06 AM

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Direction to DC/R file

L7-B
Action
FE
Info

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 560, AUGUST 20, 1 PM

NIACT

FROM JOHNSON

ONE HOUR AND HALF MEETING THIS MORNING AGAIN WITH NO VISIBLE PROGRESS. I OPENED WITH STATEMENT TO EFFECT OUR AGREED PURPOSE WAS SETTLE MATTER RETURN CIVILIANS, I HAD TOLD HIM EXACTLY WHAT WE HAD DONE WITH RESPECT CHINESE AND WERE PREPARED TO DO REPRESENTATION, WAS STILL WAITING KNOW SETTLEMENT HIS GOVERNMENT PROPOSED MAKE AMERICANS. WHEN THIS INFORMATION AVAILABLE COULD READILY AGREE EXACT LANGUAGE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT BUT FUTILE FURTHER DISCUSSION FORM WORDS UNTIL BOTH CLEAR AS TO SUBSTANCE OF WHAT WE ARE ANNOUNCING. HE REPLIED REITERATING PREVIOUS POSITIONS BUT DURING COURSE GIVE AND TAKE I ASKED HIM SERIES QUESTIONS TO WHICH HIS REPLIES MADE CLEAR ALL REPEAT ALL CASES BEING QTE REVIEWED UNQTE, QTE COMPLETION REVIEW UNQTE MEANS PERSONS CAN PROMPTLY DEPART FOR US, REVIEW ALL CASES NOT QTE COMPLETED UNQTE, QTE HE COULD NOT FORECAST TIME REQUIRED COMPLETE REMAINING CASES UNQTE WHICH WAS DEPENDENT ON QTE NATURE CASE, CONDUCT INDIVIDUAL, IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES UNQTE. TALKS WERE ONE INDICATION IMPROVEMENT AND AGREEMENT ON PUTTING THIRD PARTY REPRESENTATION INTO OPERATION WOULD BE ADDITIONAL IMPROVEMENT. ALL THIS WOULD QTE MAKE SETTLEMENT OF CASES EASIER THAN IN THE PAST UNQTE.

FILED
FEB 14 1955

HAD MADE THEIR QTE BEST EFFORT UNQTE. ALL ARGUMENT THAT HE WOULD RECIPROCATE FRANKNESS WITH WHICH I HAD MADE DETAILED EXPLANATION ACTION TAKEN RESPECT CHINESE IN US WAS EVADED OR BRUSHED ASIDE. MY EFFORTS THIS REGARD WERE QTE INFRINGEMENT OF SOVEREIGNTY AND INTERFERENCE THEIR JURIDICAL PROCESSES WHICH THEY COULD NEVER ACCEPT UNQTE.

I DELIBERATELY

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I DELIBERATELY AVOIDED ANY DISCUSSIONS DETAILS REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT IN ORDER KEEP DISCUSSION FOCUSED ON CENTRAL ISSUE. FOR SAME REASON I ALSO AVOIDED ANSWERING FAMILIAR ALLEGATIONS TREATMENT CHINESE IN US AND THEIR TREATMENT AMERICANS CHINA.

NEXT MEETING TUESDAY, 10 A.M.

GOWEN

MDG

NOTE: Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 8/20/55 9:52 a.m. EMB(CWO)

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Department of State

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Control 10906
Rec'd: AUGUST 20, 1955
12:03 P M

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 563, AUGUST 20, 5 P M

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

Action Assigned to

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1. FOLLOWING IS FULL TEXT WANG'S PROPOSED "UNDERSTANDINGS" AS GIVEN ME AUGUST 18 MEETING WHICH MAY BE HELPFUL IN STUDY REFERRED TO DEPTEL 582 PARAGRAPH TWO.

2. "IN YOUR PROPOSED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT NO SPECIFIC PROVISIONS HAVE BEEN MADE OF THOSE NATIONALS WITH UNFINISHED CIVIL OR CRIMINAL CASES. AT OUR LAST MEETING, HOWEVER, YOU STATED THAT YOU DID NOT THINK ANYTHING THAT YOU SAID IN THE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT IN ANY WAY INFRINGED UPON OR RAISED A QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY OR JURISDICTION AND THAT YOU DID NOT IN ANY WAY ATTEMPT TO DICTATE TO MY GOVERNMENT ON WHAT MEASURE OR ACTION IT SHOULD TAKE, THAT BEING MATTERS ONLY MY GOVERNMENT COULD DECIDE. YOU ALSO STATED THAT YOU HAD NEVER SUGGESTED CASES OF AMERICANS SHOULD BE SETTLED OUTSIDE THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR LAW AND THAT YOU HAD ALWAYS PRESUMED THAT THE MEASURES TAKEN BY MY GOVERNMENT WERE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR JURIDICAL PROCEDURES.

3. ON THE BASIS OF OUR UNDERSTANDING OF YOUR STATEMENTS WE ARE READY TO AGREE TO WRITE DOWN IN THE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT THAT BOTH SIDES ANNOUNCE THAT THEY HAVE ADOPTED AND WILL FURTHER ADOPT APPROPRIATE MEASURES TO ENABLE THE NATIONALS OF THE OTHER SIDE WHO DESIRE TO RETURN TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHTS TO DO SO, WITHOUT SPECIFICALLY RAISING THE QUESTION OF THOSE BEING INVOLVED IN UNFINISHED CIVIL OR CRIMINAL CASES.

4. AS REGARDS THE QUESTION OF ONE GOVERNMENT MAKING REQUESTS ON BEHALF OF ITS NATIONALS TOWARDS THE ENTRUSTED COUNTRY, I HAVE PROPOSED THAT THE RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS SHOULD BE ABLE TO REQUEST ON BEHALF OF THEIR OWN NATIONALS WHO DESIRE TO RETURN, THE ENTRUSTED

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ENTRUSTED COUNTRY TO INVESTIGATE THE FACTS AND TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE OTHER SIDE IN ORDER TO RESOLVE THE DIFFICULTIES OF SUCH CIVILIANS IN THEIR DEPARTURE. HOWEVER, YOUR PROPOSED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ALSO FAILED TO PROVIDE FOR THIS POINT. AT OUR LAST MEETING YOU INDICATED THAT AFTER THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE THIRD COUNTRY ARRANGEMENT NATIONALS OF EACH SIDE CAN DIRECTLY APPROACH THE DIPLOMATIC MISSION OF THE THIRD COUNTRY CONCERNED. IF, HOWEVER, NATIONALS OF ANY SIDE REPORT TO THEIR GOVERNMENT ABOUT THEIR DEPARTURE BEING PREVENTED THE GOVERNMENT CONCERNED CAN ALSO REFER THESE COMPLAINTS TO THE THIRD COUNTRY FOR THE LATTER TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS OR TO CARRY OUT INVESTIGATION. I BELIEVE YOU CERTAINLY WILL HAVE NO OBJECTION TO THAT. WITH THIS UNDERSTANDING WE WILL ALSO AGREE TO MAKE NO PROVISION ON THIS POINT IN OUR AGREEMENT.

5. I REQUEST THAT THE ABOVE TWO POINTS BE INCLUDED IN THE RECORD OF THE MEETING."

GOWEN

AW

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OFFICE OF
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Info
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Control: 10915
Rec'd: AUGUST 20, 1955
1:24 PM

Action Assigned to: 2/1/10
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 564 AUGUST 20, 5 PM

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

1. I DID NOT AT TODAY'S MEETING INTRODUCE TEXTUAL CHANGES MENTIONED FIRST PARA SECRETARY'S TEL 569 NOR THOSE MENTIONED PARA ONE DEPTEL 582 AS IT WAS VERY CLEAR THAT QUESTION IS NOT VERBAL FORMULA BUT FACTUAL SITUATION AND NO CONCESSION ON WORDS WAS GOING TO MOVE HIM TO ANY SUBSTANTIVE CONCESSION ON AMERICANS. WANG WILL PROBABLY AGREE ALMOST ANY VERBAL FORMULA FOR PARA ONE BUT WILL INSIST ON UNDERSTANDING THAT AGREEMENT DOES NOT INFRINGE ON CHICOM SOVEREIGNTY AND JURISDICTION WHICH HE WILL INTERPRET TO MEAN THAT QTE UNFINISHED CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASES UNQTE WILL BE SETTLED IN OWN WAY AND OWN TIME.

2. ISSUE IS VERY CLEAR AND THERE IS LITTLE LEFT TO SAY UNTIL SHIFT IN POSITION ONE SIDE OR ANOTHER.

3. MY PRESENT THINKING IS THAT AT TUESDAY'S MEETING I MIGHT INTRODUCE REDRAFT QTE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT UNQTE BASED UPON WANG'S AUGUST 18 DRAFT (MYTEL 545) MODIFIED AS SUGGESTED FIRST PARA SECRETARY'S TEL 569 AND PARA ONE DEPTEL 582 TOGETHER WITH AN QTE UNDERSTANDING UNQTE ON JURISDICTION TO BE BASED ON LEGAL STUDY MENTIONED PARA 2 DEPTEL 582 IN WHICH I WOULD INCLUDE A STATEMENT ON TIMING OF CHICOM COMPLETION REVIEW QTE UNFINISHED CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASES UNQTE. I WOULD THINK THAT A PHRASE SOMEWHAT AS FOLLOWS WOULD BE SUFFICIENT: QTE IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE PRC HAS COMPLETED THE REVIEW OF SOME UNFINISHED CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASES INVOLVING AMERICANS AND THAT THESE AMERICANS WILL BE ABLE PROMPTLY TO DEPART FOR THE US. IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE REVIEW OF ALL REMAINING CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASES INVOLVING AMERICANS WILL BE COMPLETED WITHIN ..... WEEKS AND THAT THEY WILL THEREUPON BE ABLE TO DEPART FOR THE US. UNQTE

4. MY TACTIC

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4. MY TACTIC WOULD BE TO PRESENT WANG WITH FULL TEXT OF DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND QTE UNDERSTANDING UNQTE POINTING OUT HOW FAR WE HAVE GONE TO MEET HIS POINT OF VIEW AND STATING IT IS ONLY FOR HIM TO INSERT SOME REASONABLE NUMBER OF WEEKS IN BLANK TO CONCLUDE MATTER. I WOULD STATE QTE UNDERSTANDING UNQTE WOULD NOT BE MADE PUBLIC. IN EVENT QTE UNDERSTANDING UNQTE BREACHED IT SEEMS TO ME WE WOULD HAVE FULL FREEDOM MAKE PUBLIC.

5. CLEAR THAT UNDER HIS PRESENT INSTRUCTIONS WANG COULD NOT ACCEPT FOREGOING BUT IT WOULD PLACE ME IN STRONGEST POSSIBLE NEGOTIATING POSITION.

6. ONLY OTHER SUGGESTION I HAVE FOR ACTION ON OUR PART WHICH MIGHT RESOLVE IMPASSE WOULD BE TO ENTER INTO AGREEMENT WITHOUT ANY QTE UNDERSTANDING UNQTE ON TIME PERIOD DURING WHICH RELEASE OF AMERICANS WOULD BE COMPLETED BUT TAKE POSITION THAT AGENDA ITEM ONE NOT SETTLED UNTIL RELEASE ALL AMERICANS WHO DESIRE LEAVE AND THEREFORE NOT POSSIBLE PROCEED TO ITEM TWO UNTIL THAT TIME. I MERELY SUGGEST THIS AS A POSSIBILITY WHICH I HAVE NOT THOROUGHLY THOUGHT THROUGH.

GOWEN

SEG

NOTE: Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 1:45 p.m. 8/20/55 MTB

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Action Assigned to CA/R

Control: 10933
Rec'd: AUGUST 20, 1955
2:35 P M

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 566 AUGUST 20, 6 P M

FROM JOHNSON

file

611.93/8-2055

1. AT 9TH MEETING TODAY I OPENED BY READING PREPARED STATEMENT. I SAID OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS AGREED FIRST PURPOSE DISCUSSIONS WAS TO SETTLE MATTER RETURN CIVILIANS WHO DESIRE TO DO SO. I HAD TOLD WANG EXACTLY AND PRECISELY WHAT WE HAVE DONE AND ARE PREPARED TO DO REGARDING CHINESE IN US AND OF ARRANGEMENTS WE WILLING MAKE FOR THEIR ASSISTANCE BY INDIAN EMBASSY. I REPEATED I WAS STILL WAITING HEAR SETTLEMENT PROPOSED REGARDING AMERICAN NATIONALS DESIRING RETURN AND, WHILE NOT ATTEMPTING DICTATE ACTION TO BE TAKEN BY CHINESE, EMPHASIZED PURPOSE OUR TALKS WAS TO DISCUSS ALL CIVILIANS DESIRING RETURN. I CONCLUDED FUTILE TO DISCUSS FORM OF WORDS USED IN PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT UNTIL BOTH CLEAR IN OUR MINDS SUBSTANCE OF WHAT WE WERE ANNOUNCING. THEREFORE DIFFICULT FOR ME SEE HOW WE COULD MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS UNTIL THIS WAS DONE.

2. WANG REVERTED TO HIS LINE ARGUMENT LAST MEETING ACCUSING US RAISING SAME OLD POINTS AND INTRODUCING NOTHING NEW. STATED IF WE AGREED TO TEXT ANNOUNCEMENT THEN HE WOULD TELL PROCEDURES HIS GOVERNMENT WILLING TAKE AND RESULTS CASES OF AMERICANS WHICH HAVE BEEN REVIEWED.

3. I THEN ASKED SERIES SIMPLE, DIRECT QUESTIONS IN ATTEMPT FURTHER CLARIFY HIS EXACT POSITION.

4. I ASKED IF HIS GOVERNMENT WAS REVIEWING ALL CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASES INVOLVING AMERICANS. HE REPLIED HE HAD ANSWERED THIS QUESTION IN AFFIRMATIVE MANY TIMES.

5. I ASKED WHETHER AS SOON AS GOVERNMENTS AGREED ARRANGE THIRD PARTY ASSISTANCE FOR CIVILIANS WHO WISHED RETURN HE WOULD INFORM US RESULTS CASES AMERICANS REVIEWED. HE AGREED.

6. I ASKED WHETHER REVIEWS CASES ALL AMERICANS COMPLETED. HE HEDGED

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HEDGED. I STATED IMPLICATION WAS THAT ALL NOT COMPLETED. HE RETURNED TO STANDARD FORMULA THAT THEY WOULD ADVISE ON RESULTS WHEN REVIEWS COMPLETED. LATER HE STATED VERY CLEARLY REVIEWS HAD BEEN COMPLETED ON SOME BUT NOT THE OTHERS.

7. I THEN ASKED WHETHER COMPLETION REVIEW MEANT THAT PERSONS CONCERNED WOULD BE ABLE RETURN PROMPTLY TO US. HE REPLIED CLEARLY THAT THEY COULD DEPART CHINA PROMPTLY.

8. I ASKED WHETHER POSSIBLE GIVE ESTIMATE TIME REQUIRED COMPLETE REVIEWS REMAINING CASES IN ACCORDANCE LAWS AND PROCEDURES HIS GOVERNMENT. HE REPLIED TIME REQUIRED COMPLETE REVIEWS DEPENDED UPON TWO FACTORS; (1) NATURE OF CASES INVOLVED, WHICH INCLUDED CONDUCT OF PERSONS THEMSELVES; AND (2) THE STATE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. IN AMPLIFYING LATTER, HE SAID THESE TALKS REPRESENTED IMPROVEMENT. ALSO THEIR RELEASE OF "GUILTY" AIRMEN DONE IN EFFORT IMPROVE RELATIONS. LATER HE ADDED AGREEMENT ON THIRD PARTY REPRESENTATION WOULD ALSO CONSTITUTE IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS.

9. I STATED IT TAKES TWO TO IMPROVE RELATIONS AND THAT I KNEW OF NO SINGLE THING WHICH FROM OUR STANDPOINT WOULD DO MORE TO IMPROVE RELATIONS THAN REACHING SOLUTION ON QUESTION RETURN OUR NATIONALS. ADDED THAT IF HE COULD STATE SPECIFIC PERIOD TIME REQUIRED TO REVIEW CASES AMERICANS AND PERMIT THEM RETURN, THIS WOULD BE OF GREAT HELP IN IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS. WANG REPLIED IMPOSSIBLE AND UNREALISTIC PREDICT TIME REQUIRED SUCH REVIEW, BUT IF AGREEMENT REACHED ON REPRESENTATION AND RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES IMPROVED THINGS WOULD MOVE EASIER THAN IN THE PAST. HE COMMENTED HE COULD NOT EXPECT ME TO SAY WHEN CHINESE STUDENTS WOULD BE ABLE LEAVE US. I REPLIED IMMEDIATELY THAT I COULD AND REPEATED MY CATEGORICAL ASSURANCE WHEN HE ENDEAVORED QUALIFY IT.

10. AT THIS POINT HE BEGAN READING LONG PREPARED STATEMENT REVIEWING ALL POINTS HE BROUGHT UP AT LAST MEETING. THESE INCLUDED: THEIR ALLEGED WILLINGNESS AGREE OUR TEXT; THEIR ASSURANCE THEY HAD MADE GREATEST EFFORT REACH AGREEMENT AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR FAILURE NOT THEIRS; CLAIM THAT AMERICANS AT NO TIME WERE PREVENTED FROM LEAVING CHINA AND MORE HAD LEFT PROPORTIONATELY THAN CHINESE HAD LEFT

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LEFT US; STATEMENT ALL CASES WERE BEING REVIEWED AND CIVIL CASES COULD LEAVE UPON REASONABLE SETTLEMENT WHILE CRIMINAL CASES WOULD RECEIVE LENIENT TREATMENT; AND THEIR OBJECTION THAT OUR INSISTENCE RELEASE ALL AMERICANS HELD CONSTITUTED INTERFERENCE THEIR LAW AND JURIDICAL PROCESSES WHICH THEY COULD NEVER ACCEPT.

11. STATEMENT CONCLUDED ALLEGING DIFFICULTIES CHINESE STUDENTS DEPARTING US DUE HARASSMENT BY IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS, DELAYS DUE LOSS THEIR FILES BY AUTHORITIES, INCONVENIENCE DUE CONFISCATION OF FUNDS SENT FOR THEIR TRAVEL AND INTIMIDATION STUDENTS GO TO TAIWAN OR APPLY FOR REFUGEE STATUS IN US. HE SAID SOME RECENTLY RETURNED CHINESE RECEIVED OFFICIAL OBSTRUCTION EVEN AFTER THEY HAS LEFT US AND OBSTRUCTION EXTENDED EVEN TO HONG KONG. HE SAID THESE CRITICISMS CONCERNED ONLY ORDINARY CHINESE IN US AND I COULD NOT TELL HIM OFFHAND HOW MANY MORE CHINESE WERE DETAINED AND JAILED UNDER FEDERAL AND STATE LAWS DUE TO UNFINISHED CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASES. HE REQUESTED OUR SIDE INVESTIGATE SUCH CASES AND ADDED THIRD PARTY WOULD ALSO LOOK INTO MATTER. HE CONCLUDED ON THEME WHICH HE EMPHASIZED OFTEN BEFORE TO EFFECT THAT DEMANDS AMOUNTING TO INFRINGEMENT ON THEIR SOVEREIGNTY AND JURIDICAL PROCESS COULD NOT BE TOLERATED.

12. I SAID IN REPLY ONLY THAT I KNEW OF NO CHINESE WHO DESIRED RETURN INVOLVED IN WHAT HE TERMED UNFINISHED CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASES AND FURTHERMORE THAT IF HE WOULD PROVIDE ME WITH NAMES I WOULD IMMEDIATELY LOOK INTO ANY CASES CHINESE WHOSE DEPARTURE HAD BEEN INTERFERED WITH BY OFFICIAL ACTS CONTRARY TO STATEMENTS I HAD MADE.

13. WANG CLOSED MEETING BY SAYING IF WE FAILED AGREE ON ANNOUNCEMENT IT WAS NOT HIS RESPONSIBILITY AS THEY HAD MADE THEIR GREATEST EFFORT. HE SAID HE COULD NOT PROVIDE ME WITH NAMES OF CHINESE STUDENTS IN DIFFICULTY LEST OUR ACTIONS AGAINST THEM SHOULD BE EVEN MORE UNFAVORABLE. /

GOWEN

RINKER-AW

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FOREGOING TELEGRAM (117)

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET

Classification

(22)

09605

1955 AUG 21 PM 9 23

8/21/55

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 598 PRIORITY

Origin

FOR JOHNSON.

Your 564 and 566. -611-93/8-2055

We are telegraphing separately, with view to its introduction by you at August 23 meeting, full text of "agreed announcement" as it has now evolved (with drafting changes which we consider essential) and request your immediate concurrence or comments.

You will note from this revised draft that U.S. and PRC sections on repatriation not exactly parallel. This is reflection of fact that PRC so far unwilling to match our position. We feel announcement should state ourposition accurately. We would naturally welcome matching statement by PRC. If they still refuse, deviation from parallel language seems unavoidable.

In general we do not desire any private aggreements which add to or subtract from "agreed announcement" or which provide anything other than reasonable interpretation of it. On this basis we perceive no justification for "understanding" on jurisdiction question raised by Wang.

Assuming

Drafted by: FE:WJSebald
FE/CA:WPMcConaughy

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: W. P. McConaughy

Clearances: Cleared in substance by the Secretary.

DULLES

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SECRET
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Assuming communists unwilling go beyond compromise language on repatriation contained in our draft text "agreed announcement", you should insist on understanding which would contain reasonable interpretation of time limit, i.e. "promptly", for completion of review of cases of detained Americans as stated DEPTEL 569. No objection language quoted latter part paragraph 3 your 564.

Dulles

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10977

FOREIGN TELEGRAM (118)

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET (223)
Classification

09606

55 NOV 21 PM 9 23

LC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 599

Origin

FOR JOHNSON 611.93/8-2055

Re DEPTEL 598 Following is text of draft "Agreed Announcement"

BEGIN TEXT

QUOTE

The Ambassadors of the USA and the PRC have agreed to announce the measures which their respective Governments have adopted with respect to repatriation of civilians who desire to return to their respective countries.

With respect to Chinese residing in the United States, Ambassador Johnson, on behalf of the US Government, has informed Ambassador Wang that: (1) The US recognizes that Chinese in the USA who desire to return to the PRC are now entitled to do so and declares that it has adopted measures so that they may in fact promptly return. (2) The US will authorize the Government of the Republic of India to assist return to the PRC of those Chinese who desire to do so as follows: (a) If any Chinese in the USA believes that contrary to the declared policy of the USA he is encountering obstruction in departure he may so inform

Drafted by: S:JFDulles:cjp

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: S:JFDulles

DULLES

Clearances:

FE: Mr. Sebald

10978

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Classification

This Document Must Be Returned to OCD/R Central Files

611.93/8-2155

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the Indian Embassy in the USA and request it to make representations on his behalf to the US Government. If desired by the PRC the Indian Government may also make investigation of the facts in any such case. (b) If a Chinese in the US who desires to return to the PRC has difficulty in paying his return expenses, the Indian Government may render him financial assistance needed to permit his return. (3) The Government of the US will give wide publicity in the USA to the foregoing arrangements and the Government of India may also do so.

With respect to Americans residing in the PRC, Ambassador Wang on behalf of the PRC has informed Ambassador Johnson that: (1) The PRC recognizes that Americans in the PRC who desire to return to the USA are entitled to do so and declares that it has adopted and will further adopt appropriate measures so that they can promptly exercise their right to return. (2) The PRC will authorize the Government of the UK to assist in the return to the US of those Americans who desire to do so as follows: (a) If any American in the PRC believes that contrary to the declared policy of the PRC he is encountering obstruction in departure he may so inform the Office of the Charge d'Affaires of the UK in the PRC and request it to make representations on his behalf to the Government of the PRC. If desired by the US, the Government of the UK may also make investigation of the facts in any such case. (b) If an American in the PRC who desires to return to the US has difficulty

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in paying his return expenses, the Government of the UK may render him financial assistance needed to permit his return. (3) The Government of the PRC will give wide publicity in the PRC to the foregoing arrangements.

UNQUOTE

END TEXT

Rutler

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UNCLASSIFIED

TELEGRAM

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

Re DEPTEL Following is text of draft QTE Agreed Announcement UNQTE

BEGIN TEXT

QTE The Ambassadors of the USA and the PRC have agreed to announce the measures which their respective Governments have adopted with respect to repatriation of civilians who desire to return to their respective countries. With respect to Chinese residing in the United States, Ambassador Johnson, on behalf of the US Government, has informed Ambassador Wang that: (1) The US recognizes that Chinese in the USA who desire to return to the PRC are now entitled to do so and declares that it has adopted measures so that they may in fact promptly return. (2) The US will authorize the Government of the Republic of India to assist return to the PRC of those Chinese who desire to do so as follows: (a) If any Chinese in the USA believes that contrary to the declared policy of the US he is encountering obstruction in departure he may so inform the Indian Embassy in the USA and request it to make representations on his behalf to the US Government.

Drafted by: S:JFDulles:cjp

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: S:JFDulles

Clearances:

WE: Mr. Gebald

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If desired by the PRC the Indian Government may also make investigation of the facts in any such case. (b) If a Chinese in the US who desires to return to the PRC has difficulty in paying his return expenses, the Indian Government may render him financial assistance needed to permit his return. (3) The Government of the US will give wide publicity in the USA to the foregoing arrangements and the Government of India may also do so.

With respect to Americans residing in the PRC, Ambassador Wang on behalf of the PRC has informed Ambassador Johnson that: (1) The PRC recognizes that Americans in the PRC who desire to return to the USA are entitled to do so and declares that [illegible] Mainland it has adopted and will further adopt appropriate measures so that they can promptly exercise their right to return. (2) The PRC will authorize the Government of the UK to assist in the return to the US of those Americans who desire to do so as follows: (a) If any American in the PRC believes that contrary to the declared policy of the PRC he is encountering obstruction in departure he may so inform the Office of the Charge d'Affaires of the UK in the PRC and request it to make representations on his behalf to the Government of the PRC. If desired by the US, the Government of the UK may also make investigation of the facts in any such case.

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(b) If an American in the PRC who desires to return to the US has difficulty in paying his return expenses, the Government of the UK may render him financial assistance needed to permit his return. (3) The Government of the PRC will give wide publicity in the PRC to the foregoing arrangements. UNQTE END TEXT

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(119) (224)

OMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

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16 B

SECRET

Action FE

~~B/S~~

Info

Action Assigned to

Control: 11230

Rec'd: August 22, 1955

Action Taken 7:22 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 571 August 22, 11 a.m.

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

NIACT

FROM JOHNSON

1. Subject following comments concur text draft "agreed announcement" DEPTEL 599:

(A) Note that word "nationals" has been dropped following "Chinese" and "American" where appeared all previous texts including those we introduced. Not clear on reason and desire authority restore if question raised by Wang.

(B) Assume omission phrase "and the Government UK may also do so" in numbered paragraph 3 (last sentence DEPTEL 598) inadvertent. Probably little value under conditions in PRC but do not see why we do not obtain for what it may be worth exactly same privilege for UK in PRC as we give India in US.

In any event as phrased is discretionary rather than obligatory for UK.

2. Believe it will not be possible avoid question "jurisdiction". As I have previously said they obviously concerned we are attempting in some way reestablish extraterritorial principle for Americans in PRC. Rightly or wrongly I have said in informal give and take substantially what Wang quotes in paragraph 2 my telegram 563 and he will insist I either reaffirm, deny or amend the statement. It still seems to me that my statement is unexceptional and is consistent with language latter part paragraph 3 my telegram 564. My thought would be simply set forth in "understanding" that "nothing in agreed announcement is intended raise any question of sovereignty, or jurisdiction over nationals of one country in territory of other and that it is assumed that measures referred to in numbered paragraph 1 of statement by Ambassador Wang contained in 'agreed announcement' and measures referred to in paragraph 1 of statement by Ambassador Johnson in 'agreed announcement' are taken within the framework of the laws and legal procedures of their respective countries."

3. It seems to me this is not inconsistent with first sentence paragraph 3

611.93/8-2255

PA

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571 August 22, 11 a.m. from Geneva.

paragraph 3 DEPTEL 598. My thought is that such an "understanding" including language latter part paragraph 3 my telegram 564 would in substance simply be oral statements exchanged between Wang and myself in meeting, although we would, in accordance with our arrangement at opening talks, give to other copy of any remarks we had made which we desired other side have exact words.

4. Believe my ability do this would materially strengthen my negotiating position in attempting extract from him "understanding" on timing release Americans.

GOWEN

WPW/11

STATE
1955 AUG 22 AM 11 35
OFFICE OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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OUT-GOING TELEGRAM (120)

INDICATE: [ ] COLLECT [ ] CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

(223)

09705

1955 AUG 22 PM 3 52

DC/T

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611.93/8-2255

SECRET FILE CS/M

611.93/8-2255

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA NIACT 602

FOR JOHNSON

Your 571 - 93/8-2255

1. PAREN a PAREN Word QUOTE nationals UNQUOTE has purposely been dropped minimize possible Chinese claim that we recognize in public document jurisdiction of PRC over Chinese in USA. Not recognizing PRC as legal government China we are unable agree that Chinese in USA are its QUOTE nationals UNQUOTE.

(b) No objection adding phrase QUOTE and the Government UK may also do so UNQUOTE. We purposely omitted phrase because we unable see that it would have any utility and we did not want to seem to think that it had.

2. Deptel 599. Delete word QUOTE residing UNQUOTE in first sentences in second and third paragraphs because QUOTE residence UNQUOTE has technical meaning not applicable to many Americans and Chinese within scope of arrangements.

3. After full consideration we believe that basic text our 599 is sound and should be pressed vigorously with oral understanding with Wang that word QUOTE promptly UNQUOTE is defined as indicated Secretary's 569,

Drafted by: FE:WJSebald 8/22/55
FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/L:HPhleger:ek

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: W. J. Sebald

Clearance: Wrance

Approved in draft by The Secretary

10981

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Classification

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SECRET
Classification

~~526~~
569, paragraph 1. We would not be willing proceed to item 2 of agenda until all Americans actually released or acceptable time limit agreed upon.

4. If it should prove utterly impossible get Wang's agreement to foregoing without an QUOTE understanding UNQUOTE, you are authorized indicate you would consider ad referendum an oral QUOTE understanding UNQUOTE which would cover both Wang's jurisdication point and definition word QUOTE promptly UNQUOTE. If we agreed to QUOTE understanding UNQUOTE it could not repeat not be private. It would have to be announced simultaneously with agreement. Text this QUOTE understanding UNQUOTE telegraphed separately.

Dulles DULLES

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Classification

OUTGOING TELEGRAM (121)

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

225

09706

1955 AUG 22 PM 3 53

DC/T

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VERBATIM TEXT

SENT TO: Amconsul Geneva NIACT 603
For Johnson 611.93/8-2255

Deptel 602. Following is text of "understanding" authorized as fall-back position:

"Nothing in agreed announcements are intended ~~[illegible]~~ involve any question of sovereignty or jurisdiction and it is assumed that measures referred to in the announcements are taken within framework of laws and legal procedures of their respective countries. It is understood that the PRC has completed the review of some unfinished civil and criminal cases involving Americans and that these Americans will be able promptly to depart for the U. S. It is understood that the review of all remaining civil and criminal cases involving Americans will be completed within (blank) weeks and that they will thereupon be able to depart for the U. S."

DULLES

Dulles (WJS)

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DC/R

Drafted by: FE:WJSebald:maf 8/22/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: FE - WJSebald WJS

Clearances:
L - Mr. Phleger (in draft) WJS
CA - Mr. McConaughy (in draft) WJS
S - The Secretary WJS

10983

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611.93/8-2255
SECRET FILE
CS/M

(122)

Number 7

(5-29)

R

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer 10 Date 7/6/82

August 22, 1955

SECRET
OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

Letter No. 8

Dear Alex:

This has been a hectic morning with all efforts concentrated on getting out a reply to your 571 in time for a possible further exchange with you before tomorrow's meeting. The pouch is closing now, so I won't be able to put anything substantive in this letter. I just want you to know that the pouch channel is still open and that we are working pretty long hours, seven days a week on the Geneva problems. It is a pity that I can not put full time on Geneva. It is physically impossible to run the office and devote proper time and reflection to your problems.

We hope to establish a semi-weekly pouch service to Geneva so that if all goes well you will receive a letter from me a few days hence.

Sincerely

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

ACTION COPY

(623)

SECRET

(226)

Control: 11889
Rec'd: AUGUST 23, 1955
6:48 A.M. to

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 585, AUGUST 23, 9 A.M.

PRIORITY

VERY LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. HAD WANG TO DINNER LAST NIGHT WITH EKVALL AND WANG'S INTERPRETER. TALKED FROM 7:30 UNTIL MIDNIGHT USING EVERY DEVICE OF CARROT AND STICK OF WHICH I WAS CAPABLE BUT MADE NO VISIBLE PROGRESS.

2. I HAD NOT INTENDED ENTER INTO DETAILED DISCUSSION NEGOTIATIONS BUT HE TOOK INITIATIVE, RESTATING HIS POSITION AND TRYING TO IMPRESS ON ME NUMBER AMERICANS THAT WOULD IMMEDIATELY BE RELEASED "WAS VERY CONSIDERABLE" AND NUMBER REMAINING "WOULD NOT BE LARGE". HE WAS OBVIOUSLY TRYING VERY HARD TO REASSURE ME "EVERYTHING WAS GOING BE ALL RIGHT" AND THAT RELEASE REMAINDER WOULD NOT TAKE LONG WITHOUT SAYING ANYTHING I COULD SEIZE UPON AS COMMITMENT. (HIS INSTRUCTIONS ARE CLEARLY VERY RIGID ON THIS.) IN RESPONSE MY PRESSING HIM THROUGHOUT EVENING ON DEFINITE TIME HE CONTINUED RETURN TO AN INVOLVED AND TORTUOUS EXPLANATION WHICH I FOUND IT ENTIRELY IMPOSSIBLE TO PIN DOWN TO A DEFINITE TIME PERIOD.

HOWEVER THE PURPORT SEEMED TO BE THAT TIME WOULD BE LESS THAN YEAR, AS WOULD BE "DOUBLY EASY AND DOUBLY QUICK" OVER SITUATION DURING PAST YEAR. HOWEVER, OMINOUS NOTE OF "STATE OF RELATIONS" AS ONE FACTOR IN TIMING CONTINUED REAPPEAR. I RETURNED AGAIN AND AGAIN TO NECESSITY SPECIFIC PROMISE ON TIME, EVEN PRIVATE IF THEY DESIRED (DEPTEL 608 WAS NOT RECEIVED UNTIL AFTER I HAD RETURNED) BUT HE FLATLY REFUSED.

SECRET

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REFUSED. "ABSOLUTELY WOULD NOT BE FORCED INTO AND COULD NOT STATE ANY EXACT TIME."

3. WHILE TOUCHING IN VARYING DEGREE ON MOST OF ARGUMENTS I HAVE USED IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS I HAMMERED HARD ON THEME THAT THEY WERE ENTIRELY MISREADING AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION IF THEY EXPECTED SLOW PIECEMEAL RELEASES TO "IMPROVE RELATIONS". ANY RELEASE INVOLVES TELLING OF STORIES BY FORMER PRISONERS AND PRODUCED VERY ADVERSE PUBLIC OPINION REACTIONS. THIS HAD TO BE EXPECTED. BEST COURSE IN THEIR SELF-INTEREST WAS CARRY OUT IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL. WANG COUNTERED WE HAD PREVIOUSLY MADE FLYERS MAJOR FACTOR, THEY WOULD NOT RELEASE EVEN RESPONSE UN SECGEN, BUT RELEASED UNILATERALLY INTEREST GOOD ATMOSPHERE AND DEMONSTRATION GOOD FAITH THESE TALKS. "DID NOT HOLD THEM AS BARGAINNG COUNTERS AND DID NOT INTEND HOLD ANY OTHERS AS BARGAINING COUNTERS." THEY KNEW COL. ARNOLD VERY "ANTAGONISTIC" BUT THIS DID NOT PREVENT HIS BEING INCLUDED RELEASE. INTIMATION WAS THEY VERY DISAPPOINTED NOT ONLY AT PUBLIC REACTION TO RELEASE BUT THAT AFTER FLYERS HAD BEEN REMOVED AS SUBJECT THESE TALKS WE HAD NOW RAISED ANTE IN DEMANDING RELEASE ALL OTHERS IMMEDIATELY OR IN SPECIFIED TIME. I COUNTERED BY RETURNING TO THEME PUBLIC REACTION TO BE EXPECTED, NOTED PRESS ATTENTION FLYERS NOW DECLINING AND CITED AS PROOF VALUE GETTING REMAINING CASES COMPLETED QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. BELIEVE THIS LINE MAY HAVE MADE SOME IMPRESSION.

4. I CAREFULLY OUTLINED SUCCESSIVE CONCESSIONS WE HAD MADE TO OBTAIN AGREEMENT AND REPEATEDLY STRESSED "WE COULD GO NO FURTHER". "WE DID NOT EVEN HAVE A DEFINITE PROMISE, MUCH LESS PERFORMANCE WE EXPECTED, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT CHOU'S STATEMENTS". I ALSO MADE IT CLEAR COULD NOT PROCEED ANYTHING ELSE UNTIL ITEM ONE SETTLED. ((HE HAS NEVER SUGGESTED WE DO SO BUT OF COURSE THEIR IDEA OF SETTLEMENT AND OURS ARE STILL VERY DIFFERENT.) ALSO IN CONTEXT IMPORTANCE THEIR MEETING OUR POSITION ON ITEM ONE SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT AGREEMENT BE REACHED AS IF WE FAILED PROBABLY WOULD BE LONG TIME UNTIL CONTACT SUCH AS THIS COULD BE RESUMED. HE PUT HIS OWN EMPHASIS ON LATTER THEME.

4. HE GAVE ME GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE CLEAR NO POSSIBILITY EVEN CONSIDERING AMERICAN VISITORS UNTIL ALL AMERICANS NOW DETAINED RELEASED

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RELEASED BY BRINGING UP THEIR DESIRE FOR VISITORS INCLUDING AMERICANS AND MENTIONING PROPOSAL FOR EXCHANGE "CHINESE OPERA" AND PORGY AND BESS COMPANIES. (THIS REGARD SAID THEY WERE NOT "BOXERS" DESIRING EXPEL FOREIGNERS.)

5. DURING FIRST PART OF EVENING HE MADE APPARENTLY VERY PURPOSEFUL LEAD UP TO BUT DID NOT PURSUE IDEA AMERICAN AID THEIR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT "WHICH WOULD REQUIRE AT LEAST TO END OF CENTURY". MUCH OF THIS WAS FAMILIAR CHOU LINE WITH FOREIGN VISITORS. HOWEVER THERE WAS NO REFERENCE WHATEVER TO USSR, FRANK ADMISSION MUCH DIFFICULTY AND SPECIAL REFERENCE TO "PEASANT CONSERVATISM", CHINA WANTS NO WAR WITH US, TRADITIONALLY FRIENDLY, NOSTALGIC REMINISCENCES OF FRIENDSHIP DURING WORLD WAR II ETC.

6. I SPOKE VERY FRANKLY ON PARTICULARLY CHICOM TREATMENT US CONSULAR AND DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL AT TIME CHICOM TAKEOVER AND ALSO ON LACK JUSTIFICATION CHICOM INTERVENTION KOREA AND OUR UNPARALLELED RESTRAINT THERE. HIS DEFENSE TREATMENT CONSULAR AND DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL PERFUNCTORY AND ALMOST ADMISSION HAD BEEN MISTAKE. HE SHOWED LITTLE INCLINATION DEFEND KOREAN INTERVENTION OR TO RETREAT BEHIND "VOLUNTEERS".

7. SUBJECTS FORMOSA, SEVENTH FLEET, TRADE ETC. NOT MENTIONED ANY WAY.

8. WE AGREED MEET AS SCHEDULED THIS MORNING AT WHICH TIME I WILL INTRODUCE OUR COUNTERPROPOSAL ACCORDANCE DEPTEL 571 AND PREVIOUS FOR WHICH I PREPARED GROUND LAST NIGHT. HOWEVER VIEW LAST NIGHT'S TALK WILL KEEP DISCUSSION TO MINIMUM NECESSARY.

GOWEN

VH

NOTE: Mr Waddell's office (FE) notified 9:05 a.m. 8/23/55 DES

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124

227

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State* **ACTION COPY**

16-14
Action
FE
Info

CONFIDENTIAL

8/23/55, 1 P.M.
CORRECTED COPY
Control: 11900
Rec'd: AUGUST 23, 1955
8:07 A.M.

Action Assigned to CA/DC
Action Taken Reply
Draft
Date of Action 8/24
Action Office Symbol CA
Name of Officer W P McConnell
Direction to DC/R file

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 586, AUGUST 23, 11 A.M.

NIACT

FROM JOHNSON

AT 10TH MEETING THIS MORNING LASTING 25 MINUTES I PRESENTED TEXT CONTAINED DEPTEL 599.

PRESENTING DRAFT I NOTED THAT CONTAINED MOST LANGUAGE WANG'S AUGUST 18TH DRAFT, CALLED ATTENTION TO USE OF "GOVERNMENT OF INDIA", DIFFERENCE IN WORDING BETWEEN PARAGRAPHS ONE OF TWO SECTIONS MADE NECESSARY BY DIFFERENCE IN SITUATION AND THEIR FAILURE MEET OUR POSITION, AND PARTICULARLY POINTED OUT THAT WORD "PROMPTLY" IN FIRST PARAGRAPH CHINESE DECLARATION. SAID MUST BE FIRM DEFINITION THIS WORD, NEED NOT BE WRITTEN INTO ANNOUNCEMENT BUT COULD BE IN FORM ORAL UNDERSTANDING. DID NOT WANT TO LABOR GROUND WE HAD PREVIOUSLY COVERED BUT WANTED TO MAKE IT PERFECTLY CLEAR WITHOUT ANY POSSIBILITY MISUNDERSTANDING US GOVERNMENT CANNOT (REPEAT CANNOT) ACCEPT ANY ARRANGEMENT UNDER WHICH IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR RELEASE ANY AMERICANS BE INDEFINITELY DELAYED. MUST KNOW ALL WILL BE ABLE LEAVE WITHIN REASONABLE TIME. REQUESTED HE INFORM HIS GOVERNMENT THAT US CONSIDERS THIS VITAL. THIS DRAFT WENT AS FAR AS I THOUGHT WE COULD GO IN MEETING HIS POINT OF VIEW.

WANG STATED DESIRED RESERVE COMMENT MY DRAFT UNTIL NEXT MEETING BUT OFFHAND DID NOT SEE REASON FOR DIFFERENCE OF WORDING OF TWO PARAGRAPHS ONE. THEN REPEATED IN SUMMARY FORM PREVIOUS STATEMENTS THAT "COULD NOT POSSIBLY ACCEPT TIME LIMIT AS THIS WOULD AMOUNT TO SUBMITTING TO COERCION." ALSO REPEATED NUMBER IMMEDIATELY TO BE RELEASED "NOT SMALL" AND CASES REMAINING COULD BE CONSIDERED "FAVORABLY, QUICKLY AND EASILY BECAUSE OF FACTORS OF ATTITUDE PRISONERS, FACT OF OUR AGREEMENT AND IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS".

CONFIDENTIAL

611.93/8-2355

PA

CONFIDENTIAL FILE

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SEP 7 1959

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I MADE NO DETAILED REPLY BUT EXPRESSED HOPE HE WOULD SEND DRAFT TO HIS GOVERNMENT FOR MOST CAREFUL STUDY AS WAS VERY IMPORTANT.

WANG SUGGESTED AND I ACCEPTED NEXT MEETING THURSDAY, 10 AM.

GOWEN

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1955 AUG 23 PM 2 26
OFFICE OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State* 22

ACTION COPY

CONFIDENTIAL

16-14
Action
FE
Info
RMR

Action Assigned to [illegible]
Control: 11900
Rec'd: August 23, 1955
8:07 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 586, August 23, 11 a.m.

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Action to DC/R

NIACT

FROM JOHNSON

At 10th meeting this morning lasting 25 minutes I presented text contained DEPTEL 599.

Presenting draft I noted that contained most language Wang's August 18 draft, called attention to use of "Government of India," difference in wording between paragraphs one of two sections made necessary by difference in situation and their failure meet our position, and particularly pointed out that word "promptly" in first paragraph Chinese declaration. Said must be firm definition this word, need not be written into announcement but could be in form oral understanding. Did not want to labor groujshaff* covered, but wanted to make it perfectly clear without any misunderstanding US Government cannot accept any arrangement under which it would be possible for release any American cfx*

GOWEN

MDG-15

*As received. Correction to follow.

NOTE: Advance copy to Mr. Waddell (FE) 9:10 a.m. 8/23/55 DES

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24-D

SECRET

230

Action

FE

Info

RMR

Control: 12204
Rec'd: AUGUST 23, 1959
2:43 P.M.

Action Assigned to
Action Taken

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 589, AUGUST 23, 2 P.M.

VERY LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

ADDITIONAL MINOR SIDELIGHTS ON DINNER WITH WANG LAST NIGHT:

PARTICULARLY INQUIRED ABOUT BEDELL SMITH'S HEALTH AND LATER MADE POINT OF SAYING "BETTER RELATIONS BEGAN" WHEN SMITH SPOKE TO CHOU IN BUFFET AT LAST YEAR'S GENEVA CONFERENCE EXPRESSING HOPE RELATIONS MIGHT IMPROVE.

GAVE USUAL LINE ON CIVIL WAR EVENTS BUT WITH NOTICEABLE RESTRAINT IN TREATMENT KUOMINTANG AND CHIANG KAI-SHEK.

WERE THANKFUL AND APPRECIATIVE AMERICAN AID TO CHINA DURING WORLD WAR II EVEN THOUGH NONE RECEIVED BY COMMUNISTS AS IT CONSTITUTED CONTRIBUTION NATIONAL STRENGTH IN FIGHT AGAINST JAPAN.

IN REPLY MY RAISING COMMUNIST BLOC CHARACTERISTICS OF SUPER-SECRECY AND HYPERSENSITIVITY TO CRITICISM AS MAJOR BARRIERS TO FRUITFUL INTERCHANGE PERSONS AND IDEAS WHICH HE HAD BEEN URGING, HE DID NOT CONTEST BUT IMPLIED IMPROVEMENT THIS REGARD UNDER WAY. HE WAS VERY QUICK REJECT ANY IMPLPCATION CHINESE COMMUNISTS IDENTIFICATION WITH SATELLITES WHEN I CITED PERSONAL EXPERIENCE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

REJECTED MY SUGGESTION CHINA LACKED NATURAL RESOURCES, ONLY PROBLEM WAS EXTRACTION.

NOTED FULL TEXTS SECRETARY'S AND PRESIDENT'S STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES ON FAR EAST PUBLISHED IN CHINESE COMMUNIST PRESS.

TLS SECRET GOWEN

Copy #5 Sent to FE 2/12/59

611.93/8-2355

PA

SECRET FILE
FILED
FEB 17 1959

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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

24-D

Action FE

Info RMR S SP EUR NEA TO R JOF ND SCA SCS P AB

STATE
CONFIDENTIAL

231

Control: 12150
Rec'd: AUGUST 23, 1955
2:01 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA 1955 AUG 24 AM 7 43

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 594, AUGUST 23, 6 P.M.

Action Assigned to
Action Taken Reply Drafted
Date of Action 8/24
Action Office Symbol CA
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R file

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS ON 10TH MEETING.

1. TEXT HANDED WANG DIFFERED ONLY AS FOLLOWS FROM DEPTEL 599:

(A) PHRASE "AND THE GOVERNMENT UK MAY ALSO DO SO" RESTORED IN ORDER AVOID WORDING WANG COULD OBJECT TO AS "UNEQUAL".

(B) WORD "RESIDING" DELETED ACCORDANCE DEPTEL 602.

(C) FULL NAMES OF AMBASSADORS GIVEN IN PARAGRAPH TWO.

(D) PHRASE "MAKE INVESTIGATION OF" IN PARAGRAPH TWO (A) BOTH SECTIONS CHANGED TO "INVESTIGATE".

2. I ASSUME REQUIREMENT THAT "UNDERSTANDING" BE PUBLIC IS APPLICABLE ONLY TO TYPE REFERRED TO PARAGRAPH 4 DEPTEL 602 AND THAT "ORAL UNDERSTANDING" ALONG LINES PARAGRAPH 3 SAME TELEGRAM WOULD NOT NECESSARILY HAVE TO BE MADE PUBLIC UNLESS BREACHED. ACTING ON AUTHORITY SECRETARY'S 569 I HAD PREVIOUSLY TOLD WANG SUCH UNDERSTANDING COULD BE PRIVATE.

3. WANG SHOWED NO INCLINATION RETREAT FROM POSITION THAT HE COULD NOT STATE DEFINITE TIME LIMIT WITHIN WHICH ALL AMERICANS COULD BE RELEASED, SINCE THIS WOULD AMOUNT TO SUBMITTING TO COERCION. MADE ONLY THE SLIGHT CONCESSION OF ASSURING ME THAT NUMBER AMERICANS TO BE RELEASED IMMEDIATELY "NOT SMALL" AND THAT CASES OF REMAINDER COULD BE CONSIDERED FAVORABLY AND QUICKLY. HOWEVER LATTER PART OF ASSURANCE QUESTIONABLE VALUE SINCE SETTLEMENT REMAINING AMERICAN CASES LINKED TO "IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS

611.93/8-2355

PA

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BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES". THIS ENABLES PEIPING HALT RELEASE OF AMERICANS WHENEVER THEY FEEL WE NOT "COOPERATING" SUFFICIENTLY TO IMPROVE RELATIONS. I WILL CONTINUE PRESS WANG HARD FOR FIRM COMMITMENT REGARDING TIME BUT FORESEE NO EARLY CHANGE IN HIS ATTITUDE.

4. SEE NO REASON CHANGE ASSESSMENT IN MY 457 THAT ONLY WITH GREAT DIFFICULTY AND MUCH TIME COULD WE BUDGE WANG FROM HIS POSITION. NEVERTHELESS, I BELIEVE IT STILL WORTHWHILE HAMMERING AT HIM ONE OR TWO MORE MEETINGS, EVEN THOUGH EACH OF US HAS ALREADY REACHED A POSITION FROM WHICH IT WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO BACK DOWN, SHOULD THAT BECOME NECESSARY TO AVOID COMPLETE DEADLOCK. MY TACTICS WILL BE TO HOLD A VERY FIRM LINE WHILE WATCHING CAREFULLY FOR ANY HINT OF COMPROMISE ON HIS PART. WE SHOULD BE FULLY AWARE, HOWEVER, THAT THESE TACTICS ARE RISKY, FOR THEY MAY RESULT ONLY IN A CORRESPONDING STIFFENING OF PEIPING'S POSITION WHICH WILL MAKE IT THAT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO FIND COMPROMISE SOLUTION SHOULD WE DECIDE THAT IS NECESSARY.

5. IF NO PROGRESS IS MADE IN NEXT MEETING OR TWO WE WILL FACE VERY SERIOUS DECISION. WANG'S MOST RECENT STATEMENTS SUGGEST STRONGLY THAT MORE THAN HALF OF DETAINED AMERICANS MIGHT BE RELEASED IMMEDIATELY UPON OUR REACHING AGREEMENT. FAIRLY EARLY ACTION CAN PROBABLY BE EXPECTED ON A NUMBER OF OTHERS. HOW LONG ARE WE JUSTIFIED IN DELAYING AND POSSIBLY EVEN JEOPARDIZING RELEASE OF THESE PERSONS IN EFFORT TO OBTAIN COMMITMENT FOR RELEASE OF ALL WITHIN DEFINITE TIME?

6. HOWEVER LOGICAL AND JUSTIFIED, DIFFERENCE IN LANGUAGE PARA ONE TWO SECTIONS IS GOING GREATLY INCREASE DIFFICULTY OBTAINING SUBSTANTIVE AGREEMENT WE DESIRE. I FEEL IT WAS WORTH PUTTING FORWARD AS BARGAINING TACTIC BUT WOULD LIKE HAVE AUTHORITY AT TIME I WOULD CONSIDER DESIRABLE MAKE LANGUAGE PARA ONE US SECTION IDENTICAL WITH LANGUAGE OF PARA ONE CHINESE SECTION, OF TEXT DEPTEL 599. IN CASE OF US "FURTHER APPPROPRIATE MEASURES" WOULD BE UNDERSTOOD TO REFER TO ACCEPTANCE OF THIRD-PARTY ARRANGEMENT. IN CASE OF CHINESE, WOULD BE UNDERSTOOD TO INCLUDE ALSO REVIEW OF "UNFINISHED CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASES" INVOLVING AMERICANS. THUS, TEXTS TWO SECTIONS WOULD BE IDENTICAL AND CHINESE COULD NOT OBJECT TO "UNEQUAL TREATMENT" TO WHICH THEY HYPER-SENSITIVE.

GOWEN

TT

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (127)

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

(229)

10536

AUG 23 PM 7 38

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 616

FOR JOHNSON

FYI. Secretary has sent following to U Nu in response to inquiry from latter:

QUOTE (Code Room: Please ~~xx~~ recite here text of letter contained in Department's 150 to Rangoon) QUOTE

611.95a 281

Dulles DULLES

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611.93/8-2355

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55

CS/HHH SECRET FILE

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:mlw - 8/23/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald

Clearances:

S/S-CR
AUG 23 1955 P.M

SECRET
Classification

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611-93/8

128

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** 233

ACTION COPY

Assigned to

Action Taken

17 13

SECRET

Action

FE

Info

RMR

Control: 12698

Rec'd: AUGUST 24, 1955

Date of Action 9:17 A.M.

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 599, AUGUST 24, 11 A.M.

FROM JOHNSON

1. I OFFER FOLLOWING THOUGHT AS POSSIBLE WAY OUT OF PRESENT IMPASSE IN EVENT IT CONTINUES BE IMPOSSIBLE MOVE CHICOM OFF PRESENT POSITION ON GIVING TIME LIMIT IN WHICH RELEASE REMAINING AMERICANS WILL BE COMPLETED.

2. I WOULD INFORM WANG THAT WE WILLING ENTER INTO REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT ON BASIS HIS ASSURANCES THAT REMAINING CASES WILL EXPEDITIOUSLY BE SETTLED WITHIN FRAMEWORK THOSE ARRANGEMENTS. IF THIS DOES NOT IN FACT RESULT WE DESIRE MAKE CLEAR THAT WE RESERVE FULL FREEDOM TO RECONSIDER THE CONTINUATION OF THE REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT FOR CHINESE IN US. ALSO DESIRE MAKE CLEAR THAT WE WOULD CONSIDER "EXPEDITIOUSLY" TO BE PERIOD OF TWO AND IN ANY EVENT NOT MORE THAN THREE MONTHS.

3. I WOULD ALSO INFORM WANG THAT AT TIME AGREED DECLARATION ISSUED HERE THAT MY GOVERNMENT WOULD FIND IT NECESSARY ISSUE UNILATERAL STATEMENT TO EFFECT THAT US HAD ENTERED INTO ARRANGEMENT AND AGREED TO "AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT" ON BASIS OF ASSURANCES THAT ALL REMAINING CASES WOULD BE EXPEDITIOUSLY SETTLED AND THAT AMERICANS CONCERNED WOULD THEREUPON PROMPTLY BE ABLE TO RETURN TO US. US HAD ACCEPTED THESE ASSURANCES AND EXPECTED THAT CPR WOULD EXPEDITIOUSLY TAKE NECESSARY FURTHER MEASURES TO THIS END SO THAT ALL REMAINING AMERICANS DESIRING TO RETURN WOULD IN FACT BE ABLE TO DO SO WITHIN REASONABLE PERIOD OF TIME.

4. NO SPECIFIC MENTION WOULD BE MADE IN ANY SUCH FORMAL UNILATERAL STATEMENT OF POSSIBILITY OF CANCELLING REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT NOR WOULD "REASONABLE PERIOD TIME" BE

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FEB 17 1959

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EXACTLY DEFINED BUT IT WOULD LAY PUBLIC BASIS FOR CANCELLING THE ARRANGEMENT IF REMAINING AMERICANS ARE NOT IN FACT RELEASED WITHIN TWO-THREE MONTHS PERIOD.

GOWEN

TT

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STATE
1975 Aug 24 PM 12 32
OF
AFFAIRS

(129) (234)

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Control: 12078
Rec'd: AUGUST 24, 1955
4:19 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 607, AUGUST 24, 7 PM

FROM JOHNSON

1. AS THE SITUATION HAS DEVELOPED DO NOT BELIEVE THAT TEXT OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO EXPLAIN RECESS CONTAINED MY 551 IS ANY LONGER APPLICABLE. BELIEVE TEXT SOMEWHAT ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES WOULD BE MORE APPROPRIATE AND FACTUALLY ACCURATE:

2. "FOR THE PAST .... WEEKS AMBASSADORS OF USA AND PRC HAVE BEEN SEEKING SETTLEMENT OF ITEM ONE OF THEIR AGENDA, RETURN OF CIVILIANS BOTH SIDES TO THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES.

3. AMBASSADOR JOHNSON HAS INFORMED AMBASSADOR WANG THAT ALL CHINESE IN US WHO DESIRE TO TRAVEL TO PRC ARE NOW ENTITLED DO SO AND THAT US HAS ADOPTED MEASURES SO THAT THEY MAY IN FACT PROMPTLY RETURN.

4. AMBASSADOR JOHNSON HAS ALSO INFORMED AMBASSADOR WANG WHEN THE PRC HAS AGREED THAT ALL AMERICANS, INCLUDING THOSE INVOLVED IN UNFINISHED CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASES, CAN RETURN TO THE US WITHIN SPECIFIED PERIOD OF TIME THE US GOVERNMENT IS WILLING AUTHORIZE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ASSIST RETURN TO PRC OF ANY CHINESE IN US WHO MAY REQUEST SUCH ASSISTANCE.

5. AMBASSADOR WANG HAS INFORMED AMBASSADOR JOHNSON THAT PRC HAS COMPLETED REVIEW OF SOME UNFINISHED CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASES INVOLVING AMERICANS BUT THAT HE IS WILLING INFORM AMBASSADOR JOHNSON OF RESULTS OF SUCH COMPLETED REVIEWS AND PERMIT THE RETURN OF AMERICANS INVOLVED ONLY WHEN US HAS AGREED TO IMPLEMENTATION OF ARRANGEMENT WITH RESPECT TO THE GOI MENTIONED ABOVE.

6. AMBASSADOR WANG HAS ALSO STATED IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR PRC TO

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PRC TO ESTIMATE LENGTH OF TIME IT WILL TAKE COMPLETE REVIEW OF REMAINING UNFINISHED CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASES AND TO PERMIT AMERICANS INVOLVED TO RETURN TO US.

7. AMBASSADOR WANG HAS INFORMED AMBASSADOR JOHNSON THAT PRC IS WILLING AUTHORIZE GOVERNMENT OF UK TO GIVE SAME ASSISTANCE TO AMERICANS IN PRC AS GOI WOULD GIVE CHINESE IN US."

8. IN VIEW OF FACT FOREGOING STATEMENT WOULD BE USED ONLY IN EVENT WANG HAD PROPOSED RECESS OR RECESS HAD BEEN PROPOSED BY ME TO AVOID BREAK IN TALKS DIFFICULT TO COMPLETE LATTER PORTION OF STATEMENT EXPLAINING REASON FOR RECESS WHICH WOULD DEPEND UPON WANG'S POSITION AT TIME. IT IS NOW CLEAR HE IS CERTAINLY NEVER GOING TO PROPOSE OR ACCEPT RECESS FOR PURPOSE "COMPLETING REVIEWS". IN ABSENCE MY PROPOSING RECESS PREVENT BREAK MOST LIKELY POSSIBILITY WOULD BE PROPOSAL RECESS BY WANG IN ORDER THAT WE "COULD RECONSIDER OUR POSITION". MY TACTIC THIS EVENT WOULD BE AGREE RECESS IF HE WANTS IT BUT REJECT ANY IMPLICATION WE WOULD RECONSIDER OUR POSITION. I WOULD THEN PROPOSE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ALONG FOREGOING LINES WHICH I WOULD HOPE WOULD CAUSE WANG TO RECONSIDER AS IT SEEMS TO ME PUTS US IN VERY STRONG PUBLIC OPINION POSITION. SHOULD HE REFUSE I WOULD TELL HIM THAT WE HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT MAKE UNILATERAL STATEMENT ALONG SIMILAR LINES.

GOWEN

AAL

Note: Advance copy to Mr. McConaughy (CA) 5:50 p.m. 8-24-55 CWO/FED

1955 AUG 25 AM 7 53

OUTGOING TELEGRAM (130)

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

232

10815

PM 2 38

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA ~~PRIORITY~~ NIACT 622

FOR JOHNSON

11.93/8-2355

Your 586 and 594.

1. Department unable authorize any private understanding with Chinese Communists which would involve any US commitment or concession to them. Hence any private statement implying US acknowledgment of scope or validity their judicial processes would be unacceptable. However, private oral commitment by Chinese Communists as to the maximum period meant by word "promptly" in Chinese portion draft agreed announcement would be acceptable and need not be made public unless breached.

2. We believe you should press Wang insistently for immediate release Americans whose cases they admit have already been reviewed favorably. We do not see that failure to date to reach agreement on proposed announcement should impede release Americans whose cases already favorably reviewed. You may give Wang emphatic reminder that no repeat no Chinese being held this country pending issuance agreed announcement. They are free to leave now. Reciprocity by Chinese expected. You might point out that continued detention Americans whose cases completed is directly contrary Chinese Communist contention that all cases disposed within framework their

DC/R Rec'd 55

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:ek 8/24/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald

Clearances:

S - The Secretary

L - Mr. Phleger

10984

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611.93/8-2355

SECRET
Classification

their laws and juridical procedures. Denial departure right to Americans whose cases completed constitutes admission they being held as hostages for political advantage. This is irreconcilable with basic tenet which Wang has maintained.

3. You are given authority requested paragraph 6 your 594 to agree in your discretion bring language paragraph 1 US portion into conformity with language paragraph 1 Chinese portion. It would be understood that "further appropriate measures" on US side would refer only to acceptance limited third party representation arrangement.

4. The policy questions raised in paragraph 5 in your 594 and 599 will be dealt with later message.

Dulles

Dulles (HW)
" DULLES

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Classification

OUTGOING TELEGRAM (131)

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET (235)
Classification

11151

1955 AUG 24 PM 8:05

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 627

FOR JOHNSON

Following for your background information only.

We have apprised British in confidence of general nature responsibilities British Charge Peiping would assume under draft agreed announcement. O'Neill has commented from Peiping that it cannot be assumed with confidence that all detained Americans will express a desire return to US. He fears that some imprisoned Americans may be so thoroughly brainwashed that they would not take any initiative to return. He indicates possibility that some Americans in prison might not be able communicate with his office. He remarks that the interests of imprisoned Americans would be better safeguarded if his office were accorded right to interview them.

He thinks it would be useful if the agreement additionally mentioned "the Shanghai branch of the Office of the Charge d'Affaires of the UK" so that his Consul General in Shanghai would have the clear right to assist him as to the Americans detained there and in South China.

O'Neill further comments that he would have no effective means giving publicity to arrangement unless he were given right to place a notice in the Chinese Communist press.

Dulles DULLES

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:ek 8/24/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

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(132)

(5) R

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

August 24, 1944

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
AUG 30 1955
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Official - Informal
SECRET

Letter No. 5

Dear Walter:

I have received your letter of August 19th, and I am writing this to go out by tomorrow's pouch. I would hope that you would be able to work out something so that we could have an exchange at least twice a week.

As you can see from my messages, the deadlock is now certainly very tight. I am sorry that I apparently misled you a little in my first flash telegram on the August 18th meeting by not including enough. However, I thought that my statements that I had made no progress, result was complete deadlock, made it clear that I had not in fact got any place.

I believe that I have included in my two telegrams on the subject everything of significance that passed at the dinner I gave for Wang, although it is hard to condense four and a half hours of conversation. As I said in my telegram, he was making a tremendous effort to go as far as he could within his obviously very limited instructions to assure me that everything was going to be all right. I thought you might be interested in exactly what he said, which I had termed as "an involved and tortuous explanation" in paragraph two of my 585. Ekvall and I reconstructed it immediately upon our return as follows: "There is no comparison to be made of the advantages which those who are left will have over those who have been released during the past one year. For there are three favoring factors which will make it clearly quickly and easily for them to be released. The three factors are (a) favorable effect release of the others will have on the people still there; (b) circumstances of the case itself; and (c) state of our relations."

I prodded

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Office of Chinese Affairs,
Department of State.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
☐ Releasable if
☐ Excise as shown
☐ Deny
☐ Downgrade to
☐ Review Again
☐ Reviewer
Date 9/9/85

SECRET

ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

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Lot 72 D 415

I prodded and poked at this from every conceivable angle and was just unable to obtain any further explanation. His conversation otherwise was very rational and sensible and the only explanation I have for that he had been rigidly instructed to say absolutely nothing more on this subject. The phrasing, to my mind, very much carries the marks of Chou.

I asked him to dinner at the end of our meeting on Saturday, and he replied that he would let me know at 8 o'clock Sunday morning. This seemed a very short time to make an inquiry and get a reply from Peiping, but I suppose that he was able to do so. In any event, his interpreter telephoned Ekvall promptly at 8 o'clock to accept. I had the dinner out at the little pension-type of place on the outskirts of Geneva where Clough and Forman are living. In accordance with my suggestion, he came in a car other than the one he usually uses and without a flag. (Incidentally, he is normally driven around town in a big Zim, while I am using a Chevrolet.) We had drinks down in the garden before dinner. After dinner we retired to the sitting room the boys use. I am satisfied that it was carried off without any leak to the press and don't believe that he will say anything. However, if it did come out, I would simply take the line that I am leaving no stone unturned in making every possible effort to reach agreement on getting our people out. I should think that this would probably be well accepted by everybody except possibly Taipei.

I feel that the dinner was a good idea and that now was exactly the right time to do it. They are, I am convinced, extremely sensitive on the subject of social ostracism and were particularly sensitive at our rejection of their little overtures at last year's conference here. I think that Wang's mention of Bedell Smith's little gesture towards Chou towards the end of the meetings last year particularly significant in indicating their sensitivity to such little things. My having taken the initiative this year represents a major departure, and I believe that it gives me a subtle, though distinct, advantage.

Thanks very much for the information on what we have done with the Indians, as well as today's telegram giving me the text of the Secretary's letter to U Nu. I think it was excellent and presented the situation exactly right. I will, of course, be extremely interested and hope I can promptly receive anything from any source on what the Chinese may tell the Indians or the Burmese in Peiping.

I greatly appreciate the Department's affirmation in 603

of the line

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of the line that I had taken on "sovereignty and jurisdiction". I had done this entirely ad lib in give and take during a meeting and was a little concerned that the Department may have felt I had gone too far.

We will keep plugging away but I fear that it is going to largely be a matter of saying the same thing over again as I have pretty much run out of ideas on new ways to say things.

I am really going to need help and guidance if and when it comes to a discussion of "no force". In this regard, I note from recent Taipei Weekas the Nationalists are still carrying out attacks on shipping and various other minor actions, as well as over-flying the mainland. Frankly I just don't see what my reply is going to be when after I raise the question of no force they raise the question of these Nationalist actions carried out with equipment we have supplied them. Also when I raise our treaty and supplementary understandings with the Nationalists on offensive action, I do not see what I say when they allege this simply goes to prove that these Nationalist actions are being taken with our approval. I hope you all will have some good ideas for me.

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

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(133)

(236)

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

August 25, 1955

See 611.93/8-1655

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. PHLEGER

I have looked at Johnson's 607 of August 24. I do not like the idea of making our authorization of the Government of India dependent upon an agreement of the PRC as to American civilians.

611.93/8-2555

It seems to me that the right position for us to take and the most effective position from the standpoint of world opinion is that having learned that there exists question in some minds as to the practical ability of Chinese in this country to return to the China Mainland if they so desire, the United States voluntarily asks the Government of India to serve to assist them and to transmit funds to them to finance the expenses of their return.

If this is the right thing to do, then I think we should do it. If it is not the right thing to do, then I do not think we should do it merely because the Chinese Communists want us to. I think we should keep whatever we do on a purely unilateral basis of ourselves doing the right thing even though we ~~had agreed that we would~~ are willing to make a joint announcement.

Therefore, if we are to break or have a recess, I would like to see us announce unconditionally that we intend to invite the Government of India to serve, and that we should not make it contingent as suggested in Johnson's 607.

I realize that we may thus be giving up a certain bargaining position, but I believe that disadvantage is more than offset by avoiding the appearance of agreeing with the Chicoms to do something which we would not otherwise do. Also, the impact on world opinion will be very much stronger.

John Foster Dulles

Copy to Mr. Sebald.

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134

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

237

ACTION COPY

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Actfor Assigned to

Control: 13384 Action Taken

Rec'd: AUGUST 25, 1955
10:30 A.M.

Date of Action

Action Officer Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 616, AUGUST 25, 2 P.M.

NIACT

FROM JOHNSON.

TWO HOUR FIVE MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING. NO PROGRESS.

WANG PRESENTED RE-DRAFT OF "AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT" VERY CLOSE OUR AUGUST 23 TEXT EXCEPT FOR SUBSTITUTION "AND DECLARES THAT IT HAS ADOPTED AND WILL FURTHER ADOPT MEASURES SO THAT THEY CAN IN FACT RETURN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE" FOR LATTER PORTION US SECTION OUR AUGUST 23 DRAFT AND SUBSTITUTION "AND DECLARES THAT IT HAS ADOPTED AND WILL FURTHER ADOPT APPROPRIATE MEASURES SO THAT THEY CAN EXERCISE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN" FOR LATTER PORTION PRC SECTION OUR AUGUST 23 DRAFT.

(FULL TEXT SHOWING OTHER APPARENTLY MINOR CHANGES BY SEPARATE TEL.)

I SAID HIS AMENDMENT PARA ONE US SECTION NOT NECESSARY AS WE HAD ALREADY TAKEN ALL NECESSARY MEASURES BUT FOCUSED ATTENTION ON SUBSTITUTION "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE" FOR "PROMPTLY" IN PARA ONE PRC SECTION.

IN FACT VIRTUALLY ALL OF MEETING CENTERED AROUND MY CONTINUED EFFORT OBTAIN DEFINITE STATEMENT ON DEFINITE PERIOD OF TIME DURING WHICH REMAINING AMERICANS WOULD BE RELEASED AND WANG REPEATING THIS "COULD NEVER BE DONE", "IMPOSSIBLE" AND REPEATING VIRTUALLY VERBATIM HIS PREVIOUS LINE THIS REGARD.

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FILED FEB 7 1959

DURING COURSE MUCH GIVE AND TAKE I TOOK LINE CONTAINED PARA TWO DEPTEL 622 AND AFTER HE HAD IN REPLY CLEARLY RELATED RELEASE OF FLYERS TO DECISION HOLD THESE MEETINGS, RELEASE AMERICANS WHOSE CASES REVIEW COMPLETED TO OUR AGREEMENT TO "AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT" AND AGAIN GAVE "STATE OF RELATIONS" AS ONE FACTOR IN TIMING RELEASE REMAINDER, I VERY BLUNTLY STATED I HAD NOT AND WOULD NOT TRADE THE FATE OF AMERICANS DETAINED BY THEM FOR POLITICAL CONCESSIONS OR AGREEMENTS THEY DESIRED OBTAIN. SAID IT SEEMED CLEAR TO ME WHAT HE WAS SAYING WAS THAT RELEASE REMAINING AMERICANS WOULD BE DEPENDENT UPON WHETHER IN FUTURE I WILLING TO AGREE FURTHER AGREEMENTS DESIRED BY THEM. THIS I WOULD NOT RPT NOT DO. I WAS PREPARED DEAL WITH EACH PROBLEM THAT WE DISCUSSED ON ITS OWN MERITS, WE HAD TAKEN ACTION RESPECT CHINESE US WITHOUT CONDITION AND WITHOUT ATTEMPTING EXTRACT POLITICAL CONCESSIONS FROM THEM IN RETURN.

I HAD FIRST HOPED AND EXPECTED THEY WOULD PROMPTLY RELEASE ALL AMERICANS THUS PARALLELING ACTION TAKEN BY US WITH RESPECT CHINESE, WE COULD THEREUPON QUICKLY AGREE ON ANNOUNCEMENT OF WHAT EACH COUNTRY HAD DONE AND ANNOUNCE AGREEMENT ON REPRESENTATION. I HAD THEN ATTEMPTED OBTAIN HIS AGREEMENT THAT RELEASE AMERICANS WOULD BE SIMULTANEOUS WITH ANNOUNCEMENT AND HAD NOW GONE TO POSITION THAT ONLY SOME AMERICANS WOULD BE RELEASED AT TIME OF ANNOUNCEMENT (EVEN THOUGH I HAD PREVIOUSLY MADE CLEAR WAS NO JUSTIFICATION WITHHOLDING THEIR RELEASE FOR THIS REASON) AND ONLY ASKED THAT HE GIVE ME DEFINITE TIME LIMIT IN WHICH REMAINDER WOULD BE RELEASED. "I DO NOT SEE HOW IT IS POSSIBLE FOR ME TO GO ANY FURTHER."

I ALSO ARGUED AT SOME LENGTH THAT AGREEMENT ON WORDS IN ANNOUNCEMENT WITHOUT CLEAR AND COMMON UNDERSTANDING EXACT MEANING WOULD NOT CONTRIBUTE TO "IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS" IN FUTURE BUT COULD ONLY LEAD TO MISUNDERSTANDING. IF

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"AS SOON AS POSSIBLE", "PROMPTLY" OR WHATEVER WORD WAS AGREED UPON MEANT TO THEM A PERIOD OF FOR EXAMPLE A YEAR "THAT WAS ONE THING" BUT IF IT MEANT PERIOD OF "TWO OR IN ANY EVENT NOT MORE THAN THREE MONTHS THAT WAS SOMETHING ELSE". SAID WHATEVER WORD OR PHRASE THIS RESPECT WAS USED AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD EXPECT VERY PROMPT ACTION ON RELEASE REMAINDER AND IF THIS DID NOT EVENTUATE "STATE OF RELATIONS" COULD NOT BUT DETERIORATE. FROM OUR DISCUSSION THUS FAR VERY CLEAR PRC CONCEPT OF "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE", "QUICKLY", "PROMPTLY" VERY DIFFERENT FROM OURS. COULD NOT REACH ANY AGREEMENT ON WORDS UNTIL WE WERE CLEAR WHAT WE WERE TALKING ABOUT.

WANG DID NOT CONTEST MY STATEMENT RELEASE REMAINDER WOULD BE CONDITIONAL ON POLITICAL FACTORS. NOW QUITE CLEAR "POLITICAL HOSTAGE" ASPECT DOES NOT SHOCK THEM. ON CONTRARY THEY ARE CLEARLY PROCEEDING ON PREMISE THAT RELEASE OF AMERICANS IS POLITICAL ACT OF GRACE AND THEREFORE DIRECTLY RELATED TO OTHER POLITICAL FACTORS IN RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. THIS POSITION MORE FRANKLY AND CLEARLY STATED TODAY THAN EVER BEFORE. IT WAS ALMOST COMPLETE RETREAT FROM "LEGALITIES AND JURIDICAL PROCEDURES".

NEXT MEETING SATURDAY, 10 AM.

GOWEN

RWN

NOTE: Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 11:50 a.m. 8/25/55 DES

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238

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

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9-14

Action

FE

Info

CONFIDENTIAL

Action Assigned to Caplin

Control: 13389

Rec'd: AUGUST 25, 1955 10:43 AM

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 617, AUGUST 25, 2 P.M.

NIACT

FROM JOHNSON

1. FOLLOWING IS FULL TEXT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT MENTIOED MYTEL 616.

"AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE AMBASSADORS OF THE PRC AND THE USA.

A

2. THE AMBASSADORS OF THE PRC AND THE USA HAVE AGREED TO ANNOUNCE THE MEASURES WHICH THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS HAVE ADOPTED WITH RESPECT TO THE repatriation of civilians who wish to return RETURN OF NATIONALS OF EACH LOCATED IN THE COUNTRY OF THE OTHER.

3. WITH RESPECT TO AMERICANS ~~residing~~ IN THE PRC AMBASSADOR WANG PING-NAN ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC HAS INFORMED AMBASSADOR U. ALEXIS JOHNSON THAT:

(1) THE PRC RECOGNIZES THAT AMERICANS IN THE PRC WHO DESIRE TO RETURN TO THE USA ARE ENTITLED TO DO SO AND DECLARES THAT IT HAS ADOPTED AND WILL FURTHER ADOPT APPROPRIATE MEASURES SO THAT THEY CAN EXERCISE (AS SOON AS POSSIBLE) THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN. promptly

(2) THE PRC ~~AGREES THAT~~ will authorize THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UK ~~WILL BE EN-TRUSTED~~ TO ASSIST IN THE RETURN TO THE USA OF THOSE AMERICANS WHO DESIRE TO DO SO AS FOLLOWS:

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in the PRC

A. IF ANY AMERICAN BELIEVES THAT CONTRARY TO THE DECLARED POLICY OF THE PRC HE IS ENCOUNTERING OBSTRUCTION IN DEPARTURE HE MAY SO INFORM THE OFFICE OF THE CHARGE D' AFFAIRES OF THE UK IN THE PRC AND REQUEST IT TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS ON HIS BEHALF TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC. IF DESIRED BY THE USA THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UK MAY, ALSO INVESTIGATE THE FACTS; in any such case

B. IF ANY AMERICAN IN THE PRC WHO DESIRES TO RETURN TO THE USA HAS DIFFICULTY IN PAYING HIS RETURN EXPENSES, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UK MAY, (ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE USA) RENDER HIM FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE NEEDED TO PERMIT HIS RETURN. inserted

(3) THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC WILL GIVE WIDE PUBLCITY TO THE FOREGOING ARRANGEMENTS AND THE OFFICE OF THE CHARGE D' AFFAIRES OF THE UK IN THE PRC MAY ALSO DO SO.

4. WITH RESPECT TO CHINESE IN THE US, AMBASSADOR U. ALEXIS JOHNSON, ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE USA HAS INFORMED AMBASSADOR WANG PING-NAN THAT:

(1) THE USA RECOGNIZES THAT CHINESE IN THE USA WHO DESIRE TO RETURN TO THE PRC ARE NOW ENTITLED TO DO SO AND DECLARES THAT IT HAS ADOPTED AND WILL FURTHER ADOPT MEASURES SO THAT THEY ~~CAN~~ IN FACT RETURN (AS SOON AS POSSIBLE).
may promptly exercise their right to will authorize
(2) THE USA (AGREES THAT) ~~THE~~ GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA ~~WILL BE ENTRUSTED~~ TO ASSIST THE RETURN TO THE PRC OF THOSE CHINESE WHO DESIRE TO DO SO AS FOLLOWS:

A. IF ANY CHINESE BELIEVES THAT CONTRARY TO THE DECLARED POLICY OF THE USA HE IS ENCOUNTERING OBSTRUCTION IN DEPARTURE HE MAY SO INFORM THE EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA IN THE USA

AND REQUEST IT TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS ON HIS BEHALF TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE USA. IF DESIRED BY ~~THE PRC~~ THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA MAY ALSO INVESTIGATE THE FACTS;

B. IF ANY CHINESE IN THE USA WHO DESIRES TO RETURN TO THE PRC HAS DIFFICULTY IN PAYING HIS RETURN EXPENSES, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA MAY, ~~ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC~~, RENDER HIM FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE NEEDED TO PERMIT HIS RETURN.

(3) THE GOVERNMENT OF THE USA WILL GIVE WIDE PUBLICITY TO THE FOREGOING ARRANGEMENTS AND THE EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA THE USA MAY ALSO DO SO."

GOWEN

RWN

NOTE: Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 11:35 a.m. 8/25/55 DES

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SECRET

24-D
Action

FE
Info

Control: 13159
Rec'd: AUGUST 25, 1955
5:57 P.M.

Action Assigned to Ahlin 1/10

Date of Action

Action Officer

Name of Officer

Direction

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 623, AUGUST 25, 6 P.M.

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

MY SUMMARY TEL 616 ON TODAY'S MEETING MAY NOT HAVE MADE IT AS CLEAR AS I MIGHT HAVE THAT WANG AND I BOTH CAME MUCH CLOSER THAN ANY TIME PREVIOUSLY TO TAKING "FINAL POSITIONS" FROM WHICH WE COULD NOT RETREAT AND LOGICAL RESULTS OF WHICH COULD ONLY BE WILLINGNESS LEAD UP TO POINT OF BREAK. I REPEATEDLY USED TERMS "VITAL", "ESSENTIAL", "FAR AS WE CAN GO", ETCETERA BUT AVOIDED GOING TO NEXT AND LOGICAL POINT OF SAYING UNLESS HE MET MY POSITION ON THIS NOTHING FURTHER TALK ABOUT. HE SPOKE WITH SOME EMOTION AND PROBABLY EVEN GREATER FINALITY THAN I, BUT ALSO AVOIDED GOING NEXT STEP.

AT TODAY'S MEETING THINKING UNDERLYING CHICOM POSITION CLEARLY EMERGED AS FOLLOWS: US PROPOSED THESE TALKS THEREBY "IMPROVING RELATIONS" AND ENABLING CHICOMS RELEASE FLYERS. THIS WAS EXPECTED FURTHER "IMPROVE RELATIONS" LEADING TO RESPONSE BY US OF AGREEING THIRD PARTY ARRANGEMENT WHICH IN TURN WOULD ENABLE CHICOMS RELEASE FURTHER AMERICANS. IF TALKS CONTINUED GO WELL AND "RELATIONS CONTINUED IMPROVE" ALL REMAINING AMERICANS COULD BE RELEASED. THEY RECONCILE THIS WITH CHOU'S STATEMENT ON GROUNDS EXPECTATION "PROGRESS" WOULD BE MADE THESE TALKS. THEY DO NOT ATTACH MUCH REAL IMPORTANCE WHAT WE HAVE DONE RE CHINESE IN US, NOR HAVE THEY EVER ATTEMPTED DIRECTLY LINK FUTURE RATE DEPARTURE CHINESE IN US WITH DEPARTURE

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AMERICANS. THEIR RAISING ISSUE CHINESE IN US IS LARGELY TO CONSTRUCT "STRAW MAN" AND GIVE BASIS FOR EXPLOITING OPENING WEDGE INDIAN REPRESENTATION MIGHT CONSTITUTE FOR THEM.

WHILE NOT PROMINENT IN TODAY'S MEETING THEIR SENSITIVITY TO ANYTHING THEY INTERPRET AS "RESPONDING TO PRESSURE" AND THEIR DESIRE MAINTAIN APPEARANCE OF "LEGALITY" ARE ALSO STILL FACTORS. HOWEVER QUESTION "UNDERSTANDING" ON JURISDICTION AND SCOPE REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT WAS NOT RAISED TODAY BY WANG AND, OF COURSE, I DID NOT MENTION SUBJECT. HE MAY STILL DO SO BUT BELIEVE HE MAY NOW HAVE DROPPED THIS ALTHOUGH HIS REWORDING OF PARAS 2 (A) BOTH SECTIONS MAY BE INTENDED BROADEN ARRANGEMENT SO THAT CHICOMS COULD REQUEST INDIA "INVESTIGATE FACTS" ANY CASE.

SEE LITTLE I CAN DO NEXT MEETING EXCEPT REITERATE OUR POSITION AND DISCUSS REMAIN NG POINTS DISAGREEMENT IN "DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT". HOWEVER I HAVE LITTLE HOPE OF MAKING ANY PROGRESS ON MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE ISSUE.

GOWEN

RWN

NOTE: Advance copy to Mr. McConaughy (CA) 8/25/6:30 p.m. CWO/FED

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Control: 13537
Rec'd: AUGUST 25, 1955
2:16 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 624, AUGUST 25, 6 P.M.

FROM JOHNSON.

AS SIDELIGHT ON TODAY'S MEETING THERE WAS MUCH INCONCLUSIVE DISCUSSION TRANSLATION FROM ONE LANGUAGE TO OTHER TERMS "PROMPTLY", "QUICKLY" AND "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE".

CHINESE EXPRESSION WHICH THEY INSISTED BE TRANSLATED "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE" ACTUALLY MEANS "MOST SPEEDILY". WANG CONFIRMED THIS BY USING AS SYNONYM COLLOQUIAL TERM MEANING "VERY QUICKLY". COULD NOT CLARIFY WHY WANG INSISTED UPON INEXACT TRANSLATION INTO "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE" AND UNWILLING ACCEPT MY SUGGESTION OF "QUICKLY". HE OBJECTED TO "PROMPTLY" ON GROUNDS HAD CONNOTATION OF COMMAND. ALTHOUGH SOMEWHAT FARFETCHED BELIEVE THEY MAY BE CONFUSING WITH USE OF "TO PROMPT" AS VERB.

FOREGOING IS WITHOUT ANY REAL SIGNIFICANCE TO SUBSTANTIVE ISSUE BUT BELIEVE DEPARTMENT SHOULD BE AWARE OF TYPE OF PROBLEM WE FACE ON LANGUAGE.

GOWEN

LFS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
- [x] Releasable
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- [ ] Downgrade to _____
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- [x] Reviewe _____ Date 7/13/82

Action As Signed to CA/DIR
Action Taken _____
Date of Action _____
Action Office Symbol _____
Name of Officer _____
Direction to DC/R file

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Control: 13604
Rec'd: AUGUST 25, 1955
4:37 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 625, AUGUST 25, 7 PM

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

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1. ELEVENTH MEETING, AUGUST 25TH, WAS OPENED BY WANG WHO COMMENTED UPON OUR AUGUST 23 TEXT PROPOSED ANNOUNCEMENT (DEPTEL 599). HE SAID THEY DISCOVERED MANY CHANGES FROM CHINESE TEXT OF AUGUST 18 AND WISHED MAKE A FEW REVISIONS. HE HAD THREE PRINCIPAL POINTS TO MAKE:

2. (A) REPLACE WORD "PROMPTLY" BY "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE". COMMENTED IN THEIR ORIGINAL TEXT DID NOT HAVE THESE WORDS BUT WILLING INSERT THEM TO MEET OUR REQUEST.

3. (B) ADD TO PARAGRAPH ONE AMERICAN SECTION "AND WILL FURTHER ADOPT" MEASURES ENABLE NATIONALS RETURN WHO WISH TO DO SO.

4. (C) ADD WORDING INDICATING THIRD POWERS INVITED BY RESPECTIVE SIDES AND AGREED TO BY OTHER POWER. HE COMMENTED THIS IN LINE WITH INTERNATIONAL PRACTICE AND AS FAR AS THEY WERE CONCERNED CONFORMED TO ACTUAL SITUATION.

5. WANG CONCLUDED BY HANDING ME HIS PROPOSED TEXT AND REMARKING HE PREPARED AGREE TO REMAINDER LANGUAGE WE PROPOSED. (TEXT BY MYTEL 617).

6. I SAID WORD "PROMPTLY" WAS VERY IMPORTANT, AND IN FACT VITAL WE HAVE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US WHAT WE MEANT BY THIS WORD. HOWEVER, IF WE USE "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE" THIS WOULD CHANGE SENSE OF SENTENCE VERY CONSIDERABLY. WHATEVER TERM WE USED, WE MUST HAVE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING WHAT IT MEANS EVEN THOUGH IT MAY NOT BE

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NOT BE INCLUDED IN THE PROPOSED ANNOUNCEMENT OR BE MADE PUBLIC. BY THIS I MEANT IT MUST BE PRECISELY DEFINED IN TERMS OF REASONABLE PERIOD OF TIME IN WHICH ALL REMAINING AMERICANS WHOSE DEPARTURE BEING PREVENTED WOULD BE ABLE RETURN. IF THAT COULD BE DONE I THOUGHT WE COULD QUICKLY REACH AGREEMENT ON TEXT. I ASKED IF WANG COULD DEFINE "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE" IN PRECISE TERMS OF TIME MORE CLEARLY THAN HE HAD DONE SO PREVIOUSLY AND STATE JUST WHAT THIS MEANT AS FAR AS RETURN OF AMERICANS WAS CONCERNED.

7. I COMMENTED FURTHER THAT STATEMENT US "WILL FURTHER ADOPT MEASURES" SEEMED UNNECESSARY. US ALREADY HAD ADOPTED MEASURES PERMIT PROMPT RETURN CHINESE AND WE KNEW OF NO FURTHER MEASURES WE COULD ADOPT.

8. WANG REPLIED PHRASE "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE" MEANT CASES WOULD BE HANDLED "VERY QUICKLY NOT SLOWLY". HE HAD CLEARLY STATED PRC RECOGNIZED RIGHT AMERICANS RETURN US. CHINESE WOULD REVIEW CASES SO THAT THEY COULD RETURN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

9. REGARDING PHRASE "WILL FURTHER ADOPT MEASURES" WANG SAID APPROPRIATE INCLUDE THIS IN STATEMENT REGARDING AMERICAN ACTIONS BECAUSE ALTHOUGH PREVENTIVE ORDERS REMOVED BY AMERICAN GOVERNMENT THERE WERE STILL DIFFICULTIES BECAUSE MEASURES TAKEN NOT SUFFICIENT OR AUTHORITIES LOW LEVEL FAILED CARRY THEM OUT. THEREFORE US GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE FURTHER MEASURES ENABLE CHINESE NATIONALS IN FACT RETURN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

10. I REMARKED IF "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE" MEANT CASES WOULD BE QUICKLY REVIEWED WHY NOT USE EITHER "QUICKLY" OR "PROMPTLY". WANG REPLIED "PROMPTLY" IMPLIED CERTAIN AMOUNT OBLIGATION IN RESPONSE TO ORDER.

11. I REPLIED THIS NOT AT ALL MEANING IN OUR MINDS.

12. WANG SAID "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE" MORE APPROPRIATE AND MEETS ACTUAL SITUATION SO FAR THEY WERE CONCERNED.

13. I THEN

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13. I THEN SAID WHATEVER TERM USED, VITAL WE HAVE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING WHAT WORD MEANS WITH RESPECT TO TIME. THIS KIND OF TERMS USED IN AGREEMENTS BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS ARE APT TO CAUSE MISUNDERSTANDING UNLESS CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD. IT MAY HAVE ENTIRELY DIFFERENT CONNOTATION IN HIS MIND FROM MINE. IF IN HIS MIND IT CONNOTED ONE YEAR OR SOMETHING IN THAT ORDER, THAT WAS ONE THING. IF IT CONNOTED TWO OR AT MOST THREE MONTHS, THAT WAS SOMETHING ELSE. VITAL WE HAVE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING WHAT THIS MEANS. IF NOT, FEAR AGREEMENT THIS NATURE MAY GIVE RISE INCREASED MISUNDERSTANDING RATHER THAN IMPROVE STATE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

14. WANG SAID HIS PHRASE MEANT THEY WOULD DEAL WITH CASES QUICKLY AND THERE WOULD BE NO DELAY IN THEIR REVIEW. HE SAID SOLUTION OF CASES INVOLVED A NUMBER OF FACTORS, INCLUDING CONDUCT OF PEOPLE CONCERNED, WHETHER OR NOT AGREEMENT REACHED AS RESULT THESE DISCUSSIONS AND WHETHER RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES DEVELOPED FAVORABLY. HE CONCLUDED IMPOSSIBLE FOR HIM GIVE DEFINITE PERIOD OF TIME IN VIEW THESE VARIOUS FACTORS.

15. TO ILLUSTRATE POINT, WANG SAID RELEASE AIRMEN EXCELLENT EXAMPLE. LAST YEAR SOMEONE PROPOSED THAT CHINESE SPECIFY DEFINITE TIME WHEN AIRMEN MIGHT BE RELEASED. LONGEST SENTENCE WAS COL. ARNOLD'S OF TEN YEARS. IMPOSSIBLE FOR CHINESE LAST YEAR TO SPECIFY TIME REQUIRED AIRMEN'S RELEASE. ONLY AFTER AIRMEN HAD PROVEN GOOD CONDUCT AND TALKS AT AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL AGREED UPON, THEN CHINESE ADVANCED TIME AIRMEN'S RELEASE IN ACCORDANCE THEIR OWN JURIDICAL PROCEDURES. HE SAID THEY HAD INDICATED CHINESE WOULD REVIEW REMAINING CASES AMERICANS AND PERMIT THEIR RETURN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. IMPOSSIBLE FOR HIM TO GIVE IN ANY MORE BEYOND THIS LIMIT. HE WOULD NOT SAY ANYTHING WHICH HIS GOVERNMENT COULD NOT DO. IF HE PROMISED ANYTHING, HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD LIVE UP TO IT WITHOUT QUESTION.

16. IN REPLY I ASKED WANG IF HE WOULD DISAGREE MY STATEMENT VERY IMPORTANT WE EACH UNDERSTAND WHAT WE WERE AGREEING TO AND THAT WE NOT AGREE TO WORDS WHICH HAVE DIFFERENT MEANING TO OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS.

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GOVERNMENTS. I WAS VERY DISAPPOINTED NO CHANGE IN POSITION OF WANG EVIDENT TO ENABLE US ARRIVE AT CLEAR UNDERSTANDING WHAT WE MEANT BY WORDS WE WERE USING.

17. WANG AGREED CLEAR UNDERSTANDING ESSENTIAL OR AGREEMENT WOULD BE EMPTY. HE SAID ARRANGEMENT DESIGNED TO RESOLVE PROBLEM RETURN OUR RESPECTIVE NATIONALS AND IT HAD BEEN MADE CLEAR HIS SIDE WOULD PROMPTLY INFORM US ON RESULTS REVIEW AS SOON AS AGREEMENT REACHED AND HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD ADOPT MEASURES REVIEW OTHER CASES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. HE WAS SURE IF THIS ARRANGEMENT WERE MADE KNOWN TO AMERICAN PUBLIC IT WOULD BE CLEAR THAT QUESTION WAS SETTLED.

18. I REPLIED IF THIS ARRANGEMENT WERE MADE PUBLIC AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD EXPECT AMERICANS RETURN FROM CHINA MAINLAND "VERY QUICKLY" AS HE HAD PHRASED IT, BUT CHINESE IDEA AND MY GOVERNMENT'S IDEA CONCERNING "VERY QUICKLY" WERE QUITE DIFFERENT. RESULT THIS MISUNDERSTANDING WOULD BE EXPECTATIONS OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE WOULD NOT BE REALIZED AND THIS WOULD LEAD TO INCREASING MISUNDERSTANDING AND DETERIORATION OF RELATIONS RATHER THAN IMPROVEMENT THAT WE BOTH HOPED FOR.

19. WANG SAID IMPROVEMENT OR DETERIORATION DEPENDED ON ACTION BY BOTH SIDES NOT ONE AND IF I INSISTED ON DEFINITE PERIOD OF TIME HE WAS AFRAID WE COULD NOT REACH AGREEMENT.

20. I THEN MADE STATEMENT IN WHICH I SAID I UNDERSTOOD FROM HIM THAT AS REVIEWS CASES AMERICANS COMPLETED AND CASES SETTLED THE AMERICANS WOULD BE ABLE PROMPTLY TO RETURN. IN AUGUST 11 MEETING HE HAD TOLD ME REVIEWS COMPLETED ON SOME CASES INVOLVING AMERICANS AND IT WAS MY UNDERSTANDING THEIR CASES HAD BEEN SETTLED. THAT WAS TWO WEEKS AGO AND NONE OF THESE AMERICANS HAD BEEN ABLE TO DEPART. IF I UNDERSTOOD HIS POSITION IT WAS THAT THESE AMERICANS WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO DEPART UNTIL WE HAD REACHED AGREEMENT HERE. I FOUND THIS FACT VERY HARD TO RECONCILE WITH MY UNDERSTANDING AMERICANS WERE ABLE TO DEPART UPON SETTLEMENT CASES IN WHICH THEY MAY BE INVOLVED. ALSO HARD TO RECONCILE WITH FACT THAT MY GOVERNMENT HAD WITHOUT

CONDITION TAKEN

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CONDITION TAKEN ALL ACTION NECESSARY IN RESPONSE HIS REQUEST TO PERMIT PROMPT DEPARTURE FROM US ANY CHINESE WHO DESIRES RETURN TO HIS COUNTRY. I WANTED MAKE VERY CLEAR NO CHINESE BEING HELD MY COUNTRY PENDING OUR AGREEMENT HERE. IT WAS ENTIRELY IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME OR MY GOVERNMENT TO SEE WHY OUR FAILURE THUS FAR TO REACH AGREEMENT ON PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT HAS PREVENTED DEPARTURE ANY AMERICANS WHOSE CASES FAVORABLY REVIEWED. IF WE WERE TO DEAL HERE ON BASIS EQUALITY AND RECIPROCITY AT LEAST THESE AMERICANS SHOULD BE ABLE TO RETURN IMMEDIATELY. I COULD NOT HELP AVOID CONCLUSION THAT FACT THESE AMERICANS NOT ABLE RETURN APPEARED DUE OTHER THAN PURELY LEGAL OR JURIDICAL REASONS. ALSO HARD AVOID CONCLUSION THAT AS FAR AS RETURN OF REMAINING AMERICANS CONCERNED THAT ALSO WOULD BE BASED ON OTHER THAN PURELY LEGAL OR JURIDICAL REASONS. THIS ATTITUDE ON PART CHINESE MADE IT ALL MORE ESSENTIAL THAT A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING BE REACHED ON PERIOD OF TIME DURING WHICH IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE COMPLETE RELEASE AND RETURN TO US OF ALL AMERICANS NOW BEING PREVENTED FROM LEAVING.

21. I CONTINUED SAYING I EXPECTED AND HOPED WHEN I CAME THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR US REACH AGREEMENT ON BASIS EACH OUR GOVERNMENTS ADOPTING MEASURES PERMITTING ALL THOSE DESIRING RETURN IN FACT DO SO. MY GOVERNMENT TOOK NECESSARY STEPS SO WE COULD MAKE SUCH ANNOUNCEMENT THIS REGARD. I NEXT THOUGHT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE AGREE THEY COULD BE RELEASED SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH OUR ANNOUNCEMENT. NOW, HOWEVER, I HAD GONE ANOTHER STEP AND ACCEPTED HIS POSITION THAT SOME AMERICANS WILL BE RELEASED LATER, ALTHOUGH I DO NOT SEE ANY REASON FOR DELAY. ALL I ASKED HIM NOW WAS THAT HE GIVE ME DEFINITE STATEMENT REGARDING REASONABLE TIME IN WHICH STEPS WILL BE TAKEN BY HIS GOVERNMENT IN ORDER REMAINDER CASES MAY BE COMPLETED. THIS SEEMS VERY REASONABLE POSITION AND I DID NOT SEE HOW IT WAS POSSIBLE GO ANY FURTHER. WE CAME TO DISCUSS RETURN OUR NATIONALS AND SETTLE THAT QUESTION. I DID NOT SEE HOW SIMPLY VAGUE STATEMENT THAT SOME WILL BE ABLE TO RETURN IN UNKNOWN TIME IN THE FUTURE AND ONLY UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS, ONE OF WHICH HAS NO RELATION TO JURIDICAL AND LEGAL PROCESSES INVOLVED, SETTLES MATTER OF RETURN OF CITIZENS.

22. WANG REPLIED

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22. WANG REPLIED HE COULD NOT AGREE TO DISCUSS THINGS WHICH GOVERNMENTS BOTH SIDES UNABLE TO ACCOMPLISH. HE SAID CHINESE IN US HAD NOT COMMITTED CRIMES AND SO IT WAS NOT REASONABLE FOR US GOVERNMENT TO IMPOSE RESTRICTIONS. FURTHERMORE IF WE HAD REACHED AGREEMENT TWO WEEKS AGO AMERICANS WHOSE CASES HAD BEEN REVIEWED WOULD ALREADY HAVE RETURNED TO US. RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR FAILURE TO RETURN WAS NOT CHINESE.

23. HE CONTINUED THAT LEGAL AND JURIDICAL ASPECTS OF THE CASES OF AMERICANS WERE CLOSELY LINKED WITH AGREEMENT ON PROPOSED ANNOUNCEMENT. IF AGREEMENT REACHED, THAT WOULD MEAN NOT ONLY THAT PRC WILLING IMPROVE RELATIONS AND SETTLE QUESTIONS BUT ALSO THAT AMERICAN GOVERNMENT HAD THIS DESIRE. AGREEMENT ON ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD SHOW BOTH SIDES SINCERELY WORKING FOR THIS GOAL. TO TALK MUCH ABOUT SINCERITY IN REACHING SETTLEMENT BUT REFUSE TO COME TO AGREEMENT DOES NOT GIVE APPEARANCE REAL SINCERITY. HE SAID ONLY BECAUSE OF REAL SINCERITY, PRC HAS REVIEWED CASES OF AIRMEN WHO ACCORDING CHINESE LEGAL PROCEDURE COULD NOT HAVE LEFT FOR VERY LONG TIME. CHINESE IN MAKING REVIEW TOOK INTO ACCOUNT IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS AND ACT WAS ONE OF LENINECY AND NOT PART THEIR JURIDICAL PROCEDURES. AIRMEN RELEASED OUT OF CONSIDERATION FOR SUCCESS OF TALKS. THEREFORE IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES WILL MAKE IT EASIER FOR REMAINING CASES TO BE SETTLED. THIS IS A LENIENT POLICY THEIR PART AND THEY LINK THIS ACTION WITH AGREEMENT IN ORDER TO SHOW THEIR SINCERITY. IF NO SUCH SINCERITY PRESENT HE SAW NO REASON FOR HIS SIDE TO CONTINUE TAKING UNILATERAL LENIENT STEPS.

24. I SAID HE HAD SPOKEN FRANKLY AND I WOULD DO THE SAME. HE HAD INDICATED THERE WAS RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELEASE OF COL. ARNOLD'S GROUP AND HOLDING OF THESE TALKS. HE HAD ALSO CLEARWY INDICATED RELATION BETWEEN RETURN OF THOSE AMERICANS WHOSE CASES HAD BEEN REVIEWED AND OUR REACHING AN AGREEMENT HERE. I DID NOT NOW KNOW WHAT RELATIONSHIP THERE MIGHT BE BETWEEN RELEASE REMAINING AMERICANS AND WHATEVER FUTURE

AGREEMENTS HIS

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AGREEMENTS HIS SIDE MIGHT WISH TO HAVE MADE. I WANTED TO SAY BLUNTLY I DID NOT COME WITH INTENT TO AND WOULD NOT TRADE FATE OF AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY PREVENTED FROM RETURNING FOR POLITICAL AGREEMENTS OR CONCESSIONS HE MIGHT DESIRE. I WAS WILLING DISCUSS EACH PROBLEM ON ITS OWN MERITS. I DID NOT ASK FOR NOR EXPECT CONCESSIONS OF THAT NATURE FROM HIS SIDE IN RETURN FOR ACTIONS WE TOOK REGARDING CHINESE IN US. I HAD ALSO INDICATED WILLINGNESS ENTER INTO ARRANGEMENT ON ASSISTANCE TO CHINESE IN US WHO WISH TO RETURN. I WAS NOT AND COULD NOT ENTER ARRANGEMENT UNLESS WE HAD CLEAR UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US AS TO WHAT ACTION WOULD BE TAKEN CONCERNING AMERICANS. I COULD NOT CONSIDER STATEMENTS HE MADE REGARDING ACTION PROPOSED BY HIS SIDE AS BEING SATISFACTORY. I HAD COME LONG WAY MEET HIS POSITION AND HOPED AND EXPECTED HE WOULD BE ABLE COME A LITTLE WAY TO MEET MINE.

24. WANG RETURNED ARGUMENT CHINESE IN US HAD NOT COMMITTED CRIMES AND ALTHOUGH ANNOUNCEMENT MADE RESTRICTIONS LIFTED THEY STILL ENCOUNTERED DIFFICULTIES IN FACT WHEREAS NO RESTRICTIONS ON AMERICANS IN CHINA. HE CONCLUDED THAT IF I ASKED WHETHER MEASURES HAD BEEN TAKEN TO SPEED REVIEW OF CASES AMERICANS TO PERMIT THEIR RETURN, ANSWER WAS "YES". IF I ASKED FOR UNDERSTANDING ON TIME IT WOULD REQUIRE, ANSWER WAS "NO".

25. HE INDICATED WILLINGNESS CLOSE MEETING AT THIS POINT AND I AGREED. USUAL END OF MEETING FENCING OMITTED.

GOWEN

AAL

Note: Advance copy to Mr. McConaughy (CA) 5:45 p.m. 8-25-55 CWO/FED

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139

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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Department of State

242

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SENT TO: USUN New York NIACT 92

FOR AMBASSADOR LODGE

611.93/8-2555

Please make the following two telegrams from Ambassador Johnson in Geneva available to Secretary this evening.

616 /Code Room: Please repeat 616 from Geneva, control 13384/

617 /Code Room: Please repeat 617 from Geneva, control 13389/

DULLES

Dulles

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611.93/8-2555

CS/M

Drafted by: S/S:RGBarnes:jmr 8/25/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Robert G. Barnes

RGB

Clearances:

S/S-CR

AUG 25 1955 P.M.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (140)

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SECRET
Classification

(243)

11632
1955 AUG 25 PM 6:40

DC/T

For DC/T use only

SENT TO: AMCONSUL Geneva PRIORITY 633

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

Comparison Wang redraft (your 617) with text our 599 indicates following substantial changes: (1) In first paragraph "repatriation of civilians" changed to "return of nationals." (2) Unilateral announcements are couched in terms of an agreement. (3) India is "entrusted" to assist return, and in paying expenses Indian Government is to act "on behalf of the Government of the PRC," thus connoting ~~the~~ idea of a protecting power instead of ~~a~~ third party designated by ~~the~~ US primarily to confirm that its statement regarding freedom to return is in fact true. (4) Indian Government is authorized to "make investigation of the facts," the words "in any such case" being dropped. Effect of this would be ~~to~~ permit Indian Government ~~to~~ investigate entire matter, presumably all Chinese in ~~the~~ US, and not merely those requesting assistance.

These changes appear to indicate (1) intent to convert ~~the~~ announcements into an agreement, (2) to have it apply to all Chinese in ~~the~~ US and to describe them as nationals of ~~the~~ PRC, (3) to give India ~~the~~ right to investigate generally and not simply those Chinese who appeal to it, and (4) to establish India as a protecting power. Above objections are in addition to unresolved question of time limit for release of Americans.

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511.93/8-2555

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Drafted by: L:HPhleger/FE:WJSebald

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: FE:WJSebald

Clearances: CA:WPMcConaughy

S/S-CR
AUG 25 1955 P.M.

10987

SECRET
Classification

CS /M
SECRET FILE

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SECRET

Classification

Amendments proposed by Wang make his draft entirely unacceptable for reasons indicated above. We believe it preferable that Saturday meeting be postponed until some time next week so as to give us further opportunity study our tactics. You should inform Wang such postponement requested, assigning no repeat no reasons.

Dulles (WW)

" DULLES "

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10988

SECRET

Classification

141

274

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

ACTION COPY

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 13937
Rec'd: August 26, 1955
6:29 a.m.

Action
FE

Info

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 628, August 26, 11 a.m.

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

DEPTEL 633.

I have requested next meeting Wednesday, August 31, 10 a.m.

GOWEN

VHD/6

Action Assigned to S/S-R

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1955 AUG 26 AM 9 01

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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142 245

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

28
Action
FE

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RMR

SECRET

8/27/55, 9:22 a.m.
CORRECTED PAGE 1
Control: 14340
Rec'd: AUGUST 26, 1955
4:18 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 630, AUGUST 26, 1 PM

Action Assigned to CAID
Action Taken Reply Drafted
Date of Action 8/29/55
Action Office Symbol W P McCormack
Name of Officer file
Direction to DC/R

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PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

RE MYTEL 617 AND DEPTEL 633 FOLLOWING OUR COMMENTS ON WANG'S REDRAFT:

1. DOUBT THAT WANG IS ATTACHING AS MUCH SIGNIFICANCE AS WE TO TERM "NATIONALS" BUT MY NEGOTIATING POSITION IN NOW OBTAINING ITS COMPLETE ELIMINATION IS NOT GOOD. ALSO SEEMS TO ME UNDESIRABLE ATTRACT TOO MUCH ATTENTION TO IT. TERM APPEARS ONLY ONCE IN BOTH WANG'S AUGUST 11 DRAFT (MYTEL 402) AND AUGUST 25 DRAFT. IT WAS MUCH MORE EXTENSIVELY USED IN DRAFT GIVEN WANG AUGUST 16 (MYTEL 463) WHICH WAS BASED UPON DRAFT CONTAINED DEPTEL 466. ALSO FIRST SENTENCE WANG'S AUGUST 25 DRAFT WHERE THIS TERM APPEARS IS IDENTICAL WITH FIRST SENTENCE OUR AUGUST 16 DRAFT. WITH RESPECT "RETURN" VS "REPATRIATION" IT SEEMS TO ME FORMER TERM PREFERABLE EVEN THOUGH LATTER WAS USED IN JULY 25 STATEMENT BY TWO GOVERNMENTS. "REPATRIATION" COULD CARRY CONNOTATION OF FORCE UNLESS MODIFIED BY "VOLUNTARY" AND STATUS OF BELLIGERENCY BETWEEN PARTIES WHEREAS "RETURN" IS BROADER TERM AND AVOIDS UNDESIRABLE CONNOTATION OF "REPATRIATION".

2. (A) WHILE WANG OBVIOUSLY ATTEMPTING GIVE "AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT" GREATEST POSSIBLE CHARACTER OF A REEMENT" BETWEEN TWO GOVERNMENTS BELIEVE HE HAS VALID POINT THAT OUR PHRASE "WILL AUTHORIZE" DOES NOT ACCURATELY REPRESENT FACT THAT REQUEST TO GOI MADE BY PRC AND US IS ACCEPTING THAT DESIGNATION. SAME SITUATION MUTATIS MUTANDIS WITH RESPECT UK.

(B) ON OTHER HAND "AGREES" AS USED IN WANG'S TEXT WOULD ALSO INHIBIT

LMS:LJ/1

611.93/8-2655

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FEB 17 1959
1955 AUG 29 AM 7 06
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Copy # 11 Sent to FE 2/17/59 [illegible]

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INHIBIT OUR ABILITY UNILATERALLY TO CANCEL ARRANGEMENT UNLESS "AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT" ACCOMPANIED BY UNDERSTANDING OR UNILATERAL US STATEMENT ON TIME LIMIT FOR RELEASE AMERICANS WHICH IF BROKEN BY CHICOMS WOULD GIVE BASIS FOR CANCELLATION.

(C) TO MEET THESE POINTS SUGGEST CONSIDERATION FOLLOWING LANGUAGE "US ACCEPTS DESIGNATION BY PRC OF GOI TO ASSIST [illegible] RETURN TO PRC OF THOSE CHINESE WHO DESIRE DO SO AS FOLLOWS".

(D) FOREGOING LANGUAGE ALSO ELIMINATES "ENTRUSTED".

3. BELIEVE IMPORTANT DELETE "ON BEHALF OF THE PRC" BECAUSE PROTECTING POWER CONNOTATION. I WOULD PROPOSE ARGUE NOT APPLICABLE CASE US AS PAYMENTS IF ANY WOULD IN MOST CASES PROBABLY BE ON BEHALF FAMILY OR FIRMS. PRC CAN MAKE WHATEVER ARRANGEMENTS IT WISHES REIMBURSE GOI, NEED NOT BE MENTIONED "AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT".

4. CONCUR DELETION WORDS "IN ANY SUCH CASE" WOULD APPEAR GIVE BASIS GOI INVESTIGATE ANY CASE AT PRC REQUEST. BELIEVE WE SHOULD INSIST ON RESTORATION THIS PHRASE.

5. CANNOT REACH DECISION ON MUST APPROPRIATE WORDING FOR "PROMPTLY" UNTIL TACTICS FOR NEXT MEETING DETERMINED. SEVERAL DIFFERENT WORDS COULD BE USED, IMPORTANT THING IS THAT WHATEVER WORD USED THERE BE COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT IT MEANS.

GOWEN

JJ

(#) OMISSION, CORRECTION TO FOLLOW
NOTE: MR. WADDELL (FE) NOTIFIED 8/26 5:20 PM - E.H.

OFFICE OF THE STATE
1955 AUG 27 AM 7 47
OFFICE OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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143 INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** 246 ACTION COPY

SECRET

28-21
Action
FE

Info
RMR

Action Assigned to 1/4
Control: 14234
Rec'd: August 26, 1955
1:36 p.m.
Action Taken Reply
Date of Action 8/27
Action Office Symbol C
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R file

This Document must be returned to the RM/R Central Files

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 631, August 26, 3 p.m.

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FROM JOHNSON

I have accepted Wang's invitation to private dinner Sunday evening. Would appreciate any indications Department could give me by that time our thinking on future tactics. In absence anything from Department will of course adhere same line and do maximum obtain any indication shift in Wang's position.

GOWEN

TT/6

611.93/8-2655

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(144)

Bureau of
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AUG 30 1955
ASSISTANT SECR
Department of
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247

CONFIDENTIAL
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

2 1955
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RM/R

DATE: August 26, 1955

SUBJECT: Geneva Ambassadorial Talks with Chinese Communists.

Action Assigned to CA
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

PARTICIPANTS: Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese Ambassador
Mr. William J. Sebald, Acting Assistant Secretary, FE
Mr. Walter P. McConaughy, Director for Chinese Affairs

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Ambassador Johnson, Geneva - 1

(11)

7

SEP 3 1955

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The Chinese Ambassador called at Mr. Sebald's request. Mr. Sebald said that he had asked the Ambassador to come in so that he could be informed of the status of the talks with the Chinese Communists at Geneva. There was no progress to report, but even this fact might be of interest to the Chinese Government. Negative information sometimes was important and in any event we wished the Chinese Government to have the knowledge that it was currently informed on the status of our efforts at Geneva.

The Ambassador expressed his appreciation and confirmed that his Government was very much interested in receiving frequent status reports for its background information, even though there was nothing positive to report. He inquired as to the apparent reasons for the lack of progress in getting our detained nationals released.

Mr. Sebald said that it was difficult to say exactly what the stumbling blocks were. There were differences over words in the proposed announcement, and differences over the interpretation to be attached to the words. The general concept of the Chinese Communists as to the right of the individuals to return seemed to be different from ours. Wang Ping-nan was not specific on action the Chinese Communists were prepared to take. Wang was, of course, pressing for an enlargement of the very limited rôle envisaged by us for the Indian Embassy. He wanted it to appear that the Chinese Communists had a right to assert an interest in Chinese nationals generally in this country. We, of course, were not prepared to accord the Chinese Communists any access through the Indian Embassy to Chinese nationals in this country other than the small number who might express a

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wish to return to the China mainland. There appeared to be no flexibility in Wang's position. Of course, Ambassador Johnson was standing firm on the basic principles inherent in our position. Mr. Sebald summarized the situation as amounting practically to a stalemate, but with no actual break-off of the talks appearing to be in immediate prospect.

Ambassador Koo then referred to what he termed the great anxiety of Chinese communities in all the large cities of the U.S. over the possible outcome of the Geneva talks. His Foreign Office and the Department of Overseas Chinese Affairs at Taipei were greatly concerned over this matter and had instructed him to take it up with the Department of State. He said that there was a general apprehension among Chinese residents of this country that they might be subjected to interrogation by representatives of the Chinese Communists. There seemed to be a fear that they would be exposed to Chinese Communist pressures, either through the Indian Embassy or through their families on the mainland. The Ambassador said he hoped that the American Government could do something to relieve this feeling of uneasiness. He thought it could best be done through an official statement by some high official of the U.S. Government which would assure Chinese everywhere that the U.S. Government would not agree to anything at Geneva which would expose Chinese residents of the U.S. or their families to intimidation at the hands of the Chinese Communists. He mentioned that a large number of letters from Chinese had been received indicating that they were greatly disturbed. He said there was a general feeling among the Chinese that Wang Ping-nan was pressing for information regarding all Chinese in the U.S., and not merely the students. Even the Chinese who had American citizenship and considered themselves "dual nationals" were disturbed and suffered from a feeling of insecurity. The same was true of long-time Chinese residents of this country who did not have American citizenship but who were legal permanent residents. He said that reports from the Chinese Associations in all the American cities where there was a large Chinese population confirmed the existence of these apprehensions. He felt that only official U.S. action could counteract the mental anxiety.

Mr. Sebald said that the U.S. position was made clear at the time the Geneva talks were announced that nothing would happen at Geneva to betray the interests of free Chinese. The Ambassador surely must be well aware that the U.S. would not do anything which would "sell Chinese residents down the river". As for an official U.S. statement, he did not see any peg to hang such a statement on at the present moment. If a statement were issued with no apparent reason, and without reference to any current development, it would seem strange and might raise questions as to why it was issued. It might tend to cause confusion and might heighten rather than alleviate the unfounded fears of which the Ambassador had spoken. Mr. Sebald thought that it might be preferable for the Chinese Embassy to take action to reassure the Chinese communities in the U.S., based on the full knowledge possessed by the Chinese Embassy of the U.S. position and the course of the Geneva talks.

Ambassador Koo said that the Chinese Embassy would be glad to do what it could.

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could. However, he felt that some form of reassurance from the U.S. Government was also needed. He inquired if the Secretary could not take advantage of one of his press conferences to say something to restore the confidence of the Chinese. If a question along this line were asked of the Secretary, he would be afforded a logical and natural opportunity to say something which would dispel the doubts. In addition, Ambassador Koo requested that the Department reply to the numerous petitions and letters on this subject which he understood the White House and the Department had received from Chinese groups and individuals. He said he understood that ordinarily such petitions were not answered, but he hoped in this case answers could be provided.

Mr. Sebald and Mr. McConaughy stated that they did not recall any petitions or letters from Chinese on this subject. Correspondence along this line ordinarily went to the Bureau of Public Affairs and was handled there. Such correspondence did not ordinarily come to the attention of the geographic bureaus.

Mr. Sebald, in response to a direct question from the Ambassador, said that while Item I of the agenda did not specify that only Chinese students were referred to on the Chinese side, the whole context of the arrangements for the talks showed that the question of the return of Chinese revolved primarily around Chinese students. The actual cases which have become issues were all cases of students, and it was our understanding that it was principally students in whom the Chinese Communists were interested. The Chinese Communists have not spelled this out specifically, and naturally they would like to enlarge the representation formula if they could. But we would stand firm on the principle that no Chinese in this country could be approached on behalf of the Chinese Communists unless he first expressed a desire to return to the mainland. Those who might express a wish to return presumably would be in the student category.

NOTE: Separate Memoranda of Conversation have been prepared on the following subjects which were discussed at the same conversation: Revision of the U. N. Charter and Detention of the Soviet Tankar "Tuapse".

FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:mlw - 8/29/55

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(145)

5-30

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August 26, 1955

Letter No. 9
OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

SECRET

Dear Alex:

The communications people have very helpfully arranged a second pouch each week, closing here on Friday morning and reaching Geneva via Frankfort Sunday evening. The spacing (Mondays and Fridays) is not the best, but it is much better than once-a-week service.

Herman Pfleger returned to duty on Monday the 22nd, and from that date has played a larged role in the direction of the Washington end of this project. You must have recognized his talented and distinctive imprint immediately. The Secretary asked him on Monday to coordinate and take the immediate responsibilities for all instructions to you. So Bill Sebald and I are working directly with him on all your message. The Secretary has been away in New York since Wednesday.

I believe it is important for you to know the Secretary's general thinking at present on the matter of Indian representation. LastSunday afternoon he remarked that he thought it was important for it to be clear that the granting of a limited role to the Indian Embassy would be a matter of our own volition. He felt it should be made manifest to all that this was something which we decided to do of our own free will and accord, and not something that we were driven into by the Chinese Communists against our own inclination, as a quid pro quo in a deal for getting citizens out. It was even debated briefly whether we should not go ahead immediately and announce independently that we were prepared to give the Indian Embassy this role, without reference to any "agreed announcement"at Geneva. It was remarked that our moral and psychological position before the world would certainly be very strong if some such offer were freely made, with no strings attached. We would then wait to

see

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

see what the Chinese Communists were prepared to offer on their own initiative. It was felt that the intangible pressures on the Chinese to make a corresponding gesture might be considerable. While it was decided not to do this, at least for the present, the basic concept is still influencing the thinking here, as you will have perceived from various of our telegrams during the week. We think it important for it to be apparent to all that whatever we are doing in regard to Chinese in this country who wish to return to the mainland is our own free act, taken because it is right and just, and not because the Chinese Communists have intervened as the pretended champions of the rights of Chinese individuals.

This makes it important for you to avoid implying in the talks that any Indian Embassy role permitted by us would have to be part of an understanding with the Chinese Communists (paragraph 24 of your 624). Of course, you will not suggest the opposite either. It is simply an aspect to steer clear of at this juncture.

This thinking on the prospective Indian role has also influenced the attitude toward the essential character of the Indian Government responsibility. Herman Phleger feels that we must be very careful to refrain from according even by implication the status of "protecting power" to India, even in a narrowly defined field. We do not recognize that Communist China has any Governmental interests in this country which are entitled to protection by a third power. The Indian Embassy would be acting essentially in behalf of the interests of the individual travelers who want to return to the mainland rather than in the interest of the Chinese Communists as a Government. And it would be serving to verify the truth of our statement on Chinese aliens in this country. This means that the Indian Government would be selected primarily by us, rather than by the Chinese Communists, for its special function. It would be filling a humanitarian role in reference to certain individuals, just as say the Red Cross might have been asked to do. It would not have in any sense the traditional role of a "protecting power" for an established Government when diplomatic relations are severed. So its role would be in no sense comparable to that of the Swiss when they acted on behalf of our nationals in Japanese-occupied territories during World War II. It is believed important to maintain this principle, and it will affect the tenor of our reply to the Indian Government note on representation of August 18.

I also thinks it important to maintain the character of any "agreed announcement" as two unilateral and independent (although interconnected) declarations or announcements, and not an "Agreement". You cannot

properly

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properly have anything in the nature of a formal Governmental agreement with a regime which you do not recognize. While this may be a fairly fine point, it has validity, and I believe you would be well advised to avoid in the informal oral give and take of the sessions, any references to "agreements between governments" (paragraph 12 your 625).

Any implication that Chinese in this country, even the few who want to return to the mainland, are "nationals" of the PRC, has dangerous connotations in L's view, and is to be carefully eschewed.

Phleger believes that the changes which Wang introduced or reverted to at the August 25 meeting (your 617) are all significant, although the significance may be cleverly disguised. Our 633 may seem to represent something of a hardening of the line, and this indeed may be the case.

The callousness and cynicism with which Wang has dropped the pretence of full adherence to judicial procedures and admitted the political basis of the Chinese Communist handling of the prisoner question has caused a feeling of revulsion here as well as deep disappointment. He has in effect demanded that we ransom our imprisoned citizens with political concessions. Presumably he has done it in the knowledge that we cannot submit to that sort of extortion. Wang's refusal to make any commitment on when the "remaining" Americans would be released, his linkage of the prisoner question with the status of relations between the U. S. and Communist China, and his attempt to blame us for the non-release of Americans whose cases have already been "cleared", create painful dilemmas for us, but they also place the PRC in a most vulnerable position morally and forensically if unhappily this issue should be forced into the propaganda field.

The Secretary returns tomorrow afternoon. I anticipate there will be some weekend soul searching on this whole question.

The request for the postponement of the Saturday, August 27 meeting to next week was prompted by the belief that we have nothing to gain by such an early meeting when we are so close to a deadlock and with nothing new likely to come forth on either side so soon. The meeting after a mere 2-day interval with nothing but repetition in prospect would be likely to tighten, maybe cement, the deadlock. This we want to avoid. We also of course still attach the very highest importance to avoiding a breakdown. We do not even want to take the initiative in proposing a recess on Item 1. Our only hesitation in asking for a postponement of the next meeting was our desire to avoid any appearance of lack of

zealousness

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zealousness in pressing for the earliest possible action on our detained citizens. We do not believe, however, that any reasonable person would construe the postponement under the circumstances as attributable to laxity on this score. The arguments for not hastening either side into a tightly frozen position, and for avoiding aggravations which might lead to the rupture which we must constantly strive to avoid, are extremely cogent. The feeling now is that perhaps at this stage we should not have three meetings a week. The tempo of developments is not sufficiently rapid to justify such frequent meetings. It may be that meetings should be held no more frequently than twice a week. It would be useful to have your reaction to this. We recognize it is a delicate business. We must avoid giving the impression that we are stalling, as well as the impression that we are not pressing to the maximum on Americans. At the same time we must balance this against the danger of too frequent sessions leading up to a situation which might become somewhat comparable to that which Dean ran into at Panmunjom in November and early December, 1953.

You will have noted O'Neill's misgivings from Peiping. It is significant that the British are almost more skeptical of Chinese Communist "performance" than we are. O'Neill thinks there would be a strong possibility of bad faith on the part of the Chinese Communists when only a few Chinese express a desire to return to the mainland.

The loopholes which we have necessarily left in the announcement in order to protect Chinese in this country would make it easy for the Chinese Communists to prevent some Americans from informing the British Embassy of a desire to return to this country. Undoubtedly he wishes his Embassy could be given authority to get in touch with the Americans on its own initiative. We wish it could be done too. But how, without departing from our basic principle on Chinese in this country?

Your reporting is giving us the best possible visualization of what you are up against. We feel that your reports and analyses have imparted to us a good understanding of the Chinese Communist strategy as well as tactics. There is nothing but praise for your handling of the appalling difficulties, along with a keen desire to uphold your hand in every way we can.

Your letter of August 19 came through promptly and was most helpful. The appropriate portions got the needed circulation to the interested parties.

Walter Robertson will be out all of next week too. He is still in Richmond, bothered with bronchitis. Bill Sebald is nobly carrying a heavy load on Geneva, the Shigemitsu visit, and a myriad of other things. He sends his best to you.

Regards and all the best,

Sincerely,

INCOMING TELEGRAM (146)

Department of State

ACTION COPY

16-H
Action
FE

SECRET

Control: 1234 (Assigned to 16/12)
Rec'd: AUGUST 29, 1955
Taken 9:35 A.M.

(249)

Info
RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 642, AUGUST 29, 1 P.M.

PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

Of Action
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Direction to DC/R

ALTHOUGH NOT RECEIVED UNTIL THIS MORNING I IN FACT VERY CLOSELY FOLLOWED LINE IN FIRST PARA DEPTEL 648 AT DINNER WITH WANG LAST NIGHT.

I INDICATED HAD NOTHING FURTHER TO ADD TO WHAT I HAD SAID PREVIOUSLY, NO ENTHUSIASM FOR AGAIN COVERING SAME GROUND, AND HOPE HE HAD SOMETHING NEW. HOWEVER, WANG INSISTED ON AGAIN GOING OVER THEIR POSITION IN CONSIDERABLE DETAIL AND MUCH EARNESTNESS THINKING OF WHICH FOLLOWED GENERAL LINE GIVEN FIRST PORTION SECOND PARA MYTEL 623.

CHINESE IN US BROUGHT UP IN CONTEXT NUMBER MUCH GREATER THAN NUMBER AMERICANS IN CHINA AND THEREFORE AS SET FORTH BY CHOU PROBLEM LATTER MUCH MORE EASILY RESOLVED. IMPLICATION MAY BE THAT PROBLEM FORMER RESOLVED ONLY BY WORKINGS REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT AND THAT PROPORTION CHINESE STUDENTS IN US WHO GO CHICOM TERRITORY IS ONE TEST "IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS" AND " FACILITY" WITH WHICH "PROBLEM REMAINING AMERICANS" RESOLVED. AGAIN REPETITION THEME UNILATERAL RELEASE FLYERS HAD RESOLVED WHAT WE HAD MADE MAJOR ISSUE AND THEREFORE NOW "OUR TURN" MAKE GESTURE. ALSO BROUGHT UP RELEASE FLYERS AS EXAMPLE HOW IMPOSSIBLE FORECAST WHEN REMAINDER COULD BE RELEASED BUT AT SAME TIME HOW QUICKLY THIS COULD HAPPEN FOLLOWING FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENTS (SIC). THEIR "MANY CONCESSIONS", NO LIST CHINESE US, REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT NOT SATISFACTORY BUT WILLING AGREE, OUR FORM " AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT" ACCEPTED ETC.

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I WORKED BRIEFLY BUT HARD AT THEME WE HAD AGREED DISCUSS RETURN CIVILIANS, WAY TO RESOLVE ISSUE WAS PERMIT THEM RETURN, DRAGGING OUT RELEASES NOT CONDUCIVE " IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS", BUT PRODUCES OPPOSITE EFFECT, "LET'S GET IT FINISHED", AGAIN BROUGHT UP POSSIBILITY TRAVEL BY CORRESPONDENTS IF ALL RELEASED (SAID WAS SPEAKING PERSONALLY COULD MAKE NO PROMISES) OUR VERY ADVERSE REACTIONS TO LINKING RELEASES AMERICANS TO "IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS" ETC. HE ROSE TO CORRESPONDENT BAIT AND WAS OBVIOUSLY INTERESTED. HIS REPLIES REINFORCED MY FEELING THAT THEY UNABLE SEE ANYTHING REPREHENSIBLE IN LINKING RELEASES TO "IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS". THEY START FROM PREMISE THAT IMPRISONED PERSONS HAVE "COMMITTED CRIMES" AND THAT COMMUTATION SENTENCES FOR OTHER THAN "GOOD BEHAVIOR" IS POLITICAL ACT FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES.

HOWEVER UNABLE DETECT ANY SIGNS WHATEVER ANY SHIFT THEIR POSITION AND DO NOT BELIEVE I GAVE HIM ANY GROUNDS FOR BELIEVING WE WERE GOING SHIFT. WHEN HE MADE MENTION AT BEGINNING CONVERSATION, GAP UNTIL NEXT MEETING I SAID HE SHOULD REALIZE THEIR POSITION WAS FACING US WITH " VERY SERIOUS SITUATION".

DURING PRECEDING DINNER TABLE CONVERSATION AGAIN MUCH TALK BY WANG ON ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS CHINA (STEEL PRODUCTION NOW THREE MILLION TONS ONLY THREE AND ONE-HALF MILLION BY 1957 ETC.) ECONOMY WOULD LONG BE PRIMARILY AGRICULTURAL AND THEREFORE COMPLIMENTARY TO ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY US THUS PROVIDING GOOD BASIS ECONOMIC RELATIONS, US INDUSTRY VERY ADVANCED - BY IMPLICATION BETTER THAN USSR (SOVIET AUTOS NOT GOOD, LOW POWERED AND OLD FASHIONED WANTED US CARS ETC.), WANTED SEND STUDENTS TO US, CHINA AND US LONG BEEN GOOD FRIENDS SHOULD BE FRIENDS AGAIN ETC.

GOWEN

CES

Note: Advance copy to Mr. Waddell (FE) 10:30 am 8/29/55 (FMH)

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TELEGRAM (147)

INDICATE [ ] COLLECT
[ ] CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET (248)
Classification

13247

1955 AUG 29 PM 8:20

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 654

FOR JOHNSON

Origin

611.93/8-2655

Your 630. Instructions for August 31 meeting.

1. Propose solve problem reference "nationals" by returning to phraseology of July 25 identic announcement: "repatriation of civilians who desire to return to their respective countries". Object is to avoid any language which might be construed as implying that US acknowledges that any Chinese in this country have PRC nationality.

2. It should be specified in announcement that we are authorizing GOI to act. It would not seem essential for announcement to take note of fact that PRC has requested GOI to act. If necessary obtain agreement, we would be prepared consider insertion of modifying phrase such as "which has been requested by the PRC to serve in this capacity" following "will authorize the Government of India."

3. You should stand firm on: (a) refusal to use term "US agrees", (b) avoidance "on behalf of the PRC", and (c) restitution of phrase "in any such case".

4. Satisfactory definition of maximum time period for release of Americans considered essential.

5. If

DC/R Area 55 Copy

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:ekb/ek 8/29

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: W. J. Sebald

Clearances:

S - The Secretary

L - Mr. Phleger (in draft)

10989

SECRET
Classification

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611.93/8-2655

SECRET FILE

CS/M

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SECRET
Classification

5. If you consider it would be useful, you may state you have been instructed to request immediate, circumstantial and authentic report on health and welfare each detained American civilian. Then you should point out cumulative deleterious effects of prolonged imprisonment of sort to which Wang's Government has subjected US citizens grow rapidly more pronounced after several years have elapsed. Letters from numerous relatives indicate increasing anxiety on this score./ In this context you may suggest next meeting be fixed for date on which this report will be ready or in any event not before next week.

Dulles Dulles (DULLES)

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SECRET
Classification

(148)

(5-31) R

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 9/4/96

Letter No. 10
SECRET

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

August 29, 1955

Dear Alex:

There have not been many developments here since my last letter of August 26. Phleger, Sebald and I met briefly with the Secretary this morning and are to meet again late this afternoon on your instructions for the Wednesday meeting. This is an unusually busy week, what with Shigemitsu here and other matters also demanding time.

It is unfortunate that our 648 did not reach you before your Sunday night dinner. Through some inadvertance the priority label was omitted from the telegram but it was sent early Saturday afternoon and you still should have had it before your Sunday evening engagement. The feeling here is that we should get back to the language of July 25 identic announcements which was "repatriation of civilians who desire to return". We do not see that there would be any connotation of involuntary repatriation or any other undesirable connotation in the use of the word "repatriation" since it is used in the context "those who desire to return".

There is concern felt here in the obvious attempt of the Chinese Communists to enlarge the repatriation concept. Clearly they wish to assert a large measure of interest in and a right to claim the allegiance of all

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
Geneva, Switzerland.

American Consulate General

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

SECRET

Chinese in this country. They believe that even a limited degree of Indian representation will be a useful entering wedge, especially if they can sell the concept of India as a protecting power. Phleger remarked that it would have been better if we had insisted on some non governmental agency such as the Red Cross, to serve as a contact with those Chinese who wish to return to the Mainland.

Your 642 has just come in. The dinner conversation certainly does not bring up anything new or add to our hopes for a successful outcome of item one. The one comforting thought is that it certainly does not indicate any intention on the part of the Chinese Communists to precipitate an early break.

We are trying to assemble information for you on current departures of Chinese for the Mainland via Hong Kong. Immigration tells us that it takes at least 60 days to process the outgoing passengers manifests of the American President Lines and the air lines. This is bureaucratic red tape at its worst. We hope to get the information promptly, perhaps using our Consulate General at Hong Kong to monitor all arrivals of Chinese in transit to the Mainland.

At Phleger's suggestion we are working on an outline which spells out our objectives at Geneva, the limitations imposed, the courses of action that our called for and under this the arguing points that might well be brought up in the course of the talks. The outline also includes some thoughts on the sort of statements the two sides might issue by agreement if there has to be a recess. This statement would

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explain the postponement of discussion of item two until all U. S. civilians are released. We believe that there is some telling points you could make to Wang regarding the unusual efforts we have made to reduce tensions and the Chinese Communists actions which have actually increased tensions. For instance our restraint in not giving publicity of the story of Bersohn, who has now come around and whose account is utterly damning to the Chinese Communists, is something of which note might well be taken at some stage. The same is true of the forebearance we have shown in suppressing the full story of the 11 airmen. We have even gone to the Deputy Secretary of Defense in order to make sure that the airmen do not tell any more of their stories for the present.

We are anxious to get your reaction to the suggestion that meetings be reduced to twice a week.

Good luck and regards,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** (250) **ACTION COPY**

(149)

19-D

SECRET

Action Assigned to CA/DIR

Action FE

Control: 15904 Action Taken 1

Rec'd: AUGUST 30, 1955 10

9:43 A.M.

Info RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 651, AUGUST 30, NOON

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

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PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

I DOUBT IF IT WOULD BE USEFUL CARRY OUT SUGGESTION FIRST SENTENCE PARAGRAPH 5 DEPTEL 654. IT SEEMS TO ME WANG'S IMMEDIATE AND OBVIOUS REPLY WOULD BE THAT IF WE HAD REACHED AGREEMENT "LARGE NUMBER" OF THOSE WITH WHOM WE CONCERNED COULD HAVE BY NOW RETURNED TO US AND THAT IF REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT THEY PROPOSED WAS IN EFFECT REPORTS ON CONDITION THOSE REMAINING COULD BE TRANSMITTED BY OR THROUGH SUCH CHANNEL. ALSO SEEMS TO ME PROBABLE WANG WOULD FEEL REQUIRED TO REINTRODUCE OLD DEMAND FOR LIST CHINESE IN US OR INTRODUCE SOME NEW DEMAND RE CHINESE IN US IN ORDER BALANCE OUR ACTION. ALL OF THIS WOULD SERVE FURTHER TO TAKE FOCUS AWAY FROM CENTRAL ISSUE OF WHEN ALL AMERICANS ARE TO BE ABLE RETURN, ENABLE CHICOMS TO BECLOUD THIS QUESTION, AND POSSIBLY CAUSE THEM FURTHER HARDEN THEIR POSITION.

611.93/8-3055

WILL, HOWEVER, USE AS IT SEEMS USEFUL SECOND AND THIRD SENTENCES PARAGRAPH 5, ALTHOUGH HERE AGAIN WANG CAN ALWAYS ALSO RETORT ALONG FOREGOING LINES.

AM I CORRECT IN INTERPRETING LAST SENTENCE PARAGRAPH 5 AS DESIRE I ATTEMPT FIX NEXT MEETING FOR NEXT WEEK EVEN THOUGH I DO NOT USE LINE IN FIRST SENTENCE PARAGRAPH 5? I WOULD PLAN SUGGEST TUESDAY SEPTEMBER 6 WITH THOUGHT FOLLOWING MEETING FRIDAY SEPTEMBER 9. HOWEVER I MAY ENCOUNTER DIFFICULTY WITH WANG AND IN THIS EVENT WOULD AGREE SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 3. I AM BOTHERED BY TENDING GIVE ANY APPEARANCE I AM LESS ANXIOUS THAN HE TO DISPOSE ITEM ONE.

GOWEN

PA SECRET FILE

FILED FEB 17 1959

Copy # 11 Sent to FE 2/17/59 pg

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (150)

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

(237)

SECRET
Classification

13639

AUG 30 PM 6 17

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 658

FOR JOHNSON

Your 651.

It would seem desirable hold next meeting September 6 unless there are indications ~~that~~ Wang may have something ~~to~~ present before then. If he requests meeting Saturday September 3, and you consider it desirable, you should agree, leaving date of following meeting to be fixed on September 3. You may have opportunity establish pattern semi-weekly meetings Tuesdays and Fridays in absence specific reason for meeting on other days. We are confident your approach will make it clear ~~that~~ wider spacing meetings not due to any lessening of interest our part in earliest possible completion ~~of~~ item one but rather desire avoid useless meetings while awaiting Chinese Communist decision ~~to~~ take position necessary for conclusion ~~of~~ item one, as we have already done.

" DULLES

Dulles (WJS)

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611.93/8-3055

CS/Y

DC/R
Encl. 55
Rev.
Cat.

SECRET FILE

611.93/8-3055

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:kb/ek 8/30/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: WJS ~~[illegible]~~ W. J. Sebald

Clearances:

L - Mr. Phleger (cleared in draft)

S/S-CR

10991

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Classification

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151

16-D

CONFIDENTIAL

Action
FE

Info
RMR

Control: 16529
Rec'd: August 31, 1955
8:47 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 657, August 31, noon

NIACT

FROM JOHNSON

Two hour and fifteen minute meeting this morning. Wang showed great flexibility on text "agreed announcement" and agreed with the draft which I believe should be acceptable to US. (Text by separate telegram.) Believe I have been successful in walking back almost the entire way from our August 16 draft.

No progress on timing release remaining Americans but only reiteration previous positions.

Readily agreed to next meeting Tuesday, September 6th.

I am planning leave for Prague this evening, returning Sunday.

GOWEN

CES/3

Action Assigned to CD/OIR

Action Taken _____

Date of Action _____

Action Office Symbol _____

Name of Officer _____

Direction to DC/R file

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 6/13/66

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1955 AUG 31 AM 10 27

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

(253)

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Control: 16579
Rec'd: AUGUST 31, 1955
12:04 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 658, AUGUST 31, 2 P.M.

NIACT

FROM JOHNSON

FOLLOWING IS TEXT "AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT" WHICH WANG NOW APPEARS PREPARED ACCEPT. BELIEVE IT CONTAINS NONE OF UNDESIRABLE FEATURES MENTIONED DEPTEL 654 AND THAT WE SHOULD BE ABLE ACCEPT IT.

"THE AMBASSADORS OF THE USA AND THE PRC HAVE AGREED TO ANNOUNCE THE MEASURES WHICH THEIR GOVERNMENTS HAVE ADOPTED WITH RESPECT TO RETURN OF CIVILIANS TO THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES.

WITH RESPECT TO CHINESE IN THE US, AMBASSADOR U. ALEXIS JOHNSON, ON BEHALF OF THE US GOVERNMENT, HAS INFORMED AMBASSADOR WANG PING-NAN THAT:

1. THE US RECOGNIZES THAT CHINESE IN THE USA WHO DESIRE TO RETURN TO THE PRC ARE NOW ENTITLED TO DO SO AND DECLARES THAT IT HAS ADOPTED AND WILL FURTHER ADOPT APPROPRIATE MEASURES SO THAT THEY CAN EXPEDITIOUSLY EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN.

2. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA WILL BE INVITED TO ASSIST THE RETURN TO THE PRC OF THOSE CHINESE WHO DESIRE TO DO SO AS FOLLOWS:

A. IF ANY CHINESE IN THE USA BELIEVES THAT CONTRARY TO THE DECLARED POLICY OF THE USA HE IS ENCOUNTERING OBSTRUCTION IN DEPARTURE HE MAY SO INFORM THE INDIAN EMBASSY IN THE USA AND REQUEST IT TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS ON HIS BEHALF TO THE US GOVERNMENT. IF DESIRED BY THE PRC THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT MAY ALSO INVESTIGATE THE FACTS. IN ANY SUCH CASE.

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B. IF A CHINESE IN THE US WHO DESIRES TO RETURN TO THE PRC HAS DIFFICULTY IN PAYING HIS RETURN EXPENSES, THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT MAY RENDER HIM FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE NEEDED TO PERMIT HIS RETURN.

3. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE US WILL GIVE WIDE PUBLICITY TO THE FOREGOING ARRANGEMENTS AND THE EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA IN THE USA MAY ALSO DO SO.

WITH RESPECT TO AMERICANS IN THE PRC, AMBASSADOR WANG, ON BEHALF OF THE PRC, HAS INFORMED AMBASSADOR JOHNSON THAT:

1. THE PRC RECOGNIZES THAT AMERICANS IN THE PRC WHO DESIRE TO RETURN TO THE USA ARE NOW ENTITLED TO DO SO AND DECLARES THAT IT HAS ADOPTED AND WILL FURTHER ADOPT APPROPRIATE MEASURES SO THAT THEY CAN EXPEDITIOUSLY EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN.

2. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UK WILL BE INVITED TO ASSIST IN THE RETURN TO THE US OF THOSE AMERICANS WHO DESIRE TO DO SO AS FOLLOWS:

A. IF ANY AMERICAN IN THE PRC BELIEVES THAT CONTRARY TO THE DECLARED POLICY OF THE PRC HE IS ENCOUNTERING OBSTRUCTION IN DEPARTURE HE MAY SO INFORM THE OFFICE OF THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF THE UK IN THE PRC AND REQUEST IT TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS ON HIS BEHALF TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC. IF DESIRED BY THE US, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UK MAY ALSO INVESTIGATE THE FACTS IN ANY SUCH CASE.

B. IF AN AMERICAN IN THE PRC WHO DESIRES TO RETURN TO THE US HAS DIFFICULTY IN PAYING HIS RETURN EXPENSES, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UK MAY RENDER HIM FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE NEEDED TO PERMIT HIS RETURN.

3. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC WILL GIVE WIDE PUBLICITY TO THE FOREGOING ARRANGEMENTS AND THE OFFICE OF THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF THE UK IN THE PRC MAY ALSO DO SO."

GOWEN

CES

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1955 AUG 31 PM 2 28
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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16

SECRET

Action
FE

Info
RMR

Control: 16714
Rec'd: AUGUST 31, 1955
1:14 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 659, AUGUST 31, 6 P.M.

Action Taken

Date

Action

Name of

Direction to

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS TODAY'S MEETING.

WANG WAS RELAXED, MADE NO SERIOUS EFFORT PRESS TO ANY SHOWDOWN, AND SHOWED NO GREAT SENSE OF URGENCY. HE QUICKLY REACHED DECISIONS AT TABLE ON LANGUAGE DRAFT AND WHILE IMMEDIATELY NOTING I HAD GONE BACK ON LANGUAGE OUR AUGUST 16 DRAFT PARTICULARLY ON INTRODUCTORY PARA DID NOT PRESS HIS ADVANTAGE THIS REGARD. DEGREE TO WHICH HE CONCEDED DISPUTED POINTS IN DRAFT ALSO INDICATED THEY MAY NOT HAVE BEEN ATTACHING SAME VALUE THERETO AS WE HAD ASSUMED. WHILE I SUCCEEDED IN AVOIDING EXPRESSLY COMMITTING MYSELF TO DRAFT IN FACE HIS WILLINGNESS REACH IMMEDIATE AGREEMENT ON TEXT I WILL HAVE TO HAVE VERY COGENT REASONS FOR INTRODUCING ANY FURTHER CHANGES.

THUS ONLY REMAINING ISSUE APPEARS BE WANG'S REFUSAL SET ANY DEFINITE TIME FOR RELEASE REMAINING AMERICANS. BOTH OF US REPEATEDLY AND CATEGORICALLY STATED OUR POSITIONS ON THIS ISSUE AND THERE SEEMS LITTLE LEFT TO SAY.

IN CONSIDERING OUR FUTURE COURSE OF ACTION BELIEVE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT WE HAVE CUT BACK REPRESENTATION ARRANGEMENT TO POINT IT IS MUCH LESS ATTRACTIVE TO CHICOMS THAN SOMETHING ALONG LINES THEIR ORIGINAL PROPOSAL. THEREFORE ITS BARGAINING VALUE IS CORRESPONDINGLY REDUCED. THUS THEIR DESIRE TO GET TO ITEM TWO IS PROBABLY PRINCIPAL LEVER WHICH WOULD MOVE THEM TOWARDS ACCEPTING OUR POSITION. EFFECTIVENESS LEVER DIFFICULT ESTIMATE AND WANG MAY BE DOING GOOD JOB DISSIMULATION. HOWEVER

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SECRET FILE

FILED

FEB 17 1959

-2- 659, AUGUST 31, 6 P.M., FROM GENEVA

I HAVE FEELING THEIR DESIRE GET TO ITEM TWO STILL FAR FROM STRONG ENOUGH TO OVERCOME THEIR VERY STRONG RELUCTANCE GIVE UP THEIR POSITION TO DEGREE THAT WOULD BE REQUIRED TO GIVE ADVANCE COMMITMENT ON TIME LIMIT FOR RELEASE REMAINING AMERICANS. BELIEVE IT WOULD BE MISTAKE TO INTERPRET WANG'S FLEXIBILITY ON WORDING "AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT" AS ANY INDICATION SOFTENING THEIR POSITION ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUE REMAINING AMERICANS.

WHILE AT MOMENT RISK MAY NOT SEEM GREAT I CONTINUE BE CONCERNED THAT THERE COULD AT ANY TIME BE DEVELOPMENT WHICH WOULD FURTHER DELAY RELEASE THOSE AMERICANS WHOSE RELEASE CAN NOW BE OBTAINED.

GOWEN

CES

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STATE
1955 AUG 31 PM 3 20
OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

154

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** 255

ACTION COPY

CONFIDENTIAL

Action Assigned to C/D/DIR

Action Taken 16953

Rec'd: AUGUST 31, 1955 9:38 P.M.

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

Action E

Info RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 661, AUGUST 31, 8 P.M.

FROM JOHNSON

1. I OPENED 12TH MEETING TODAY BY HANDING WANG REVISED DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT INCORPORATING CHANGES DEPTEL 654. FULL TEXT MY REMARKS AND DRAFT AS GIVEN WANG BEING FORWARDED AIR POUCH TOMORROW.

2. IN MY REMARKS I NOTED CHANGES FROM AND SIMILARITIES TO HIS AUGUST 25 DRAFT NOTING (A) I HAD ADDED "WILL FURTHER ADOPT APPROPRIATE MEASURES" TO PARAGRAPH 1 US SECTION THIS TO BE APPLICABLE TO AUTHORIZATION TO BE GIVEN GOI; (B) USE OF "WILL AUTHORIZE" IN PARAGRAPHS 2;(C) RESTORATION "IN ANY SUCH CASE" IN PARAGRAPH 2(A) TO MAKE CLEAR FUNCTIONS TO BE PERFORMED ONLY WITH REGARD TO THOSE WHO DESIRE RETURN; (D) DELETION "ON BEHALF OF GOVERNMENT OF" PARAGRAPHS 2(B) ON GROUNDS ASSISTANCE TO AMERICANS LARGELY FROM PRIVATE SOURCES. PRC COULD MAKE WHATEVER ARRANGEMENTS IT WISHED WITH GOI; AND (E) SUGGESTION RESTORATION JULY 25 LANGUAGE IN INTRODUCTORY PARA.

3. I CONCLUDED THAT ON IMPORTANT QUESTION TIME HIS PHRASE "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE" NOT SATISFACTORY AND URGED ACCEPTANCE "PROMPTLY" INSTEAD. I EMPHASIZED ESSENTIAL POINT WAS FOR BOTH TO CLEARLY UNDERSTAND WHAT TERM MEANT AND EXPRESSED HOPE HE WOULD BE ABLE DEFINE FOR ME MUCH MORE CLEARLY THAN IN PAST AND TERMS OF DEFINITE PERIOD OF TIME FURTHER APPROPRIATE MEASURES TO BE TAKEN BY HIS GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD ENABLE ALL DETAINED AMERICANS EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT RETURN.

4. WANG STUDIED OUR DRAFT CAREFULLY AND COMMENTED IN DETAIL.

A. HE SAID

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A. HE SAID "RETURN OF NATIONALS" HAD BEEN USED IN OUR AUGUST 16 DRAFT AND CONFORMED WITH ANNOUNCEMENT ON AGREED AGENDA MADE FOLLOWING FIRST MEETING AUGUST.

B. "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE" WAS TRANSLATION THEY DESIRED FOR CHINESE TERM (CHIN SU) AND THEY FELT "PROMPTLY" HAS FEELING OF COMPULSION. HE ADDED HOWEVER AS EACH SIDE HAD OWN OPINION ON APPROPRIATE WORD PERHAPS BEST FIND ANOTHER ENGLISH TRANSLATION WHILE RETAINING ORIGINAL CHINESE. HE SUGGESTED "EXPEDITIOUSLY".

C. IN PARAGRAPH 2 HE SAID TYEI# PHRASE "US AGREES THAT QGOI# ENTRIET# TO ASSIST" IMPLIED AUTHORIZATION. HOWEVER THEY WILLING DELETE "US AGREES" AND SIMPLY SAY "GOI WILL BE ENTRUSTED TO ASSIST". SINCE ANNOUNCEMENT COMES AS RESULT AMBASSADORIAL DISCUSSSIONS SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD IMPLY AGREEMENT ON PART OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS.

D. HE AGREED TO DELETION "ON BEHALF OF PRC (USA)" IN PARAGRAPHS 2(B). HE CONCLUDED THAT THEY HAD WITH THESE CHANGES MET REQUIREMENTS OUR SIDE TO A VERY LARG EXTENT.

5. I REPLIED THAT HIS DRAFT STILL CONTAINED WORD "ENTRUSTED" WHILE OURS CONTAINED "AUTHORIZED" WHICH EXPRESSES EXACTLY AND MORE CLEARLY WHAT EACH GOVERNMENT WILL DO. I ASKED IF HE WOULD BE WILLING USE "AUTHORIZE" IN PLACE OF "ENTRUSTED".

6. WANG SAID "AUTHORIZED" DID NOT CONVEY SAME FEELING OF POLITENESS TOWARD THIRD POWER WHICH THEY WERE TRYING TO INDICATE BY USING WORD "ENTRUST" WHICH IMPLIED REQUEST.

7. I SAID POSSIBLY WE COULD USE "REQUEST".

8. WANG OBJECTED BECAUSE "REQUEST" TOO HAD SOME FEELING OF AN ORDER IN CHINESE WHICH HE DID NOT DESIRE IN SPEAKING OF THIRD PARTY.

9. I AGREED

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9. I AGREED TO SEE IF WE COULD FIND A SUITABLE WORD. I THEN SAID IN INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH ANNOUNCEMENT WE SIMPLY RETURNED TO LANGUAGE OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS USED IN JULY 25TH ANNOUNCEMENT. AFTER CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION IN WHICH IT APPEARED HE WAS OBJECTING TO WORD "REPATRIATION" BUT NOT TO "CIVILIANS" I AGREED CONSIDER "RETURN" IN PLACE "REPATRIATION".

10. WANG THEN READ INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH LEAVING OUT "WHO DESIRE TO RETURN" FOLLOWING WORD "CIVILIANS".

11. I ASKED THAT "WHO DESIRE TO RETURN" BE INCLUDED. HE REPLIED IT WAS NATURALLY INCLUDED BY IMPLICATION AND HAD NOT APPEARED IN AGENDA ANNOUNCEMENT OF AUGUST 1ST. HE SAID NOT NECESSARY INCLUDE "WHO DESIRE TO RETURN" BECAUSE SO EXPLICITLY STATED IN SUCCEEDING PARAGRAPHS THAT ARRANGEMENT APPLIED TO PERSONS "WHO DESIRE TO RETURN". HE SAID INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH INTENDED GIVE GENERAL IDEA OF PROBLEM, DETAILS OF WHICH SPELLED OUT LATER.

12. I SAID I THOUGHT WE COULD AGREE TO ELIMINATION "WHO DESIRE TO RETURN" FROM INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH.

13. I THEN SUGGESTED IN PARAGRAPH 2. WE COULD USE WORD "INVITE" INSTEAD OF "ENTRUST". WANG AGREED TO USE OF "INVITE" IN ENGLISH TEXT AND SAID THEY WOULD KEEP ORIGINAL CHINESE (WEI T'O) WHICH MEANT SUBSTANTIALLY SAME.

14. I SAID I WOULD CONSIDER IT. WITH RESPECT HIS SUBSTITUTION "EXPEDITIOUSLY" FOR OUR WORD "PROMPTLY" I AGREED TO CONSIDER IT ALTHOUGH I DID NOT FEEL "PROMPTLY" HAD THE MEANING HE WAS GIVING IT. I THEN REPEATED THAT I CONSIDERED IT VITAL THAT WE HAVE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING WHAT THE WORD WILL MEAN WITH RESPECT TO RELEASE OF AMERICANS. I ADDED I WAS ANXIOUS FOR ANYTHING FURTHER HE COULD TELL ME CONCERNING TIMING THEIR RELEASE.

15. WANG

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15. WANG THEN RESORTED TO PREPARED STATEMENT. HE SAID THEY HAD CONSIDERED TEXT OF "AGREEMENT", AS A RESULT IT APPEARED WE WERE FUNDAMENTALLY AGREED ON WORDING AND EXPECTED NO FURTHER PROBLEMS IN WORDING. HE WELCOMED FACT THAT AS RESULT EFFORTS MADE, DISTANCE NOW DIVIDING US HAD BEEN LESSENED. HE SAID NOW WE SEEM TO BE RETURNING TO OLD PROBLEM OF TRYING TO DEFINE "EXPEDITIOUSLY" IN EXACT TERMS OF PERIOD OF TIME. HE SAID THEY HAD MADE CLEAR THEIR POSITION ON THIS OLD PROBLEM MANY TIMES, BUT AS I HAD RAISED QUESTION AGAIN, HE WOULD REPEAT THEIR VIEWPOINT. HE SAID IN PAST MEETINGS I HAD INSISTED THEY SHOULD RELEASE ALL AMERICANS IN A SPECIFIED TIME BEFORE IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND US COULD BE BROUGHT ABOUT. BUT IT WAS HIS OPINION SUCH A POSITION WAS DEVOID OF ANY JUSTIFICATION BECAUSE AMERICANS DETAINED NOT ORDINARY AMERICANS BUT VIOLATORS OF CHINESE LAW AND HANDLING THEIR CASES WAS CHINESE SOVEREIGN RIGHT. CHINESE HAD RELEASED 4 AMERICAN PRISONERS IN MAY AND 11 MORE BEFORE COMMENCEMENT THESE TALKS, BUT GUILTY PERSONS MUST BE TREATED ACCORDING TO CHINESE JURIDICAL PROCESS AND IMPOSSIBLE PREDICT TIME LIMIT FOR HANDLING THEIR CASES. CHINESE GOVERNMENT WOULD CONTINUE REVIEWS AND LENIENT POLICY WOULD BE EXTENDED ONLY IF AGREEMENT REACHED AND RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES IMPROVED.

16. HE SAID AT LAST MEETING I HAD CHARGED HIM WITH RELATING POLITICAL CONCESSIONS TO RELEASE AMERICANS. THIS ACCUSATION SURPRISED HIM SINCE AMERICANS CONCERNED WERE LAW BREAKERS. SHOWING LENIENCY TOWARD THEM AS RESULT IMPROVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WAS NOT "EXPLOITING THEM" FOR POLITICAL CONCESSIONS. ON CONTRARY HE SAID WE WERE ASKING FOR CONCESSIONS WHEN WE INSISTED ON REACHING AGREEMENT ONLY AFTER THEY RELEASED ALL AMERICANS. THEY HOPED AGREEMNT WOULD BE REACHED REGARDING CIVILIANS BUT THEY WOULD NEVER GIVE UP THEIR SOVEREIGN RIGHTS. HE THEN REPEATED FAMILIAR ARGUMENTS THAT: HIS SIDE HAD MADE GREATEST CONCESSIONS; HIS SIDE HAD PROVIDED LIST ALL AMERICANS; WE REFUSED LIST CHINESE; HIS SIDE WAS GIVING LENIENT TREATMENT AMERICANS BUT WE WERE OBSTRUCTING DEPARTURE ANY CHINESE AND THEY WERE GREATLY DISSATISFIED PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS. HE SAID VERY FEW AMERICANS IN CHINA

IN CHINA, AND CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAD OFFERED EASY AND SIMPLE SOLUTION THEIR RETURN. HOWEVER, CHINESE HAD "TENS OF THOUSANDS OF NATIONALS IN THE US" AND THEIR RETURN DEPENDED UPON US IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENT.

17. HE CONCLUDED BY SAYING WE HAD SPENT MUCH TIME ON TEXT AND HE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW IF WE COULD REACH AGREEMENT ON ANNOUNCEMENT TODAY.

18. I REPLIED I WAS VERY SORRY HIS STATEMENT DID NOT ADD ANYTHING TO WHAT HE HAD PREVIOUSLY SAID WHICH WOULD ENABLE US TO MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS TODAY. I HAD NOT SUGGESTED ANYTHING WHICH WOULD INFRINGE UPON THEIR SOVEREIGNTY AND IT WAS FOR THEM TO DECIDE WHAT THEY WOULD DO WITH RESPECT TO AMERICANS. I HAD NOT SAID WE WOULD NOT CONCLUDE UNDERSTANDING UNTIL ALL AMERICANS WERE RELEASED. I HAD MADE MANY CONCESSIONS, FIRST HOPING ALL AMERICANS WOULD BE RELEASED DURING TALKS, THEN THAT THEY WOULD BE RELASED SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH ANNOUNCEMENT AND NOW I WAS ASKING FOR INTERPRETATION OF WORD "EXPEDITIOUSLY" IN TERMS OF REASONABLE PERIOD OF TIME. I WAS DISAPPOINTED IT WAS STILL IMPOSSIBLE FOR HIM TO GIVE ME EVEN THAT STATEMENT.

19. I SAID HIS STATEMENTS REGARDING TEATMENT CHINESE IN US CALLED INTO QUESTION GOOD FAITH MY STATEMENTS THIS REGARD. I WAS SATISFIED FACTS NOT CORRECT BUT IF HE WOULD GIVE ME INFORMATION I WOULD IMMEDIATELY LOOK INTO ANY CASES HE KNEW OF.

20. WANG SAID PROBLEM NOW HAS BOILED DOWN TO QUESTION OF DEFINING "EXPEDITIOUSLY" IN TERMS OF A PERIOD OF TIME. HE SAID CHINESE SOVEREIGN RIGHT DID NOT PERMIT HIM TO SAY THEY WOULD RELEASE AMERICANS AT ANY GIVEN TIME IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR JURIDICAL PROCEDURE. IF THEY GAVE TOMORROW OR SOME OTHER TIME IN FUTURE NOT MUCH DIFFERENT FROM SAYING AMERICANS WOULD BE RELEASED RIGHT NOW. THEY COULD ONLY SAY THEY WOULD GIVE RESULTS WHEN REVIEWS COMPLETED AND WITH FAVORABLE CONDITIONS REVIEW WOULD BE CARRIED OUT VERY QUICKLY. THIS HE SAID WAS GREATEST

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GREATEST EXTENT TO WHICH HE COULD GO TODAY. HE THEN REPEATED HIS STATEMENT GREAT DISSATISFACTION REGARDING STATUS CHINESE NATIONALS IN US, COMPLAINED HIS GOVT HAD NO COMPLETE LIST AND THAT SINCE OPENING OF TALKS NOT A SINGLE CHINESE NATIONAL HAD BEEN ALLOWED FREELY TO RETURN TO CHINA. HE HAD MENTIONED CASE OF DR. TSIEN BUT EVEN HE NOT ABLE TO RETURN YET.

21. I TRIED TO PROBE FURTHER BY SAYING HE MUST HAVE SOMETHING IN MIND AS TO MEANING "EXPEDITIOUSLY". ~~HIS~~ GOVERNMENT MUST BE THINKING IN TERMS OF ONE WEEK, SEVERAL MONTHS OR SEVERAL YEARS.

22. WANG LAUGHED AND SAID NOTHING WOULD COME FROM DISCUSSION OF THIS POINT. THEY WOULD TALK ONLY ABOUT THINGS OF WHICH THEY WERE SURE. HOWEVER, IT WOULD BE EASY FOR HIM TO GIVE THE LENGTH OF SENTENCE OF EACH AMERICAN IMPRISONED. IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO SAY HOW MUCH THESE SENTENCES COULD BE SHORTEND. COL. ARNOLD WAS SENTENCED TO TEN YEARS AND YET WAS GIVEN EARLY RELEASE. SPEED-UP RELEASE AMERICANS LINKED WITH REACHING OF AGREEMENT AND IMPROVING RELATIONS.

23. I ASKED WHETHER HE COULD GIVE ME A DEFINITE TIME AFTER THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS ISSUED.

24. WANG REPLIED ISSUING OF ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD SHOW PROGRESS IN IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS WHICH WOULD HELP TO SETTLE REMAINING CASES.

25. I SAID IF HE COULD TELL US NOW ABOUT SOME CASES, WHY NOT GIVE US A DEFINITE TIME ON REMAINDER?

26. WANG SAID NOT POSSIBLE DEAL WITH ALL CASES AT ONCE OR GIVE THEM ALL SAME TREATMENT AS THEY DIFFERED IN VARIOUS RESPECTS. I THEN STATED I WAS SORRY NO FURTHER PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE

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BEEN MADE THIS MORNING AND HOPED HE WOULD TELL ME SOMETHING MORE DEFINITE AT NEXT MEETING. I SUGGESTED IN ORDER HE HAVE TIME FOR FULL CONSIDERATION THIS IMPORTANT QUESTION WE MEET ON TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6.

27. WANG AGREED IMMEDIATELY. SMILED AND SAID HE HOPED I WOULD HAVE GOOD NEWS FOR HIM.

GOWEN

WW

NOTE: # AS RECEIVED. WILL BE SERVICED ON REQUEST

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(155)

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3153

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

August 31, 1955

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
SEP 6 - 1955
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☒ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) B...ia-1-301
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☐ Review _____

OFFICIAL - INFORMAL
SECRET

Letter No. 6

Dear Walter:

I have received both your letters of August 26th and August 29th, and I am writing this this evening before getting off to an early start for Prague tomorrow morning.

I want you to know how tremendously helpful your letters are for the background and suggestions that they have contained, and I enormously appreciate the time that I know that they have taken in your extremely harried life.

Tell Herman that I certainly have noted his hand, and a very wise one it is indeed. My only regret is that he was not there to make it manifest sooner as I have had a feeling that I have been required to back-up to a degree that is very difficult, particularly at this stage. However, as I let myself go sufficiently to say in my summary telegram today, I feel that I have been fairly successful. Speaking very frankly, I feel that I have been required to back-up a long way from the line taken in the Department's 466, as well as the Department's 492, particularly with respect to this question of "nationals".

I also have a feeling that we are becoming increasingly reluctant to recognize the implications of having agreed to these talks. I am thoroughly in sympathy with doing everything possible to avoid all the apparent pitfalls but believe it hard to maintain the fiction that two Ambassadors can discuss and decide on matters without agreeing thereto.

As far as our position is concerned, I have tried to make my opinion very clear in my telegrams. I came here hoping and expecting, particularly in view of Chou En-lai's statement,

that we were

WAlter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director,
Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

that we were going to be able to obtain the reasonably prompt release of all Americans. I am now inclined to believe that we probably read more into Chou's statement than we should have and that this never was their real intention. I am inclined to think that what Chou was saying was that the number of Americans is small and their problem is relatively easy to settle compared with the problem of the large number of Chinese in the United States. Just as in the Korean armistice negotiations, they find it entirely impossible clearly to admit that any Chinese does not want to return to their Communist paradise. I also believe that there is a genuine inability to really understand the lack of restrictions upon return of Chinese from the United States. I therefore now believe that there has from the beginning and still continues to be a linkage between return of Chinese from the United States and ~~their~~ response to other efforts to "improve relations". However, as I have previously said, I also believe they recognize that prisoners have reached the point of diminishing returns and that they cannot play this line too far.

I would certainly not go so far as to say that they would never under any circumstances release all Americans simultaneously. (I believe that Wang was probably right in saying today that they regard a definite time period on the release of the remainder as being approximately equivalent to simultaneous release.) However, I do feel that they are still a very long way from this point.

The question, therefore, is whether or not we can expect and hope to work them up to this point within a reasonable period of time and without subjecting Americans whose release can now be obtained to undue risk of unreasonably prolonged detention. While frankly admitting to the narrow viewpoint of the man in the field, I am inclined to be very doubtful.

One aspect that worries me is that the longer we continue in the present deadlocked position, the more hardened positions on both sides tend to become and the more difficult it becomes to shift therefrom. Looking at it solely from the standpoint of the overall welfare of the detained Americans, I find it hard to work out the equation but believe it important that we do so. We are today able to obtain the release of X number of Americans and within the next month or two Y number may well have been added to that. How large the remaining Z will be I have no way of telling, but it will certainly include the three or four "difficult" cases. I am convinced that these latter cases are, under the best of circumstances, going to take a long time and doubt whether what we now have to offer under agenda item one is going to obtain their release. Of course I know that the answer is that under the present outlook neither under agenda item two are we going to be able to offer anything that would

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that would obtain their release. This may well be the case. However, should X and Y be indefinitely detained in what may be a futile effort to obtain Z?

Also it seems to me that the price we would be paying for X and Y is in reality very small. The third party arrangement is very limited in scope, and I believe that we would be in a position to withdraw it at any time that we considered it desirable.

There is a very small point which struck me today and which I am surprised Wang has not caught me up on - I have been pushing very hard the thesis that we came here to settle the repatriation of civilians, but in re-reading the July 25th announcement today, I was struck by the fact that it refers only to "in order to aid in settling the matter of repatriation..."

I am a little concerned that we may be permitting our bargaining positions to become our final position without enough ammunition in our belt to overcome the resistance.

With respect to the thought that we might go ahead and independently announce the Indian representation arrangement, it seems to me that this would be most unwise. If we are prepared to do this, we can get the U.K. representation in Communist China for whatever it is worth but, much more importantly, the release of at least a considerable number of Americans. If we do it independently while Wang and I are still negotiating here, it seems to me that we at the minimum set back the release of Americans whose release we could now obtain. I also wonder what the reaction of the Indians would be.

While I will appreciate any and all suggestions on arguments I might use with Wang, as I have run dry myself, I want to make it clear whatever debating satisfaction this may give, I do not believe that any arguments or logic, no matter how irrefutable, are in themselves going to produce any change in their position.

I hope that all of this does not sound too cynical or discouraged, but at this late hour in the evening I simply wanted to share with you very frankly and personally some of the thoughts that we are having here on the other side of the coin.

With kindest regards from all.

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

(156)

(7)
R

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
SEP 6 - 1955
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

September 1, 1955

Official - Informal
Confidential

Dear Walter:

I am enclosing copies of our draft agreed announcement and the Ambassador's statement explaining the changes in the draft, both of which were used at the 12th meeting with the Chinese Communists on August 31. These are the texts promised you in telegram No. 661, August 31st, paragraph one.

Alex is now in Prague and the rest of us are holding the fort here until his return Sunday night.

Sincerely,

Ralph N. Clough

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
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☐ Excise as shown) Basis 1.3(b)(1)
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again
☐ Reviewer _____ Date _____

Enclosures:

1. Draft Agreed Announcement
2. Ambassador's Remarks

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director,
Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State.

Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

Lot 72 D 415

AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S REMARKS
12th Meeting, August 31, 1955

Mr. Ambassador, I have given careful consideration to the draft of the agreed announcement which you gave me on August 25th and the observations which you made at that time.

I have prepared a new draft in which I have gone a long way to meet the points raised by your draft which departed somewhat from the suggestion which I had made.

You will note that although I consider it entirely unnecessary I have made the first paragraph of our respective statements identical in line with your views on the subject. Although, as I have often stated, I know of no further measures which my government needs to take in order thatChinese in the United States can promptly exercise their right to return, I have inserted the phrase "will further adopt appropriate measures" with the thought that this will be applicable to the authorization to be given to the Governmentof India.

You will also note that numbered paragraph (2) of our respective statements I have used the phraseology that our governments will authorize the Governmentof the United Kingdom, and the Government of the Republic of India, to assist the return to their respective countries of those who desire to do so. It seems to me that this much more accurately describes the exact situation since obviously neither of the third countries named could carry out these functions without the authorization of our respective governments. The essential element, therefore, is that our respective governments give this authorization and that this is clearly set forth in our respective statements.

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With respect to paragraph 2 (a) of our respective statements, I have made a slight addition to the last sentence of your draft in order to make it clear that these functions are to be performed only with regard to those persons who desire to return.

With respect to paragraph 2 (b), I have deleted the phrase in your draft "on behalf of the Government of the United States of America", in the one case, and "on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China", in the other case. In the case of Americans, any financial assistance in most cases would originate with the relatives or firms of the persons concerned. You are, of course, entirely free to make whatever arrangements you may desire for reimbursement by the Government of India and there is no reason for specifying this in our agreed announcement.

With respect to the introductory paragraph, I feel it appropriate that we retain the words contained in the statement issued by our two governments on July 25th announcing these talks.

You will note that I have accepted the revised wording which you suggested for paragraph (3) of our respective statements.

With reference to our discussion at our last meeting of the word "promptly" as used in the first paragraph of our respective statements, I have retained this word as I have not been able to think of any other that would be more

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appropriate. From the interpretation which you gave me at our last meeting of the Chinese term which you had suggested, it seems to me that "promptly" is the best and most adequate translation into the English. It does not in the English carry with it any connotation such as you suggested of command but rather carries the connotation of quickly or very quickly which I understood from you was the sense of the Chinese term. However, in the English usage it is a more appropriate word in a context such as this than simply the word "quickly" or "very quickly".

However, as I said at our last meeting, the essential point with respect to whichever term is used is that we both clearly understand what it means. I would hope that you would today be able to define for me much more clearly than you have in the past and in terms of a definite period of time the further appropriate measures mentioned in the draft of the agreed announcement which will enable all Americans now detained in your country to exercise their right to return.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (157)

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

00959 (256)

1955 SEP 2 6:30

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 677 PRIORITY

FOR JOHNSON

Your 658. 611.93/8-31 55

Agree text proposed announcement quoted REFTEL as good as can be expected. While we would like agreement as to time release Americans it should not be pressed so as to jeopardize agreement on proposed announcement. You should argue on Tuesday for time agreement but if not forthcoming you should indicate your agreement ad referendum that in next meeting PAREN presumably on Friday PAREN there should be agreement on announcement quoted REFTEL and manner and timing thereof without our insisting agreement on time release Americans. Make clear however that word QUOTE expeditiously QUOTE means just that and we expect announcement to be carried out in that sense. Would like your views on timing of publication of announcement. We believe announcement should be simultaneous Geneva, Peiping and Washington or Denver at agreed time.

FYI Following announcement we believe meetings should continue not oftener than twice a week at which the subject for discussion would be implementation and details and progress in carrying out agreed announcement. Discussion about item two should not be engaged in until it is clear that agreed announcement is initiated in good faith. Under such circumstances discussions can be had as to what should constitute item two on agenda. Such discussions should be recessed whenever it becomes apparent Communists are not carrying

Drafted by
:HPhleger/FE:WJSebald:mlw 8/2/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Herbert Hoover, Jr.

Clearances:
CA - W. P. McConaughy
Cleared in substance by the Secretary on Sept. 1
Cleared in substance by Mr. Robertson on Sept. 1 in Richmond

10992

S/S-CR

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SEP 2 1955 P.M.

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611.93/8-31 55

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carrying out agreed announcement in good faith.

Hoover
ACTING (PSB)

HOOVER

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10993

SECRET
Classification

OUTGOING TELEGRAM (158)

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State (257)

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

00980

1955 SEP 2 PM 6:52

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 678

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

111.93/8-3155

Your 661. You may ~~in~~ your discretion use following information in reply Wang's remarks on Chinese in US.

Paragraph 16: INS affirms no restraining orders in force since March 24 except in case Tsien, whose restraining order revoked August 3. Hence return to PRC of any Chinese National in US, and timing such return, depends on volition individual, not on implementation agreed announcement.

Paragraph 20: Wang's request for list all Chinese in US of course will not be considered. Tsien Hsue-shen, only specific case mentioned by Wang, has advised INS his intent depart Los Angeles September 17 aboard President Cleveland destination China mainland. ~~At your discretion, cite background~~ Tsien entered US as student in 1935, admitted for permanent resident in 1947. Has studied aeronautical engineering at institutes of techhology of Massachusetts and California. Has recently been engaged in research on rockets and jet propulsion and has worked on classified projects.

Also signifying intention depart same time same ship as Tsien are two other former restrainees, Li Cheng-wu and Lee Sun-hsiang. Kao Fa-ti (prevention order revoked March 24) departed August 27 aboard President Wilson destined Hong Kong. Presume his eventual destination is PRC.

Central Files

611.93/8-3155

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Drafted by: FE:CA:JPNagoski/DLOsborn/ikb 9/2/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

FE - Mr. Sebald

L - Mr. Phleger - Cleared in draft

10994 S/S-CR

SEP 2 1955

Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS SEP - 2 1955 ASSISTANT SECRETARY Department of State

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Chinese constantly being allowed freely depart US. From July 11, when initiative for Geneva talks occurred, to August 31, 83 Chinese Nationals departed US for Far East. No information now available how many these intended proceed Communist China, but obvious they completely free to do so, as far as US concerned.

Information (FYI from Hong Kong authorities END FYI) indicates 47 Chinese passed through Hong Kong in transit status to Communist China from US between January 1 and August 31. Figure does not include Chinese who may have entered Hong Kong without specifying intention proceed PRC, then crossed border.

" HOOVER "

ACTING

10995

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

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(159)

5-32

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☐ Releasable
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☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☐ Reviewer _____ Date 11/2/82

September 2, 1955

Letter No. 11

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

SECRET

Dear Alex:

Again there is a great rush on with just a few minutes to get this note to you in the pouch. The momentous telegram authorizing you to button up the Agreed Announcement at the next meeting on Tuesday the 6th is just going out. The Secretary personally reviewed, amended and approved this telegram before he left yesterday afternoon for a two week vacation at Duck Island. At his request I flew to Richmond yesterday afternoon to get WSR's approval. I had an hour and a half with him in Richmond. He readily gave his clearance.

You will be interested to know that when WSR read the latest text of the Agreed Announcement "cold", without having any of the recent background, he was amazed at what you had accomplished. He felt that we had just about written our own ticket so far as the phraseology went. The wording could hardly be better from our standpoint. He felt that we did not need to worry too much about fixing an express time limit in terms of so many days or weeks, in view of the very explicit terminology used in the Agreed Announcement. He observed that if the Communists did not release all the Americans "expeditiously" in the literal sense of the term, they would be in an absolutely indefensible

position

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

position. We would have the best club imaginable to beat them with. Not even their best apologists, such as the Indians, would excuse them if they failed to act promptly on all Americans. WSR thinks that their prestige is involved and they know it. They may have consciously and deliberately decided to release all the Americans in a hurry, if we allow them to do it in their own way and without any suggestion of an ultimatum in terms of so many days. It would seem to be part of their general diplomatic campaign to win widespread acceptance and respectability.

WSR thinks it very important for you not to simply in any way that we think it might take sixty or ninety days to complete the implementation. "Expeditiously" obviously means a shorter time than that. There is a chance that the Americans might be released practically en masse in ten days or two weeks. This is what it ought to mean. If we show that we don't really expect them to move with celarity probably they won't, but if we make it clear that we take speedy action for granted, they will be put on their mettle, and probably live up to what is expected of them on this since it fits in with their accelerated diplomatic campaign. Obviously you don't put them on their honor because you expect them to act for honor's sake, but sometimes it may serve their calculated purposes to deliver when they are put on their honor, and this may be such an instance.

It is clearly important not to get into the <u>substance</u> of Item Two until all the Americans are out. When we talk about "discussion about Item Two" and "what should constitute Item Two" we mean the topics

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that might be appropriate for acceptance under Item Two. Even this discussion of what would be appropriate topics should be recessed if the Agreed Announcement is not carried out in good faith. WSR's last injunction to me in Richmond yesterday afternoon was to stress the importance of not getting into actual substance of Item Two until all the Americans are out and that includes of course the hard-core cases. We would probably never get the most difficult cases out if we move into Item two while they are still held.

We probably won't inform the Indians of the contemplated arrangements until after the Tuesday meeting. We have already informed the British and they are ready to assume their role.

Joe Nagoski is working full time on the assembling of information on Chinese in this country who have been assisted, who have left, and who are about to leave. A wealth of information is available and it will be sent to you as it seems needful. Herman Phleger thinks there is enough grist to keep the mill going for sometime if needed.

WSR is to return to the Department on Tuesday the 6th. Carl McCardle is on leave and Bob McIlvaine will help us handle the press and public relations aspects which will undoubtedly involve some problems. The Secretary said yesterday that probably we should have some sort of backgrounder for the press when the Agreed Announcement comes out making it particularly clear just what the limitations are and what the announcement does not signify.

We are getting out a circular to all our Chiefs of Mission from the Secretary right after the announcement is released, spelling out for them that the Agreement does not signify any relaxation

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to our opposition to recognition or UN seating of Communist China, and that there is no change in our policy of support of the GRC. The circular will also point out that the continued Chinese Communist military build-up in the South China coastal area and their direct and indirect support of threat of force and subversion against the Governments of Korea, Vietnam and Laos are serious unsettling factors in the general Far Eastern situation.

Bill and I were particularly happy to see the Secretary's personal telegram of commendation to you. It is well deserved and it means a lot. Congratulations and regards,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

(258)

(160)

Action Assigned to CA/DIR

Action Taken Reply sent as Dept's 682

23-H

SECRET

Action FE

Info RMR

Control: 1860
Rec'd: September 3, 1955 2:51 p.m.

Action Office Symbol FE
Name of Officer W. J. Sebald
Direction to DC/R file

This Document must be Returned to the RM/R Central Files

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 672, September 3, 6 p.m.

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

Re: DEPTEL 677

Following are my preliminary thoughts on timing announcement:

Had assumed Department continued desire release "agreed announcement" by Wang and me here accordance paragraph 6, DEPTEL 391. "Agreed announcement" drafted in this form. Simultaneous release Washington or Denver and Peiping would it seems to me tend give intergovernmental character which we been trying avoid. Also would be very difficult coordinate three way simultaneous timing between Peiping Geneva and Washington or Denver. Would probably require several negotiating sessions with Wang with ever present possibility leaks and would in fact delay announcement and release Americans after substantive agreement had been reached.

One aspect to be kept in mind is that CHICOMs will if given any opportunity attempt, as with flyers, steal show with magnanimous unilateral gesture of release Americans prior release "agreed announcement".

My thought is that only at Friday's meeting would I reach final agreement with Wang on "agreed announcement", he will thereupon in same meeting inform me of Americans being released. (Wang would presumably do same.) In this way Peiping would be forestalled from making any prior statement on release Americans as they would not finally know until meeting whether or not I would in fact agree to "agreed announcement".

I should think that Washington or Denver should be prepared make text "agreed announcement" available immediately upon confirmation release accomplished here together with any comments that might be considered desirable.

Would appreciate Department's guidance prior Tuesday meeting.

SW:JJ GOWEN

NOTE: Advance copy to Mr. Hodge (CA) 3:45 p.m. 9/3/55 CWO/FED

Copy II 11 sent to FE 9/11/55 PL

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611.93/9-355 PA

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FILED FEB 17 1959

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1955 SEP 3 PM 6 46

DC/T

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SENT TO: AMCONSUL, GENEVA PRIORITY 682

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

REUR 672. In light very cogent reasons set forth REFTEL we concur QTE agreed announcement UNQTE should be released by you and Wang accordance paragraph 6 DEPTEL 391.

We also concur tactics for Friday's meeting suggested REFTEL but would hope DEPT could be informed immediately annouhcement made Geneva thus enabling public relations aspect be taken care of in Washington and possibly Denver almost simultaneously with Geneva announcement.

"HOOVER"

Hoover

ACTING

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CS/M
SECRET FILE

Drafted by: FE:WJSebald:mtb 9/3/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Herbert Hoover, Jr.

Clearances:

G - Mr. Murphy

10996

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Classification

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162

260

16-D
Action
FE
Info
RMR

SECRET

Control 2009
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 4, 1955
10:10 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 673, SEPTEMBER 4, 2 PM

1/10

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

WOULD APPRECIATE AMPLIFICATION LAST THREE SENTENCES SECOND PARA DEPTEL 677.

AM I CORRECT IN UNDERSTANDING THAT OUR PURPOSE AT THAT STAGE WOULD BE ATTEMPT DRAW WANG INTO DISCUSSION WHICH WOULD HAVE PURPOSE AGREEMENT ON SUBPOINTS TO BE DISCUSSED UNDER AGENDA ITEM TWO WITH IMPLICATION SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION SUBPOINTS ONLY AFTER RELEASE ALL AMERICANS?

GOWEN

SW

NOTE: Mr. Rinden (FE/DO) informed 10:35 a.m. 9/4/55 CWO/FED

CR/O'R

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FEB 17 1959

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (163)

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☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

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01655 (267)

SENT TO: AMCONSUL, GENEVA PRIORITY 685

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

Your 673. Our 677 intended map out general approach during period immediately following release of agreed announcement and in endeavor make possible reasonable time during which we can determine whether CHICOMS are carrying out their agreed announcement in good faith. For this purpose we envisage possibility discussing implementation, details and progress of CHICOM undertaking during at least several meetings. If agreed announcement then being carried out in good faith we have no objection beginning discussion about repeat about item two with view determining what should constitute item two on agenda.

We do not now wish foreshadow when substantive discussion subpoints of agenda item two might begin.

HOOVER
ACTING

CS/A

Drafted by: FE:CA:WJSebald:mtb 9/5/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Herbert Hoover, Jr.

Clearances:
CA - Mr. Hodge

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164 263

15-14

Action FE

Info RMR

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 2458 Assigned to CR/DIR
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 6, 1955
11:54 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 678, SEPTEMBER 6, 2 P.M.

NIACT

FROM JOHNSON

TWO HOUR AND TWENTY MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING. WANG OPENED WITH STATEMENT ON AMERICANS GRANTED EXIT PERMITS.

I RENEWED REQUEST FOR TIME LIMIT ON RELEASE IMPRISONED AMERICANS, POINTED OUT STILL NONE ABLE DEPART, MEASURES TAKEN BY MY GOVERNMENT WITHOUT CONDITION PERMIT CHINESE DEPART, 83 DEPARTED SINCE JULY 11, ETC.

WANG REPEATED HIS FORMER LINE THIS SUBJECT FROM PREPARED STATEMENT AND AFTER SOME GIVE AND TAKE ALONG FAMILIAR LINES I ASKED SERIES QUESTIONS ON " EXPEDITIOUS" CONFIRMATION IMPRISONED AMERICANS WHOSE CASES REVIEWED WOULD BE ABLE PROMPTLY DEPART ON ISSUANCE "AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT" ETC TO WHICH HE MADE REPLIES IDENTICAL WITH HIS PREVIOUS STATEMENTS.

I THEN INDICATED I WAS PREPARED RECOMMEND MY GOVERNMENT AUTHORIZE ME ACCEPT "AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT" AND DESIRED COMPARE TEXTS WITH HIM. I GAVE HIM TEXT WHICH I POINTED OUT REPRESENTED MY UNDERSTANDING OUR DISCUSSION LAST MEETING, INTRODUCED NO NEW CHANGES, AND HOPED WE COULD ISSUE AFTER NEXT MEETING.

AFTER STUDYING MY DRAFT AND DISCUSSION OF A FEW SMALL NITPICKS OF WHICH HE ACCEPTED MY VERSION, DISCUSSION CENTERED AROUND "NOW" IN PARA ONE PRC SECTION AND "IN ANY SUCH CASE" IN PARAS TWO BOTH SECTIONS, HE REQUESTING DELETION. I POINTED OUT HE HAD RAISED NO QUESTION ON "IN ANY SUCH CASE" LAST MEETING, AND HE NOTED I HAD NOT CALLED THEIR ATTENTION TO "NOW" AT LAST MEETING.

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-2- 678, SEPTEMBER 6, 2 P.M., FROM GENEVA

ONLY VOICED OBJECTION TO "IN ANY SUCH CASE" WAS THAT IT WAS CLEAR WITHOUT IT AND PHRASE WAS THEREFORE "UNNECESSARY". IN REPLY MY DIRECT QUESTION SAID DID NOT OBJECT IN PRINCIPLE TO PHRASE AND I PRESSED MY ADVANTAGE TO MAXIMUM. HIS ARGUMENTATION WAS WEAK AND HE SEVERAL TIMES APPEARED TO WAVER TOWARD ACCEPTING PHRASE BUTAPPEARED HE HAD RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS SINCE OUR LAST MEETING AND HE WAS NOT CLEAR WHETHER HE WAS ABLE CONCEDE.

OPPOSITION TO "NOW" IN PRC SECTION WAS VERY MUCH STRONGER, IMPLICATION OF WORD NOT IN ACCORDANCE FACTS AS FAR AS PRC CONCERNED, COULD NEVER ACCEPT THIS WORD ETC. I POINTED OUT ALWAYS INCLUDED OUR DRAFTS, WHILE NOT IN PRC DRAFTS, THEY HAD NOT AT LAST MEETING OR PREVIOUSLY SPECIFICALLY RAISED ISSUE, DID NOT DO VIOLENCE TO EVEN THEIR INTERPRETATION FACTS ETC. CLEARLY HIS INSTRUCTIONS ON THIS VERY CATEGORICAL AND ALTHOUGH I USED TO MAXIMUM MY VERY STRONG NEGOTIATION POSITION WAS ENTIRELY UNABLE SHAKE HIM.

HE WAS VERY ANXIOUS PROPOSE NEXT MEETING BE SATURDAY AND I AGREED.

GOWEN

CES

Note: Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 1:20 pm 9/6/55 (DES)

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1955 SEP 6 PM 2 30
OF
AFFAIRS

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165

25
Action

CONFIDENTIAL

268

Control: 2620
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 6, 1955
4:21 PM

IO
Info
RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 682, SEPTEMBER 6, 6 PM

Action Assigned to CADR

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

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FROM JOHNSON

1. FOLLOWING VERBATIM TEXT DRAFT "AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT" GIVEN WANG MEETING SEPTEMBER 6:

2. "AMBASSADORS OF USA AND PRC HAVE AGREED TO ANNOUNCE MEASURES WHICH THEIR GOVERNMENTS HAVE ADOPTED CONCERNING RETURN OF CIVILIANS TO THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES.

3. WITH RESPECT TO CHINESE IN US, AMBASSADOR U. ALEXIS JOHNSON, ON BEHALF OF US, HAS INFORMED AMBASSADOR WANG PING-NAN THAT: (1) US RECOGNIZES THAT CHINESE IN US WHO DESIRE TO RETURN TO PRC ARE (NOW) ENTITLED TO DO SO AND DECLARES THAT IT HAS ADOPTED AND WILL FURTHER ADOPT APPROPRIATE MEASURES SO THAT THEY CAN EXPEDITIOUSLY EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN. (2) GOVERNMENT OF REPUBLIC OF INDIA WILL BE INVITED TO ASSIST IN RETURN TO PRC OF THOSE CHINESE WHO DESIRE TO DO SO AS FOLLOWS:

A. IF ANY CHINESE IN US BELIEVES THAT CONTRARY TO DECLARED POLICY OF US HE IS ENCOUNTERING OBSTRUCTION IN DEPARTURE, HE MAY SO INFORM EMBASSY OF REPUBLIC OF INDIA IN US AND REQUEST IT TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS ON HIS BEHALF TO US GOVERNMENT. IF DESIRED BY PRC, GOVERNMENT OF REPUBLIC OF INDIA MAY ALSO INVESTIGATE FACTS IN ANY SUCH CASE.

B. IF ANY CHINESE IN THE US WHO DEIRES TO RETURN TO THE PRC HAS DIFFICULTY IN PAYING HIS RETURN EXPENSES, THE GOVERNMENT OF REPUBLIC OF INDIA MAY RENDER HIM FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE NEEDED TO PERMIT HIS RETURN.

(3) THE US GOVERNMENT WILL GIVE WIDE PUBLICITY TO THE FOREGOING ARRANGEMENTS AND THE EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA

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FEB 17 1959

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INDIA IN THE US MAY ALSO DO SO.

4. WITH RESPECT TO AMERICANS IN THE PRC, AMBASSADOR WANG PING-NAN, ON BEHALF OF THE PRC, HAS INFORMED AMBASSADOR U. ALEXIS JOHNSON THAT:

(1) THE PRC RECOGNIZES THAT AMERICANS IN THE PRC WHO DESIRE TO RETURN TO THE US ARE NOW ENTITLED TO DO SO, AND DECLARES THAT IT HAS ADOPTED AND WILL FURTHER ADOPT APPROPRIATE MEASURES SO THAT THEY CAN (#).

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UK WILL BE INVITED TO ASSIST IN THE RETURN TO THE US OF THOSE AMERICANS WHO DESIRE TO DO SO AS FOLOWS:

A. IF ANY AMERICAN IN THE PRC BELIEVES THAT CONTRARY TO THE DECLARED POLICY OF THE PRC HE IS ENCOUNTERING OBSTRUCTION IN DEPARTURE, HE MAY SO INFORM THE OFFICE OF THE CHARGE D' AFFAIRES OF THE UK IN THE PRC AND REQUEST IT TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS ON HIS BEHALF TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC. IF DESIRED BY THE US, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UK MAY ALSO INVESTIGATE THE FACTS IN ANY SUCH CASE.

B. IF ANY AMERICAN IN THE PRC WHO DESIRES TO RETURN TO THE US HAS DIFFICULTY IN PAYING HIS RETURN EXPENSES, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UK MAY RENDER HIM FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE NEEDED TO PERMIT HIS RETURN.

(3) THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRC WILL HAVE WIDE PUBLICITY TO THE FOREGOING ARRANGEMENTS AND THE OFFICE OF THE CHARGE D' AFFAIRS OF THE UK IN THE PRC MAY ALSO DO SO".

GOWEN

JJ

(#) OMISSION, CORRECTION TO FOLLOW

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CORRECTED PAGE TWO
~~9-7-55, 3 p.m.~~
Control number 2620

Action -2- 682, September 6, 6 p.m. from Geneva

TO India in the United States may also do so.

Info RMR

4. With respect to Americans in the PRC, Ambassador Wang Ping Nan, on behalf of the PRC, has informed Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson that:

(1) The PRC recognizes that Americans in the PRC who desire to return to the United States are now entitled to do so, and declares that it has adopted and will further adopt appropriate measures so that they can expeditiously exercise their right to return.

2. The Government of the United Kingdom will be invited to assist in the return to the United States of those Americans who desire to do so as follows:

A. If any American in the PRC believes that contrary to the declared policy of the PRC he is encountering obstruction in departure, he may so inform the office of the Charge D' Affaires of the United Kingdom in the PRC and request it to make representations on his behalf to the Government of the PRC. If desired by the United States, the Government of the United Kingdom may also investigate the facts in any such case.

B. If any American in the PRC who desires to return to the United States has difficulty in paying his return expenses, the Government of the United Kingdom may render him financial assistance needed to permit his return.

. The Government of the PRC will have wide publicity to the foregoing arrangements and the office of the Charge d' Affaires of the United Kingdom in the PRC may also do so."

Action Assigned to GOWEN

Action Taken Noted

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166

264

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Control: 2559
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 6, 1955
3:13 PM

Action Assigned to CA/DIR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 684, SEPTEMBER 6, 6 PM

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

WITH RESPECT TO REMAINING TWO DISPUTED POINTS IN "AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT" I FEEL WE MUST AND CAN RETAIN "IN ANY SUCH CASE". QWANG'S MOTIVE FOR DELETION IS CLEAR EVEN THOUGH HIS ARGUMENTATION IS WEAK AND THERE IS NO REASON WE SHOULD CONCEDE.

I DO NOT FEEL "NOW" IS OF SAME ORDER IMPORTANCE.

IT ORIGINALLY APPEARED IN DEPTEL 492 WHICH WAS DRAFTED IN FORM JOINT STATEMENT IN ORDER MEET POINT CONTAINED PARA 4 DEPTEL 466. SINCE THEN WE HAVE SHIFTED TO "AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT" FORM OF UNILATERAL STATEMENTS WHICH DO NOT HAVE FORCES OF INTERGOVERNMENT AL AGREEMENT AND WHICH IT SEEMS TO ME WE ARE FREE RENOUNCE ANY TIME WE CONSIDER SUCH ACTION JUSTIFIABLE AND DESIRABLE.

SINCE THAT TIME I HAVE CONTINUED TO USE WORD WITH THOUGHT THAT IN PRC RPT PRC SECTION IT SIGNIFIED ALL AMERICANS WERE AS OF DATE OF STATEMENT ABLE TO DEPART. WE ARE NOW ACCEPTING SITUATION IN WHICH THIS NOT CASE AND FROM STANDPOINT AMERICANS IN PRISON KEY PORTION PARA IS "WILL FURTHER ADOPT APPROPRIATE MEASURES" AND "EXPEDITIOUSLY".

WHILE AT TODAY'S MEETING WANG ARGUED FOR ITS DELETION FROM ONLY PRC SECTION AND MAY WELL ARGUE FOR ITS RETENTION

US SECTION HIS MOTIVES ARE OF COURSE ENTIRELY DIFFERENT FROM OURS. CERTAINLY IF RETAINED IN OUR SECTION THEY WILL CITE AS ADMISSION

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AS ADMISSION CHINESE HAVE IN PAST NOT BEEN FREE LEAVE US.

THEREFORE BELIEVE IT SHOULD BE EITHER RETAINED OR DELETED IN BOTH SECTIONS AND THAT ITS DELETION FROM BOTH SECTIONS WOULD NOT MATERIALLY WEAKEN FORCE OF ANNOUNCEMENT. MY ABILITY ACCEPT DELETION WOULD ALSO OF COURSE STRENGTHEN MY NEGOTIATING POSITION FOR RETENTION OF "IN ANY SUCH CASE".

ALSO SEEMS TO ME OUR INTEREST NOW LIES IN GETTING ANNOUNCEMENT ISSUED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE SO AS ACCOMPLISH RELEASE SOME AMERICANS AND BRING INTO PLAY PUBLIC PRESSURE ON PRC FOR "EXPEDITIOUS" RELEASE REMAINDER.

GOWEN

JJ

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(265)

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Control: 2757
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 6, 1955
11:14 P.M.

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

Action
RE

Info
RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 687, SEPTEMBER 6, 7 P.M. (SECTION ONE OF THREE)

FROM JOHNSON.

1. WANG OPENED 13TH MEETING TODAY WITH STATEMENT THAT 12 AMERICANS WHO WE HAD SAID WERE BEING DETAINED WOULD BE FREE TO LEAVE. HE SAID ON BASIS REVIEWS COMPLETED FOLLOWING SEVEN AMERICANS COULD LEAVE ANY TIME: EMMA A. BARRY, RALPH S. BOYD, JUANITA B. HUANG, ROBERT H. PARKER, MR. AND MRS. HOWARD L. RICKS AND EVA STELLA DUGAY. TWO ROMANOFFS WHO HAD RECENTLY APPLIED EXIT PERMITS COULD ALSO LEAVE. CHARLES MINER, NOW IN PROCESS CLEARING UP DEBTS INCURRED BY FIRMS IN HIS CHARGE, WAS BEING GIVEN EVERY ASSISTANCE BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND SHOULD BE ABLE TO COMPLETE PROCEDURES IN TWO OR THREE MONTHS, AT WHICH TIME HE ALSO FREE TO LEAVE. JAMES EDWARD WALSH HAD NOT APPLIED FOR EXIT PERMIT, BUT SINCE NOT KNOWN TO BE INVOLVED IN ANY UNSETTLED CASES, HE ALSO FREE TO LEAVE. MRS. HUIZER NOT ON LIST OF AMERICANS IN CHINA AND CLAIMED BY DUTCH REPS AS DUTCH CITIZEN, HOWEVER, SHE FREE TO LEAVE ALSO AND HE SAID LATER HER HUSBAND MAKING ARRANGEMENTS WIND UP AFFAIRS SO HE TOO WOULD BE ABLE DEPART. HE ADDED THAT CASES OF REMAINING AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES ARE DIFFERENT FROM THESE TWELVE. WHEN AGREEMENT REACHED, THEIR CASES WILL BE REVIEWED AND IN LIGHT CIRCUMSTANCES OF EACH AND LENIENT ATTITUDE HIS GOVT REVIEWS WILL BE QUICKLY CONDUCTED AND WE WILL BE INFORMED UPON COMPLETION.

2. I SAID I APPRECIATED THE INFORMATION HE HAD GIVEN RE AMERICANS NOW FREE TO DEPART. I THEN ASKED IF I WAS CORRECT IN UNDERSTANDING THAT CHINESE COMMUNISTS HAD COMPLETED REVIEWS SOME CASES CIVILIANS ACCUSED OF COMMITTING CRIMES AND THAT HE WOULD INFORM ME THEIR NAMES AT TIME WHEN AGREEMENT REACHED ON AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

3. WANG AGREED.

4. I ASKED

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4. I ASKED IF THOSE AMERICANS WHOSE CASES HAD BEEN REVIEWED WOULD THEN BE ABLE TO LEAVE PROMPTLY.

5. HE AGREED.

6. I THEN SAID THIS BROUGHT US TO WHAT HE HAD TERMED THE "OLD QUESTION" OF TIME IT WILL REQUIRE FOR HIS GOVERNMENT TO COMPLETE REVIEW OF REMAINDER CASES. THIS CENTRAL QUESTION I HAD RAISED IN SECOND MEETING AND WE HAD BEEN DISCUSSING IT EVER SINCE. I COULD SEE NO COMPELLING REASON WHY HIS GOVT COULD NOT IF IT WISHED RELEASE THESE PERSONS IMMEDIATELY. NEVERTHELESS I WAS WILLING ACCEPT SIMPLE STATEMENT OF REASONABLE LENGTH OF TIME DURING WHICH RELEASE COULD BE COMPLETED. BUT HE HAD ONLY TOLD ME THAT CASES REMAINING AMERICANS WOULD BE DEALT WITH "EXPEDITIOUSLY". I HAD NO WAY OF KNOWING WHAT HE MEANT BY THIS TERM. FURTHERMORE HE IMPLIED IT DEPENDANT UPON FULFILMENT VARIOUS CONDITIONS. THESE CONDITIONS WERE SUCH THAT HIS GOVT COULD AT ANY TIME HALT RELEASE AMERICANS MERELY BY ALLEGING ONE OR MORE CONDITIONS NOT BEING FULFILLED. HE WAS ASKING MY GOVT ACCEPT MOST UNSATISFACTORY ARRANGEMENT. WE BEING ASKED TAKE CERTAIN CONCRETE ACTION IN ADDITION STEPS ALREADY TAKEN TO ASSIST DEPARTURE CHINESE WISHING RETURN. HOWEVER HE GIVING ME ONLY VAGUE PROMISE RE PERSONS DESCRIBED AS HAVING COMMITTED CRIMES. ANY REASONABLE PERSON WOULD UNDERSTAND MY GOVT'S RELUCTANCE ACCEPT SUCH VAGUE ARRANGEMENT.

7. I SAID HE FREQUENTLY REFERRED TO SO-CALLED OBSTRUCTIONS HINDERING DEPARTURE CHINESE FROM US. I WAS SATISFIED THESE SO-CALLED OBSTRUCTIONS NOTHING MORE THAN NORMAL PROBLEMS ANYONE ENCOUNTERED WHEN HE MOVED FROM ONE COUNTRY TO ANOTHER. BETWEEN JULY 11 AND AUGUST 31, 83 CHINESE HAD DEPARTED US FOR FAR EAST. IT WAS THUS CLEAR THAT ANY CHINESE PERFECTLY FREE DEPART US FOR HIS COUNTRY OR ANY OTHER DESTINATION. I EMPHASIZED MY GOVT TOOK ALL MEASURES NECESSARY THIS END WITHOUT CONDITION. WE KNOW NUMBER THESE PERSONS REACHED HIS COUNTRY BECAUSE THEIR ARRIVAL REPORTED OFFICIAL BROADCASTS. I CONTRASTED THIS FACT WITH SITUATION FACING AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY AND FACT THAT NOT ONE AMERICAN CIVILIAN HAD BEEN ABLE DEPART DURING PERIOD OUR DISCUSSIONS. THAT IS WHY IT WAS SO IMPORTANT TO KNOW IN MORE EXACT TERMS WHAT EFFECT ARRANGEMENTS

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ARRANGEMENTS AGREED UPON HERE WOULD HAVE ON AMERICANS ACCUSED OF HAVING COMMITTED CRIMES.

P. WANG REPLIED HE HAD CLEARLY, EXPLICITLY ELABORATED HIS POSITION AND HE CONSIDERED RENEWAL DEMAND FOR SPECIFIC PERIOD TIME IN WHICH AMERICANS WOULD BE RELEASED SERVED NO USEFUL PURPOSE IN THESE TALKS. IN REFERENCE STATEMENT AT LAST MEETING HE DENIED QUESTIONING MY GOOD FAITH ON STATEMENTS I HAD MADE CONCERNING ACTION TAKEN BY MY GOVT PERMIT CHINESE FREELY DEPART. ALTHOUGH HE HAD INFORMATION CHINESE NATIONALS AND STUDENTS DEPARTURE STILL BEING OBSTRUCTED HE NOW PREPARED ACCEPT MY STATEMENT THERE WERE NOW NO RESTRICTIONS ON THEIR DEPARTURE AND THEREFORE WILLING ACCEPT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. DESPITE MY STATEMENT 83 CHINESE DEPARTED US, NONE HAD LEFT US AND ARRIVED IN CHINA SINCE TALKS BEGAN AND ALL THOSE RECENTLY ARRIVED HAD LEFT PRIOR OPENING OF TALKS.

GOWEN

WVC

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Action Assigned to [illegible]

Action Taken

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Action
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Info
RMR

Control: 2745
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 6, 1955
Date Received
10:30 P.M.
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 687, SEPTEMBER 6, 7 P.M., (SECTION 2 OF 3)

9. WANG THEN READ PREPARED STATEMENT GOING OVER OLD GROUND REPEATING THAT IF WE CONTINUED INSIST ON RELEASE GUILTY AMERICAN CIVILIANS WITHIN SPECIFIED TIME THIS RAISED QUESTION HIS GOOD FAITH, VIOLATED HIS COUNTRY'S SOVEREIGNTY, WAS UTTERLY UNREASONABLE, AND COULD NOT POSSIBLE BE MET. HE SAID HE HAD ANNOUNCED GRANTING EARLY RELEASE 11 AIRMEN AND TODAY THAT EXIT PERMITS WOULD BE GRANTED 12 MORE. ALSO, ONCE AGREEMENT REACHED, REVIEWS REMAINDER CASES WOULD PROCEED. ALL THESE ACTS SHOWED THEY HAD REPEATEDLY MADE EFFORTS RESOLVE QUESTION RETURN AMERICAN NATIONALS.

10. I INTERJECTED HE SAID 12 BUT ACTUALLY MINER NOT ABLE LEAVE IMMEDIATELY.

11. WANG REPLIED MINER BEING ASSISTED EVERY WAY POSSIBLE BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND SPEED SETTLEMENT WAS INFLUENCED BY HIS OWN EFFORTS, HE SAID IF, AS IN MINER'S CASE, IT WERE POSSIBLE FOR THEM TO GIVE DEFINITE PERIOD OF TIME THEY WOULD DO SO BUT THEY COULD NEVER GIVE DEFINITE TIME REGARDING ALL CASES. HE SAID THEIR SOLUTION EXPLICIT AND CLEAR AND NO QUESTION OF VAGUENESS IN TERMS THEY USED. BUT IF WE INSISTED ON DEFINITION OF PERIOD OF TIME, THEN IT WOULD NOT POSSIBLE FOR TALKS TO MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS.

12. I ASKED IF MY UNDERSTANDING CORRECT THAT HIS STATEMENT CASES OF AMERICANS COULD "EASILY BE SOLVED" APPLIED ALSO TO THOSE ACCUSED OF CRIMES.

13. WANG SAID IN LIGHT OF CONDITIONS MENTIONED BEFORE THEIR CASES ALSO WOULD EASILY BE SOLVED.

14. I SAID I ALSO UNDERSTOOD THEIR CASES WOULD BE EXPEDITIOUSLY HANDLED IN

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HANDLED IN CONFORMITY WITH DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. HE AGREED.

15. I SAID I UNDERSTOOD WITH RESPECT TO PERIOD OF TIME IT WOULD NOT BEAR ANY RELATIONSHIP TO TIME IT HAD TAKEN IN PAST TO SOLVE SOME OF THESE CASES.

16. HE ANSWERED THAT IF AGREEMENT REACHED AND RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES IMPROVED AND CONDUCT OF PERSONS CONCERNED WAS GOOD THEN HANDLING OF THEIR CASES WOULD BE EASIER.

17. I THEN TOLD HIM I COULD NOT CONSIDER HIS STATEMENTS SATISFACTORY TO MY GOVERNMENT. NEVERTHELESS IN LIGHT OF INFORMATION GIVEN ME THS MORNING AND RELYING ON HIS STATEMENTS REMAINING CASES COULD BE EASILY AND EXPEDITIOUSLY RESOLVED, I WAS PREPARED RECOMMEND MY GOVERNMENT CONSIDER AUTHORIZING ME AGREE ON ANNOUNCEMENT ALONG LINES WORDING DISCUSSED AT LAST MEETING. I WOULD DO THIS ALSO ON UNDERSTANDING WHEN WE REACHED AGREEMENT ON WORDING ANNOUNCEMENT, WHICH I HOPED MIGHT BE AT NEXT MEETING, HE WOULD IMMEDIATELY INFORM ME RESULTS REVIEWS COMPLETED CASES OF PERSONS ACCUSED HAVING COMMITTED CRIMES. I THEN GAVE HIM TEXT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT (MYTEL 682) SAYING IT INTRODUCED NO NEW CHANGES.

18. AFTER STUDYING TEXT, WANG SUGGESTED USE FULL TERM "USA" INSTEAD OF US THROUGHOUT. AFTER MY EXPLANATION NORMAL PRACTICE USE ABBREVIATED FORM AFTER FIRST MENTION, HE AGREED. AFTER FIRST OBJECTING TO DELETION PHRASE "THE GOVERNMENT OF" FROM INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH EACH SECTION HE FINALLY ACCEPTED DELETION.

19. WANG OBJECTED TO INCLUSION PHRASE "IN ANY SUCH CASE" CONCLUSION PARA 2(A). HE SAID VERY CLEAR FROM CONTEXT WHICH CASES REFERRED TO THEREFORE UNNECESSARY SPECIFY BY ADDING PHRASE.

20. WANG

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20. I ASKED IF HE AGREED WITH SENSE OF PHRASE BUT NOT THE WORDS. WHEN HE AGREED, I SAID WE WOULD TEN LIKE TO KEEP WORDS IN ORDER THAT ENGLISH TEXT BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR. HE SAID HE WOULD CONSIDER.

21. WANG THEN RAISED OBJECTION TO WORD "NOW" IN PARA ONE CHINESE SECTION ALTHOUGH HE SAID APPROPRIATE TO KEEP IT IN AMERICAN SECTION. HE SAID PEOPLE WOULD MISUNDERSTAND ACTUAL SITUATION AND THINK AMERICANS COULD NOT DEPART FROM CHINA BEFORE THESE TALKS WHEREAS ACTUALLY OVER 1500 AMERICANS HAD LEFT CHINA.

22. I REPLIED IMPRESSION WOULD BE GIVEN TALKS HAD NOT ACCOMPLISHED ANYTHING AND SITUAION NO DIFFERENT FROM PAST. FURTHERMORE, PARAGRAPHS WOULD THUS BE IDENTICAL.

23. WANG SAID "NOW" SHOULD REMAIN IN AMERICAN PARAGRAPH BECAUSE IN PAST WE PREVENTED CHINESE FROM LEAVING AND NOW WE HAD REMOVED RESTRICTINS, SO WORD APPROPRIATE IN AMERICAN SECTION BUT NOT IN CHINESE SECTION.

GOWEN

WW

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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

Assigned to CDBR

Action Taken

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 3286
Rec'd: September 7, 1955
3:11 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 687, September 7, 6 p.m. (SECTION THREE OF THREE)

24. I replied I could not see his distinction because thousands of Chinese had also left US before these talks. Furthermore, we had made concessions in order that both paragraphs could be identical and we had accepted phrase "and will further adopt" which did not really apply to our case, but we agreed to it in deference to his desires.

25. Wang said there was a great distinction between a country which restricted departure and one which did not. He would accept anything which conformed with actual situation, but not otherwise.

26. I replied sorry we were not as close to agreement as I thought we were. Furthermore, any American who desired to leave in past had not been able to do so.

27. Wang said he had not raised question of word "now" at last meeting because we had indicated this change from his draft.

28. I said if he would agree to this draft I felt sure we could reach agreement on text next meeting and release announcement. However, if his intention now to introduce concept different wording two paragraphs there were many changes to be made and entire question reopened.

29. Wang said most important word is "now," and they could not agree on its inclusion their paragraph.

30. I replied if we eliminated it, it would make two paragraphs different and also it would indicate we were not announcing something of real substance.

31. Wang said no matter how we explained it, he could not accept the word. He then turned to discussion "in any such case."

32. I asked again if he objected in principle to idea it conveyed.

33. He said idea completely contained in paragraph and not at all necessary and these words on end.

CONFIDENTIAL 34.

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9/8/55 ACTION COPY

CONFIDENTIAL

CORRECTED PAGE 2.

6-D -2- 687, September 7, 6 p.m.(SECTION 3 of 3) from Geneva.

Action
FE
Info
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SS
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34. I said we should not leave anything implied that could be clearly stated. It was consistent with rest of paragraph and necessary to make meaning absolutely clear in English text. In this paragraph we were giving frame of reference to third government and it was doubly important to make clear to that government what its mandate was. I therefore thought important to retain phrase. He replied he would consider this point and reserve comment until next meeting.

35. I concluded that I had come tremendous distance to meet his point of view on substantive issue and I had indicated I was prepared to consider issuance announcement even though we did not feel situation with respect to Americans satisfactory. I hoped we could agree on wording so that I could request authority to issue statement. Wang said "me too".

36. I then said I thought press should be promptly informed of names he had given me of those Americans who were now free to leave because our people very much interested. I read to him text my proposed release.

37. Wang agreed we could release information and read back to me announcement he had made at opening of meeting. There was implication he desired joint announcement or that we use substantially his wording.

38. I said he could make his own announcement and we would make ours in somewhat shorter form. After I accepted a few minor suggestions to make our announcement consistent with his own essential points, he said he had no objections to my proposals.

39. He then said announcement for his side would be made in Peiping.

GOWEN

AB/RSP/3

Action Assigned to CA/PIRP

Action Taken _____

Date

Act

Na

Direction

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 168

INDICATE [ ] COLLECT
[ ] CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

269

02525

7 39

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 693

FOR JOHNSON

This Document Must Be Returned to DC/R 611.93/9-655 Central Files

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Your 682 and 684.

1. You should stand firm on retention phrase "in any such case".

2. Department accepts your reasoning on decreased significance of word "now". Would still like inclusion "now" in PRC section and would be agreeable to having it in both sections but would not repeat not find acceptable having this word in U. S. section only.

Under present circumstances we would acquiesce, upon Wang's request, in deletion of word "now" from both sections in order to come to agreement.

3. Believe foregoing provides basis for reaching agreement at 14th meeting September 10. You will be in strong position to press acceptance of "in any such case" on Wang, particularly with our concession on deletion of "now".

4. You should make every effort to have announcement agreed upon and released September 10. Press for agreement then without further reference to principals. Immediately announcement released by you in Geneva we plan to issue Departmental press release here referring to your announcement in Geneva. Simultaneously background briefing of press here would be undertaken by Robertson. In order to schedule press release and background briefing

CA:WHMcConaughy/ikb 9/7/55
FE:WJSebald
L - Mr. Phleger (cleared in draft)
P- Mr. Suydam (Cleared in draft)

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

SECRET FILE
CS/M

611.93/9-655

SECRET
Classification

10998

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SECRET
Classification

at reasonable hour here, you should seek Wang agreement to release of Agreed Announcement in Geneva at 3 PM local time (10 AM Washington time).

5. If agreement on text of announcement reached, you should notify Department by fastest possible means, using both NIACT plain language telegram and international telephone. Have circuits open on stand-by basis if feasible.

6. Talking paper which Robertson will use in background no-attribution briefing of press being telegraphed separately.

7. Cable your considered estimate of likelihood that agreement on foregoing basis can be reached and released on September 10.

Hoover "HOOVER"
ACTING

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SECRET
Classification

(169)

1. FE-Mr. Robertson
2. L - Mr. Phleger
3. CA-WPM

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
SEP 12 1955
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

September 7, 1955

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☐ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 11/15

Official - Informal
SECRET

Letter No. 7

Dear Walter:

I find that the second courier which arrives here Sunday evening with your mail does not go directly back to Frankfort and, therefore, while he is extremely useful in giving me a channel twice a week from you, for practical purposes I have a channel only once a week to you.

I greatly appreciated your letter of September 2 which expanded on the second paragraph of the Department's 677. I thought I knew what the paragraph meant, but I wished to be absolutely sure. I am sorry that I bothered you by sending a telegram over the Labor Day weekend.

Before going on with anything else, I would greatly appreciate your having someone look into the situation in our code room staff here to see if something can't be done. Gowen has sent many telegrams on the subject and I have sent one, but apparently all he gets back are repeats to other posts asking them whether they can spare anybody and, of course, they never can. While our traffic is lighter than it was, it still comes in big bunches and it is very important that it move promptly. The Department's telegram to me last weekend on my dinner with Wang is a good example. They were short-handed, no one was on duty to decode it, and, as a result, I did not receive it. No great harm was done, but this well could happen in much more important matters.

Going back to the talks, I know that you all must have been as disappointed as I was that I was unable to sew-up the announcement at yesterday's meeting. I have a feeling that Wang had probably gone somewhat farther than Peiping

approved

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director,
Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State.

SECRET

Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

Lot 72 D 415

approved at our last meeting, and he had received instructions to back-up. However, I am very hopeful that if you agree with me upon the "now" question that I will be able to tie it up at Saturday's meeting.

I do not know quite how to interpret the release of the nine. I must confess that it came as a complete surprise to me although I have always recognized that this was a possibility. Of course, it was designed to put public pressure on us - they first released the flyers, now they release the nine - probably the reaction of most people is the same that I found even among friendly newsmen; that is, what are we now going to do.

I am impressed by the success that the Communists have had in building up the issue of the Chinese in the United States. Last night Wolf and de Traz of the ICRC were in to see me (I am sending a separate memorandum of conversation), and it was quite clear that even they thought that there was a problem with respect to Chinese departing from the United States. I, of course, gave them the facts, but believe that as soon as the agreed announcement is released we should do a much better job then we have in the past of telling this story.

I presume that you are reconciled, and prepared for Wang screaming loud and hard when I refuse to go on immediately to item two following the announcement. I hope we will be successful in our tactic but believe we must recognize that the July 25th announcement does not in any way imply that we would not talk about other practical matters until all the Americans were released. In fact, if they had not released the flyers, I would have had from the very beginning to have talked about that "other practical matter". Of course the agenda proposal which they made greatly helps and strengthens our ability to maintain this tactic, but I see some rough seas ahead.

While it may be true that if we do not get all the Americans out before we undertake discussion of item two, we will not be able to do so, at the same time I am not sure it is going to be at all easy to get the PRC to fall in with this. I most certainly do not expect any mass release in any ten days or two weeks and think it would be wrong to base our plans on this even being a possibility. In spite of the satisfactory nature of the "agreed announcement" and our ability to use it to put public pressure on them, we must recognize that "improvement of relations" is still being maintained by them as a factor in the release of all Americans. If we too obviously stall on coming to grips with item two, they may well get their backs up on the release of further Americans, and we will again face another impasse. We can, of course, publicly beat them over the head with the "agreed announcement"

and will

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and will do so, but the entire operation is not going to be easy or simple.

I will greatly appreciate all the thoughts and suggestions that you can give me on how you visualize my handling of "what should constitute item two of the agenda". That is, do you visualize a program which would have for its ostensible purpose the establishing of an agreement upon the sub-points to be discussed under agenda item two? If so, how do you visualize my formulation of our points, particularly the "no force" point?

As soon as you have a chance to do so, I would greatly appreciate an outline of the whole trend of our thinking on our tactics under agenda item two. There are, of course, many difficulties in attempting just to keep talking without asking for or giving concessions. We have a great paucity of subjects which can be raised without involving the interests of the GRC. If the PRC has definite objectives, as it probably does, under item two, it will be easy for them to seize and retain the initiative and I will be continually on the defensive. It seems to me that it will also be difficult in such circumstances for me to avoid being too obviously in the position of simply stalling. I wish I could think of some positive and offensive approach we could make, but thus far have not been able to do so.

On the whole question of renunciation of force, I believe it important that we have a carefully thought out program. We have clearly renounced force in Article I of our Treaty with the GRC, as well as under our United Nations obligations, but it does not seem to me at all clear that the GRC has done so since it considers action against the mainland as an internal matter. It seems to me that the PRC is playing the present situation very cleverly by talking softly, apparently engaging in no overt offensive operations, while the Nationalists still continue their small-scale raids, their reconnaissance flights and their belligerent statements. How do I answer PRC allegations that our Treaty with the GRC and the accompanying exchange of notes, together with our supply and equipment to the GRC, simply proves that we are approving and supporting the military activities of the GRC against the mainland? Also what do I say when the PRC quotes GRC official statements in questioning whether the GRC has in fact accepted the principle of non-recourse to force with respect to the mainland? Perhaps there are easy answers to these questions, but I must confess that I do not know what they are.

When this entire question comes up, I believe we should anticipate the possibility of PRC proposing to us a joint declaration perhaps something along the lines of Chou's "five principles" or perhaps even Article I of our Treaty with

 the GRC

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the GRC which would not in the slightest affect their "right" to use force to "liberate" Taiwan as long as they treat it as an internal matter. If, as I assume, we reject any joint declaration, what are we proposing in its stead? Do we want a general unilateral declaration on renunciation of force so worded as also to specifically apply to the Formosa situation, and, if so, are we not asking for something which the GRC would refuse to do? Or rather than a renunciation of force, are we looking for a de facto case fire between the PRC and GRC? If so, this seems to be outside the scope of these talks as clearly something that directly involves the GRC.

All the foregoing I realize is very confused as it simply reflects my very confused thinking which I am sharing out loud with you and know that you will treat it as such. I will appreciate all the thoughts you can send me, however preliminary, they may be, as I would very much like to have this thought through clearly in my own mind before I come up against it. I am sorry that there was not sufficient time while I was in Washington really to talk these things through. I hope that you will have an opportunity thoroughly to do so with the Secretary and Walter Robertson.

Give Walter my best and tell him I am glad to know that he is back on the job.

I would appreciate your having someone stick into an envelope for us:

a. The Sino-Soviet Treaty,
b. Something containing Chou's "five principles",
c. DRF study on the Bandung Conference, including the Chou En-lai speech,
d. Something giving quotations by Chinese Communist leaders on the liberation of Taiwan (We have DRF study No. 6858, "Chinese Communist Views on Taiwan", which is primarily historical, and
e. Indochina Armistice Agreement.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Alex

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

170

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

SECRET

270

Control: 3579
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 8, 1955
5:07 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 691, SEPTEMBER 8, 10 A.M.

FROM JOHNSON.

APPRECIATE DEPTEL 693 AND AGREE IT PUTS ME IN VERY STRONG NEGOTIATING POSITION.

ON BASIS TUESDAY'S MEETING BELIEVE BETTER THAN EVEN CHANCE AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED AND RELEASED ON SEPT. 10. ONLY ASPECT THAT SOMEWHAT BOTHERS AND PUZZLES ME WAS WANG'S EAGERNESS TO HAVE NEXT MEETING ON SATURDAY. FEAR THEY MAY HAVE SOMETHING FURTHER UP THEIR SLEEVE BUT DO NOT KNOW WHAT IT MIGHT BE.

AM PLEASED BACKGROUNDER BEING HELD BY ROBERTSON. AS NO AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS NOW HERE EXCEPT REGULAR STAFFERS WHO MOSTLY NON-AMERICAN NATIONALITY PLAN NO BACKGROUNDER HERE.

Action Assigned to CA/DIR GOWEN

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

WW

611.93/9-855

PA

FILED FEB 17 1959 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 171

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classification

VERBATIM TEXT

02740 267

AM 10 59

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 694

FOR JOHNSON

Departments 693. Following is text of talking paper on which Robertson plans to base his background no attribution briefing of press September 10 if Agreed Announcement issued:

QTE The Announcement issued September 10 at Geneva by U. S. Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson and Chinese Communist Ambassador Wang Ping-nan relates to the repatriation of civilians who desire to return to their respective countries. The discussions which resulted in this Announcement required 14 meetings over a span of six weeks. The Announcement means precisely what it says. There are no hidden or ambiguous meanings to be read into it. There are no side understandings or agreements whatever in relation to it.

The United States has consistently recognized in principle the right of Chinese in this country to return to the mainland of China if they so desire. During the Korean War, this right was temporarily suspended as to 129 Chinese students with advanced technical training which could be used against the United States by an enemy. The restraining orders against this small group of Chinese (less than 3% of the Chinese students who have come to this country since 1945) were rescinded before the current Ambassadorial talks at Geneva began, and Chinese who wish to depart from the United States

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611.93/9-855

CS/DLS

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11600

Drafted: WPWcc

CA: WPMcConaughy/ikb 9/8/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: WPWcc Walter P. McConaughy

SECRET

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classification

SECRET FILE

611.93/9-855

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for any destination have been and are free to do so.

WHAT THE ANNOUNCEMENT DOES SIGNIFY

1. It commits the PRC to permit the civilians expeditiously to exercise their right to return.

2. The Government of India by invitation of the U. S. Government plays a limited role in assisting those Chinese who of their own volition and on their own initiative approach the Indian Embassy in Washington for facilitation of their return to the China Mainland.

3. The Office of the Charge d'Affaires of the United Kingdom with the agreement of the U. S. Government likewise plays a limited role in assisting those Americans who approach it for facilitation of their return to the United States.

WHAT THE ANNOUNCEMENT DOES NOT SIGNIFY

1. The Announcement does not constitute an Agreement of any kind, governmental or otherwise. The Announcement is in the form of two parallel and interrelated unilateral announcements, the text of which has been mutually agreed upon. The only agreement was that the unilateral announcements were to be made.

2. It does not accord any degree of diplomatic recognition on the part of the U. S. Government to the Chinese Communist regime or change in any way the U. S. position in that regard. The conversations were conducted on the basis stated by Secretary of State Dulles at Berlin in February 1954 when he enunciated the principle that the U. S. Government would be prepared to deal with the Peiping authorities in regard to limited subjects where

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11001

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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they are necessarily a party at interest.

3. The Announcement does not give the People's Republic of China any claim to the allegiance of the Chinese in the United States. The Announcement covers only those Chinese in the United States who voluntarily express a desire to return to the China Mainland. The vast preponderance of the many thousands of Chinese in this country who continue to give undivided allegiance to the Government of the Republic of China are in no way affected.

4. The Indian Government will not be a "Protecting Power" in this country for the Chinese Communists. Other than the limited assistance afforded by the Indian Government to individuals covered by the Announcement, all Chinese interests in this country are the responsibility of the GRC. The Indian Government, as the Announcement makes clear, is assuming its function at the invitation of the Government of the United States. Its role will be limited to facilitating the travel to Mainland China of those Chinese who communicate with the Indian Embassy in Washington in reference to their desire to return to Mainland China. The Indian Embassy will not be expected to make any inquiries with reference to Chinese who do not first communicate with it.

5. The discussions so far have been devoted exclusively to the return of civilians. UNQTE

Homer "HOOVER"
ACTING
(WPM)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (172)

INDICATE [ ] COLLECT
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Department of State

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

02906 (268)

PM 5 35

DC/T

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SENT TO: ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Amconsul GENEVA ~~PRIORITY~~ 695

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

Re "List of US Armed Forces Personnel Believed Held by the Chinese Communists", Defense Prisoner Officer advises case summaries therein of Ashley, Ishida, Olsen, Shaddick, and Turner contain classified information. Pouching revised case summaries, to be substituted for originals in your copy of roster. Return original summaries these five cases to Department for destruction.

This Document Must Be Returned to DC/R Central Files

611.93/9-855

HOOVER

Hoover

ACTING
(WPMcC)

DC/R
Sept 55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: WPMcC
Walter P. McConaughy

Drafted by:
FE:CA:DLOsborn:apt 9/8/55
Clearances:

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INDICATE [ ] COLLECT
[ ] CHARGE TO

173

Department of State

~~SECRET~~ CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

02940 269

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 696

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

Department's 678.

Immigration Naturalization Service reports 90 Chinese left Honolulu for Far East between July 11 August 31 inclusive. Total departures given next to last paragraph should be changed to 173.

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611.93/9-455

HOOVER

Hoover
ACTING
(WPMcC)

DC/R 7
Sept 55
Nov
Oct

Drafted by: FE:CA:DLOsborn:apt 9/8/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

8 1955 P.M.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (174)

INDICATE [ ] COLLECT
[ ] CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

03:46

271

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SENT TO: Amembassy NEW DELHI PRIORITY 555

RPT INFO: Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON 702

611.93 / 211.93 11

Your 333. Request Embassy reply to Ministry of External Affairs note of August 18 along following lines:

QTE American Embassy has honor to acknowledge the receipt of MEA's Note of August 18 and to assure it that the position of the Indian Government as set forth therein is appreciated and will be respected in any arrangement which the U.S. Government may make. The Indian Government will be promptly informed of any such arrangement.

HOOVER

Hoover, Acting
(WPMcC)

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611.93/8-1855

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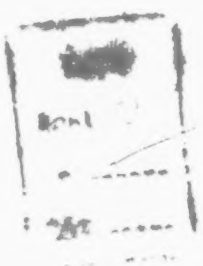

Origin

Drafted by: WPMcC
FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/aow 9/8/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: WPMcC Walter P. McConaughy ~~Walter S. Robertson~~

Clearances:
L - Mr. Phleger WPMcC
FE - Mr. Sebald WPMcC
(cleared in substance)
-Mr. Robertson WPMcC
SMB

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
SOA - Mr.Jones(cleared in substance) WPMcC

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19-L
Action
FE

Info
RMR

SECRET

Control: 4454
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 9, 1955
8:34 AM

Action Assigned to CA/D/R

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 700, SEPTEMBER 9, NOON

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

WITH REFERENCE DEPTEL 694 KNOW DEPT APPRECIATES MORE WE DEPRECATE ANNOUNCEMENT AND MORE WE EMPHASIZE WHAT IT IS NOT, LESS VALUE IT HAS IN OBTAINING RELEASE REMAINING AMERICANS. I FEAR THAT WHATEVER WE SAY FOR BACKGROUND, HEADLINES ARE INEVITABLY GOING BE "AGREEMENT".

WHILE MINOR POINT BELIEVE AMENDMENT FIRST SECTION NUMBERED PARA ONE UNDER "WHAT ANNOUNCEMENT DOES SIGNIFY" TO READ "PRC COMMITS ITSELF TO PERMIT ETC" WOULD BE MORE CONSISTENT WITH OUR OVERALL POSITION. BELIEVE PRESS WILL BE QUICK PICK AT POINTS TWO AND THREE SAME SECTION AND THAT NEW DELHI WILL PUT OUT CONTRADICTORY INTERPRETATION. DO NOT SEE WE WEAKEN OUR POSITION AND BELIEVE WE HELP AVOID FOREGOING DIFFICULTIES IF WE SIMPLY STATE FACT PRC SUGGESTED INDIA, WE CONCURRED AND HAVE EXTENDED INVITATION. PRC HAS CONCURRED IN UK HAVING SAME ROLE ON MAINLAND CHINA.

PARTICULARLY IN VIEW LARGE AMOUNT PRESS SPECULATION ON SUBJECT, POSSIBLE WANG WILL RAISE AGENDA ITEM TWO ISSUE AT TOMORROW'S MEETING BY PROPOSING WE TELL PRESS NEXT MEETING WILL START ON ITEM TWO OR SOMETHING TO EFFECT WE HAVE CONCLUDED DISCUSSION AGENDA ITEM ONE. I WILL OF COURSE REJECT BUT WILL ATTEMPT HANDLE BY MINIMIZING ISSUE AT SATURDAY'S MEETING SO AS NOT JEOPARDIZE ISSUANCE ANNOUNCEMENT SUGGESTING WE POSTPONE DISCUSSION TO NEXT MEETING AND IN ADDITION "AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT" AND INFO ON AMERICANS RELEASED, ONLY TELL PRESS TIME NEXT MEETING. IN REPLY ANY PRESS INQUIRIES THIS POINT WILL ONLY SAY HAVE NOTHING TO ADD TO PRESS RELEASE.

611.93/9-955

PA

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FEB 17 1959

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SECRET

-2- 700, SEPTEMBER 9, NOON, FROM GENEVA

WILL DO BEST OBTAIN 3 PM RELEASE TIME BUT WANG MAY WANT EARLIER HOUR AS THAT ABOUT MIDNIGHT PEIPING TIME. AS MEETING WILL UNDOUBTEDLY FINISH BEFORE OPENING DEPT WILL PLACE TELEPHONE CALL TO MCCONAUGHY HOME FOR IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING MEETING IN ADDITION TO NIACT TELEGRAM.

GOWEN

MEM

STATE
1955 SEP 9 PM 12 33
OF
AFFAIRS

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SECRET

OUTGOING TELEGRAM (176)

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

03708

1955 SEP 9 PM 7 30

SENT TO: The Honorable James C. Hagerty
Press Secretary to the President
Denver

Origin

Info.

Text and substance of background press material on prospective Geneva announcement has been changed. I will brief US press in this sense, not Robertson. Other arrangements stand. New guidance text follows:

The Announcement issued September 10 at Geneva by US Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson and Chinese Communist Ambassador Wang Ping-nan relates to the repatriation of civilians who desire to return to their respective countries. The discussions which resulted in this Announcement required 14 meetings over a span of six weeks. The Announcement means precisely what it says. There are no hidden or ambiguous meanings to be read into it. There are no side understandings or agreements whatever in relation to it.

Dist. Desired (Offices Only)

THE ANNOUNCEMENT COVERS THE FOLLOWING:

1. People's Republic of China recognizes that Americans on the Chinese Mainland who desire to return to the US may do so and commits itself to permit them expeditiously to exercise their right to return.

2. The Office of the Charge d'Affaires of the UK, at the request of the US Government and with the concurrence of the PRC,

Drafted by: ND:HSuydam:vh HS 9/9/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: ND:HSuydam HS

Clearances:

S/S-CR
SEP 9 1955 P.M.

11003

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will assist those Americans who request its aid in facilitating their return to the United States.

3. The Government of the United States reaffirms the right of Chinese in the United States who wish to return to the China Mainland, to do so. The Government of India by invitation of the US Government will aid those Chinese who voluntarily ask the Indian Embassy in Washington for facilitation of their return to the China Mainland. The PRC suggested India and the United States concurred.

The United States has consistently recognized in principle the right of Chinese in this country to return to the mainland of China if they so desire. During the Korean War, this right was temporarily suspended as to 129 Chinese students with advanced technical training which could be used against the United States by an enemy. The restraining orders against this small group of Chinese (less than 3 percent of the Chinese students who have come to this country since 1945) were rescinded some time before the current Ambassadorial talks at Geneva began, and Chinese who wish to depart from the United States for any destination have been and are free to do so.

The Announcement does not constitute an Agreement, governmental or otherwise, but is in the form of parallel unilateral statements.

The Announcement does not accord any degree of diplomatic recognition on the part of the US Government to the Chinese Communist regime or change the US position in that regard. The conversations were conducted on the basis indicated by Secretary of State Dulles at Berlin

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in February 1954 when he stated that the US Government would be prepared to deal with the Peiping authorities in regard to limited subjects where they are necessarily a party at interest.

The Announcement does not give the People's Republic of China any claim to the allegiance of the Chinese in the United States and covers only those Chinese in the US who voluntarily express a desire to return to the China Mainland.

The Indian Government will not be a QUOTE Protecting Power END QUOTE in this country for the Chinese Communists but will afford limited assistance to individuals as provided in the Announcement.

Henry Suydam
Chief, News Division

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (177)

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Department of State

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03.09 (274)

SEP 9 PM 7 39

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 705

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

Your 700. Following is text of revised press background talking paper. Now planned for Suydam rather than Robertson meet with Press September 10.

CODE ROOM: Please repeat Department's Tel. ____ (CN 3708) omitting first paragraph and submitting the above paragraph.)

Hoover
ACTING
(WPMcC)

"HOOVER"

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DC/R 55

Drafted by: WPMcC
FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: WPMcC
Walter P. McConaughy

Clearance:
FE - Mr. Robertson (~~cleared in substance~~) NR

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☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date _____

September 9, 1955

SECRET
OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

Letter No. 12

Dear Alex:

Events are moving so fast that this letter is sure to be out of date when you receive it. Either the Agreed Announcement will be issued tomorrow, or the Chinese Communists will make some new move which will change the complexion of the negotiation.

Today we have the difficult task of making complete preparations for the possible issuance of the Agreed Announcement tomorrow, while keeping everything on an extremely closely held, need-to-know basis. There is strong pressure from Cooper in New Delhi and Butterworth in London to be given the full story to date. Also USIA feels that the VOA and their Public Affairs officers around the world need to be given guidance in advance on a secret basis, so that they will not be caught flat-footed if and when the story breaks. But the Department is resisting these pressures because it is strongly felt by both Walter Robertson and Herman Phleger that any leak which might expose an assumption on our part that agreement on Saturday is likely or indicate that we put a quite limited interpretation on the scope and significance of the Agreed Announcement, might well endanger both the prospects of the 28 Americans in jail and the continuation of the talks. When the stakes are so high, not even a remote chance of a slip can be taken. Hence we are prepared to incur the displeasure for the time being of various people who understandably feel they have a legitimate right to know more than they are being told. Nothing is now being

sent

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

SECRET

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sent to London, nothing to New Delhi (except the routine acknowledgment of the Indian Government's Note of August 18, repeated to you as the Department's 702), and no advanced guidance is being given to USIA or our P area. The text of the proposed Agreed Announcement and the backgrounder talking paper have been sent to Hagerty at Denver.

We have a carefully blocked out schedule of actions to be taken tomorrow if the Agreed Announcement is issued. The whole thing would be triggered by a green light from you.

In case the Agreed Announcement is issued tomorrow, both WSR and HP feel that you can keep Wang fully occupied for some time in talking about the implementation of the Agreement. You should endeavor to keep him so busy reporting on the progress of the departure of Americans and telling him about the Chinese who wish to return to the Mainland that he will be in no position to press for immediate discussion of the topics which might be considered under Item Two. We will want to know for example how and where the Chinese Communists have given publicity to the announcement; the nature of arrangements for the imprisoned Americans to communicate with the British Charge in Peiping; the nature of the financial settlement requested of Miner; the status of the exit applications of Mrs. Huiser and Bishop Walsh; the whereabouts of the jailed Americans; the movements of Americans following the issuance of the announcement; their various ETA's at the Hong Kong border; arrangements for the British Embassy to "investigate the facts", and to make representations as necessary; etc. Of course we will expect to send you information about the arrangements for the fulfillment of the Indian Embassy role in this country too, although we will be careful not to bring up anything concerning Chinese who have not taken the initiative to return to the Mainland. The idea is for you to keep Wang so engaged in demonstrating that the Chinese Communists are making good on their obligations under the Agreed Announcement that they cannot yet get you involved in Item Two. For the time being you should refuse to get engaged in any discussion of what topics might be acceptable for discussion under Item Two.

Your Letter No. 6 of August 31 arrived September 6 and was illuminating and useful to all of us who are working with you. Everybody feels that you have done notably well in bringing Wang to the brink of agreement without sacrificing anything essential. I hope our 693 strengthened your hand and allayed some of your misgivings.

You will be glad to know that WSR returned to duty on Tuesday the 6th looking very well and rested. He plunged into your problems immediately and of course is actively in on every decision and message.

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We are in an extremely bad way in CA, with no replacements yet for Clough or Forman, with Joe Nagoski (who has been doing the leg work on Geneva matters) down with an ailment variously diagnosed as stomach ulcers and malaria, and with Steve Comisky suffering from asthma. We hope to get some reinforcements and I would not think of asking you to give up either Ralph or Doug, with a very difficult stage of the discussions now looming on the horizon.

Regards, accolades and good wishes from all of us,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

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18-13

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Control: 5246
Rec'd: September 10, 1955
12:43 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 708, September 10, 5 p.m.

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

At today's meeting Wang struggled hard to retain "now" in US section trying various combinations and at one time even suggesting both "now" and "in any such case" be retained US section while both deleted from CHICOM section.

Also tried hard to insert "the problem of" or "the question of" before "Chinese" in introductory paragraph US section same change Mutatis Mutandis in CHICOM section so it would read "with respect to the problem of Chinese in US Ambassador Johnson etc." Finally compromised by leaving agreed English text as is Chinese text to contain phrase this effect. Ekvall and Clough feel he had valid Chinese Stylistic point.

At very end meeting said names of additional Americans released in future would be notified to US through UK. I then replied I hoped in accordance with announcement other cases would be expeditiously handled and settled that during course of talks here he would inform me as well as UK of names those released and said I would be prepared report to him on our implementation statement. He carefully ignored all reference to making any report here simply reiterating UK charge would be notified. Neither of us attempted further to pursue subject.

Next meeting September 14.

GOWEN

CES/3

Note: Passed USUN 9/10/55 1:15 p.m. JRL

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Control: 5331
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 10, 1955
5:54 PM

Date of Action
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Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 709, SEPTEMBER 10, 7 PM (SECTION 1 OF 2)

FROM JOHNSON

AT 14TH MEETING TODAY, AFTER TRYING TO GET WANG TO SPEAK, I OPENED BY STATING THERE WAS LITTLE I COULD ADD TO WHAT I SAID LAST TIME REGARDING THE INCLUSION OF TWO PHRASES IN TEXT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT: "NOW" IN PARAGRAPHS ONE AND "IN ANY SUCH CASE" IN PARAGRAPHS 2 (A). I HAD EXPLAINED IMPORTANCE WE ATTACHED TO INCLUSION THESE TWO PHRASES IN TEXT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I HAD HOPED WANG WOULD AGREE WITH ME ON THIS TEXT AND THAT WE COULD ISSUE IT TODAY.

WANG REPLIED HE ALSO WANTED AGREE ON TEXT OF AGREEMENT VERY QUICKLY. TWO SIDES HAD IDENTICAL OPINION REGARDING MAJOR PORTION TEXT AND IT ONLY REMAINED TO RESOLVE TWO POINTS OF WORDING I HAD MENTIONED. HE CONTINUED BOTH SIDES HAD MUTUALLY DISCUSSED TEXT STATEMENT FOR LONG TIME AND EACH HAD PUT FORWARD AMENDMENTS IN ORDER MAKE STATEMENT CONSISTENT WITH ACTUAL SITUATION AND TO FACILITATE RETURN NATIONALS BY THIS AGREEMENT. WE SHOULD NOT AT THIS FINAL STAGE GET INTO ARGUMENT PREVENTING AGREEMENT.

WANG SAID REGARDING "NOW" IN THEIR PART OF STATEMENT, ANY WORDS MUST BE CONSISTENT ACTUAL SITUATION, THEREFORE, NOT ACCEPTABLE INCLUDE "NOW" IN HIS PART. IN PAST YEARS GREAT NUMBERS AMERICANS RETURNED FROM CHINA, INDICATING CIVILIANS ALWAYS ABLE RETURN. THEREFORE, NOT REASONABLE AT FINAL STAGE DISCUSSIONS INSIST "NOW" SHOULD BE INCLUDED HIS PART. IF FAILED REACH AGREEMENT ON THIS POINT HE DID NOT SEE HOW THEY COULD AGREE AT ALL. THEY WOULD CONSIDER CAREFULLY ANYTHING REASONABLE BUT, AS THEY INDICATED DURING COURSE OF TALKS, ANYTHING NOT CONSISTENT WITH FACTS WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE HIS SIDE.

I SAID I UNDERSTOOD HIM TO SAY NOW ONLY TWO POINTS OUTSTANDING WERE THESE

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WERE THESE TWO PHRASES, AND HE AGREED. I STATED I WAS PREPARED MAKE SUGGESTION I HOPED HE WOULD TAKE. I WILLING DELETE "NOW" IN BOTH HIS SECTION AND MY SECTION OF STATEMENTS.

WANG INSISTED WORD SHOULD BE DELETED HIS SECTION AND INCLUDED OUR SECTION AND THIS MORE REASONABLE AND APPROPRIATE BECAUSE THIS WAS MERELY STATEMENT OF FACT AFFECTING NATIONALS BOTH SIDES. IN PAST CHINESE HAD NO RESTRICTIONS ON DEPARTURE AMERICAN NATIONALS AND OVERWHELMING MAJORITY RETURNED US. THOSE WHO REMAINED WERE VERY SMALL HANDFUL. HOWEVER, IN AMERICA RESTRICTIONS PREVENTED RETURN CHINESE STUDENTS. HE APPRECIATED THESE RESTRICTIONS NOW WITHDRAWN. HOWEVER, TO SATISFY PUBLIC ON THIS POINT AND SHOW DIFFERENCE TWO SITUATIONS IT WAS IMPORTANT HAVE WORD "NOW" IN AMERICAN SECTION. THERE WERE RESTRICTIONS ON CHINESE STUDENTS BEFORE, NOW THEY HAVE BEEN RAISED AND THUS A CHANGE HAS BEEN MADE. STATUS OF NATIONALS ON TWO SIDES DIFFERENT SO TWO SECTIONS ANNOUNCEMENT SHOULD ALSO REFLECT THIS DIFFERENT STATUS OUR NATIONALS IN PAST.

I REPLIED I DID NOT INTEND ENGAGE IN LONG DISCUSSION, BUT IF WE INTRODUCED IDEA OUR TWO SECTIONS IN ANNOUNCEMENT SHOULD BE DIFFERENT, THIS OPENED UP ENTIRELY NEW FIELD AND WE WOULD HAVE TO RECONSIDER WORDING WHOLE PARAGRAPH. FOR INSTANCE, I HAD ACCEPTED "AND WILL FURTHER ADOPT" IN PARAGRAPH ONE WHICH I DID NOT THINK NECESSARY, BUT INCLUDED IN ORDER HAVE SAME WORDING AS HIS SECTION. WE WOULD HAVE TO MAKE THIS AND OTHER CHANGES IF TWO SECTIONS NOT IDENTICAL. I SAID I MUST MAKE CLEAR THAT SUGGESTION I MADE WAS MAXIMUM EFFORT OUR PART REACH AGREEMENT AND ISSUE ANNOUNCEMENT. I ENTIRELY UNABLE ACCEPT HIS SUGGESTION "NOW" REMAIN IN OUR SECTION AND BE DELETED FROM HIS. I MADE MY SUGGESTION ONLY ON CONDITION THAT REST OF TEXT REMAINED EXACTLY THE SAME AND ON THAT BASIS WE COULD ISSUE ANNOUNCEMENT TODAY.

WANG REPLIED HE ALSO WANTED PROMPTLY SETTLE THIS QUESTION. HE SAID INCLUSION PHRASE "AND WILL FURTHER ADOPT" IN ORDER TO MAKE TWO PARAGRAPHS IDENTICAL WAS REASONABLE AND NECESSARY.

THIS PHRASE

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THIS PHRASE WAS SAME IN BOTH SECTIONS BECAUSE REASON FOR IT WAS SAME. IT INDICATED THAT IN FUTURE IF NATIONALS TWO COUNTRIES ENCOUNTERED DIFFICULTIES, GOVERNMENTS WOULD ASSIST THEM IN DEPARTING. IF THIS PHRASE WERE DELETED GOVERNMENTS WOULD NOT HAVE TO HELP NATIONALS ENCOUNTERING DIFFICULTIES IN FUTURE. HE SAID HE FAILED TO SEE WHY NOT APPROPRIATE RETAIN "NOW" IN ONLY OUR PARAGRAPH.

I REPLIED I UNDERSTOOD HE REJECTED MY SUGGESTION REGARDING DELETION "NOW".

WANG SMILED AND SAID MY SUGGESTION RESOLVED ONLY HALF OF PROBLEM.

I SAID I HAD MADE VERY CLEAR I COULD NOT CONSIDER MAKING THIS DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TWO SECTIONS AND SUGGESTED WE AGREE ON BASIS MY SUGGESTION WHICH I BELIEVED MET BOTH POINTS OF VIEW.

WANG SAID WE HAD RAISED TWO POINTS OF DIFFERENCE AND THAT HE WOULD BE WILLING CONSIDER DELETION "IN ANY SUCH CASE" FROM BOTH SECTIONS IF WE WOULD CONSIDER HIS PROPOSAL REGARDING "NOW". HE BELIEVED MEANING OF PARAGRAPH 2 (A) SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR WITHOUT INCLUSION "IN ANY SUCH CASE".

I SAID MY SUGGESTION REGARDING DELETION "NOW" WAS BASED UNDERSTANDING REMAINDER TEXT WOULD REMAIN UNCHANGED. I HAD MET HIS OBJECTION WORD "NOW" AND BELIEVED TEXT SHOULD BE ISSUED WITH THAT CHANGE. HE MIGHT CONSIDER PHRASE "IN ANY SUCH CASE" UNNECESSARY, BUT HE SAID IT WAS CONSISTENT WITH REST OF PARAGRAPH AND BECAUSE CONSISTENT, AND IN ORDER PARAGRAPH REMAIN CLEAR, I INSISTED THAT IT MUST BE INCLUDED. I SAID THAT AT LAST MEETING HE DID NOT OBJECT TO PRINCIPLE BEHIND "IN ANY SUCH CASE"; THUS AFTER SIX WEEKS DISCUSSIONS WE CAME DOWN TO ONE WORD "NOW" AND I HAD MADE SUGGESTION IT BE DELETED. I COULD SEE NO REASON FURTHER DISCUSSION OR DELAY AGREEMENT ON TEXT.

GOWEN

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CORRECTED PAGE 1 & 1-1/2
9/11/55, 11 P., TLS

Control: 5337
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 10, 1955
5:53 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 709, SEPTEMBER 10, 7 PM (SECTION TWO OF TWO)

WANG SAID FROM OUTSET THEY HAD WANTED REACH AGREEMENT. THEN SUGGESTED FURTHER COMPROMISE IN WHICH HE WOULD DELETE BOTH "NOW" AND "IN ANY SUCH CASE" FROM HIS SECTION AND WE WOULD RETAIN BOTH IN OURS. THUS DESIRES BOTH SIDES WOULD BE MET AND EACH WOULD MEET POINT RAISED BY OTHER. THUS THEY HAD GIVEN CONSIDERATION MY SUGGESTION.

I SAID THIS INTRODUCED EVEN GREATER DIFFERENCES IN TWO PARAGRAPHS AND AS SOON AS WE DID THIS WE WOULD ENCOUNTER WHOLE NEW HOST OF PROBLEMS. ACTUALLY ONLY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN US WAS THE WORD "NOW" IN OUR SECTION. I WAS ENTIRELY WILLING LEAVE WORD IN BOTH SECTIONS OR TAKE OUT OF BOTH SECTIONS AND I LEFT CHOICE UP TO HIM.

WANG SAID WE COULD ALSO DELETE "IN ANY SUCH CASE" FROM BOTH SECTIONS, BUT I INSISTED IT MUST BE RETAINED. WANG THEN REPEATED HIS EARLIER ARGUMENTS AND CONTINUED MAINTAIN HIS PROPOSALS WERE REASONABLE.

I SAID AMERICANS TO LEAVE CHINA ALL REQUIRED OBTAIN EXIT PERMITS WHEREAS IN US NO EXIT PERMITS REQUIRED AND THOUSANDS CHINESE ABLE FREELY DEPART EXCEPT GROUP 120-ODD WHOSE RESTRICTION ORDERS HAVE SINCE BEEN WITHDRAWN. IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TRY TO REFLECT ALL THESE FACTS IN SINGLE SENTENCE. I DID NOT SEE ANY PURPOSE IN TRYING TO COVER AGAIN ALL GROUND WE HAD BEEN OVER. I MADE SUGGESTION QUICKLY THIS MORNING WITH IDEA IT WOULD ENABLE US QUICKLY REACH AGREEMENT ON ANNOUNCEMENT. WANG SAID WE WILL REACH AGREEMENT IF WE ARE BOTH WILLING TO DO SO. HE SUGGESTED, ALTHOUGH HIS EARLIER PROPOSAL VERY REASONABLE, HE NOW WILLING CONSIDER DELETION BOTH PHRASES "NOW" AND "IN ANY SUCH CASE" FROM BOTH SECTIONS. THUS BOTH SECTIONS IDENTICAL AND HE HAD MADE SUBSTANTIAL COMPROMISE.

I REJECTED

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I REJECTED HIS SUGGESTION SAYING AT BEGINNING OF MEETING I HAD SUGGESTED DELETION "NOW" ON UNDERSTANDING REMAINDER STATEMENT WOULD REMAIN UNCHANGED AND I COULD NOT AGREE DELETION PHRASE "IN ANY SUCH CASE" FROM OUR SECTION.

WANG SAID MY SIDE MIGHT BE SATISFIED BUT THAT HIS WAS NOT AND NO PURPOSE SERVED CONTINUE ARGUMENT. MAIN POINT WAS HE WANTED ANNOUNCEMENT REFLECT EXACT SITUATION AS IT WAS AND SOLVE QUESTION RETURN CIVILIANS. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, ALTHOUGH HE NOT SATISFIED WITH TWO POINTS I HAD RAISED, HE WOULD MAKE GREATEST EFFORT WE COULD EXPECT OF HIM AND DELETE "NOW" IN BOTH SECTIONS AND RETAIN "IN ANY SUCH CASE" IN BOTH. HE SAID HE COULD NOT GO ANY FURTHER TO MEET MY REQUEST.

I ACCEPTED HIS PROPOSAL AND ASKED WHETHER REMAINDER OF TEXT WOULD BE SAME AS MY DRAFT TEXT OF SEPTEMBER 6. WE EXCHANGED TEXTS AND AFTER CHECKING, HE RAISED QUESTION WHY I HAD DELETED WORD "RESPECTIVE" BEFORE "GOVERNMENTS" IN INRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH.

I EXPLAINED

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5:53 PM

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Date of Action
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Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 709, SEPTEMBER 10, 7 PM (SECTION TWO OF TWO)

WANG SAID FROM OUTSET THEY HAD WANTED REACH AGREEMENT. THEN SUGGESTED FURTHER COMPROMISE IN WHICH HE WOULD DELETE BOTH "NOW" AND (#) IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TRY TO REFLECT ALL THESE FACTS IN SINGLE SENTENCE. I DID NOT SEE ANY PURPOSE IN TRYING TO COVER AGAIN ALL GROUND WE HAD BEEN OVER. I MADE SUGGESTION QUICKLY THIS MORNING WITH IDEA IT WOULD ENABLE US QUICKLY REACH AGREEMENT ON ANNOUNCEMENT. WANG SAID WE WILL REACH AGREEMENT IF WE ARE BOTH WILLING TO DO SO. HE SUGGESTED, ALTHOUGH HIS EARLIER PROPOSAL VERY REASONABLE, HE NOW WILLING CONSIDER DELETION BOTH PHRASES "NOW" AND "IN ANY SUCH CASE" FROM BOTH SECTIONS. THUS BOTH SECTIONS IDENTICAL AND HE HAD MADE SUBSTANTIAL COMPROMISE.

I REJECTED HIS SUGGESTION SAYING AT BEGINNING OF MEETING I HAD SUGGESTED DELETION "NOW" ON UNDERSTANDING REMAINDER STATEMENT WOULD REMAIN UNCHANGED AND I COULD NOT AGREE DELETION PHRASE "IN ANY SUCH CASE" FROM OUR SECTION.

WANG SAID MY SIDE MIGHT BE SATISFIED BUT THAT HIS WAS NOT AND NO PURPOSE SERVED CONTINUE ARGUMENT. MAIN POINT WAS HE WANTED ANNOUNCEMENT REFLECT EXACT SITUATION AS IT WAS AND SOLVE QUESTION RETURN CIVILIANS. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, ALTHOUGH HE NOT SATISFIED WITH TWO POINTS I HAD RAISED, HE WOULD MAKE GREATEST EFFORT WE COULD EXPECT OF HIM AND DELETE "NOW" IN BOTH SECTIONS AND RETAIN "IN ANY SUCH CASE" IN BOTH. HE SAID HE COULD NOT GO ANY FURTHER TO MEET MY REQUEST.

I ACCEPTED HIS PROPOSAL AND ASKED WHETHER REMAINDER OF TEXT WOULD BE SAME AS MY DRAFT TEXT OF SEPTEMBER 6. WE EXCHANGED TEXTS AND AFTER CHECKING, HE RAISED QUESTION WHY I HAD DELETED WORD "RESPECTIVE" BEFORE "GOVERNMENTS" IN INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH.

I EXPLAINED

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I EXPLAINED IT DELETED IN ORDER MAKE SMOOTHER ENGLISH TEXT AND NOT TO CHANGE MEANING IN ANY WAY. FOLLOWING SOME DISCUSSION I AGREED TO INCLUDE IT.

WANG THEN SAID IN SECOND PARAGRAPH CHINESE TEXT HE HAD WORDS "THE QUESTION OF" PRECEDING "CHINESE". I REMARKED THAT IF WE SAID "WITH RESPECT TO THE QUESTION OF CHINESE" INSTEAD OF "WITH RESPECT TO CHINESE" IT INVOLVED SOME DIFFERENCE IN SUBSTANCE.

WANG EXPLAINED IT WAS NECESSARY TO USE THIS WORDING IN CHINESE BECAUSE WE WERE NOT DISCUSSING ALL THE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF CHINESE IN THE US BUT ONLY THE QQESTION OF THOSE WHO DESIRED TO RETURN.

I SAID IT WAS VERY CLEAR AS IT STOOD, AND ADDITION OF THIS PHRASE INTRODUCED NEW IDEAS. IT WAS VERY CLEAR FROM INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH WE WERE DISCUSSING "MEASURES" TAKEN BY RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS AND OBVIOUSLY REMAINDER ANNOUNCEMENT REFERRED TO THESE MEASURES. IF WE INTRODUCED WORD "PROBLEM" OR "QUESTION" IT WOULD BREAK-UP CENTRAL THOUGHT WHICH WAS "MEASURES" TAKEN BY GOVERNMENTS.

WANG ASKED IF WE AGREED INCLUSION "THE QUESTION OF" IN CHINESE TEXT AND LEAVE ENGLISH TEXT AS IT WAS. I AGREED. HE THEN ASKED IF TITLE FOR ANNOUNCEMENT COULD BE MADE TO READ: "AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE AMBASSADORS OF THE USA AND THE PRC". OUR TITLE "AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT" WAS VERY SIMPLE AND NOT VERY FORMAL.

I OBJECTED THAT SUCH A CHANGE MADE TITLE LONGER AND SAID THERE WAS VIRTUE IN SIMPLICITY. FULL SUBJECT WAS ALREADY STATED IN OPENING PARAGRAPH. HOWEVER, AFTER SOME DISCUSSION I AGREED TO USE FULL TITLE AS GIVEN IN CHINESE TEXT.

AT WANG'S REQUEST I INITIALED CHANGES INKED IN ON CARBON

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COPY SEPTEMBER 6 DRAFT AND HE FURNISHED ME WITH CLEAN COPY CHINESE ANNOUNCEMENT. HE THEN SAID, "HAVE WE REACHED FORMAL AGREEMENT?"

I REPLIED "WE HAVE NOW AGREED TO RELEASE THE ANNOUNCEMENT".

WANG ASKED IF WE COULD RELEASE IT SIMULTANEOUSLY AT 5 PM GENEVA TIME, AS THAT WAS MOST CONVENIENT FOR PEIPING. I SAID I WAS PREPARED AGREE EARLIER HOUR BUT 5 PM ACCEPTABLE.

WANG THEN READ FROM A PREPARED STATEMENT. HE SAID HE WAS GLAD WE HAD FINALLY REACHED AGREEMENT AT OUR 14TH MEETING AFTER LONG DISCUSSION. IN ACCORDANCE WITH HIS EARLIER STATEMENTS HE WISHED TO ADVISE ME OF THE RESULTS OF THE REVIEWS OF CASES OF AMERICANS WHO HAD COMMITTED CRIMES: FIRST, HIS GOVERNMENT HAD DECIDED UPON THE EARLY RELEASE PRIOR TO COMPLETION OF TERMS OF THEIR SENTENCES OF THREE AMERICANS: HAROLD W. RIGNEY, WALTER A. RICKETT, LEVI A. LOVEGREN. SECOND, FOLLOWING SEVEN AMERICANS WOULD BE DEPORTED: LAWRENCE ROBERT BUOL, FREDERICK D. GORDON, JOSEPH EUGENE HYDE, JAMES GERALD JOYCE, DILMUS T. KANADY, DOROTHY MIDDLETON, SARAH PERKINS. THESE 10 AMERICANS WHO HAD VIOLATED LAWS OF CHINA WOULD BE DEPORTED TO HONG KONG WITHIN A FEW DAYS.

HE CONTINUED THAT, WITH RESPECT TO OTHER AMERICAN CIVILIANS, CASES WOULD BE INDIVIDUALLY REVIEWED IN CONSIDERATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND WITH REGARD TO CRIMES COMMITTED BY EACH ONE. WE WOULD BE ADVISED FROM TIME TO TIME OF RESULTS THESE REVIEWS THROUGH OFFICE OF CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF UK IN CHINA.

I THANKED HIM FOR THIS INFORMATION AND SAID I HOPED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ANNOUNCEMENT OTHER CASES WOULD BE EXPEDITIOUSLY HANDLED AND SETTLED. I HOPED THAT IN ADDITION TO INFORMING CHARGE OF UK, WANG WOULD ALSO INFORM ME HERE DURING COURSE OF OUR TALKS.

HE REPLIED

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HE REPLIED THEY WERE PREPARED INFORM US THROUGH UK. HE ADDED HE HOPED US GOVERNMENT WOULD HELP CHINESE IN US OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES AND DEPART.

I SAID I PREPARED TELL HIM AT THESE MEETINGS STEPS WE TOOK TO IMPLEMENT ANNOUNCEMENT.

HE REPLIED HE HAPPY AGREEMENT COMPLETED AND THEY WERE PREPARED FAITHFULLY TO IMPLEMENT. HE HOPED FROM NOW ON NATIONALS OF BOTH SIDES WOULD IN FACT ENJOY RIGHT OF RETURN TO THEIR HOMELANDS.

AFTER CLOSE MEETING HE FERVENTLY SHOOK MY HAND WHILE EXPRESSING PLEASURE WE HAD REACHED AGREEMENT.

GOWEN

AB

(#) OMISSION, CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

1955 SEP 12 AM 7 51

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

(181)

16-1
tion
E
o
MR

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 5709
Rec'd: September 12, 1955
11:34 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 715, September 12, 4 p.m.

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

Request names and other information Americans imprisoned Communist China from whom no letters received, no acknowledgment packages delivered, and no other data on health or whereabouts. Believe if I am able cite specific cases indicating failure Communists provide even these most elementary facts despite their promises of year ago, I will have additional argument support my requests complete information Americans still imprisoned and press for their right to communicate and their early release.

Latest material here obtained Hong Kong Despatch (#) DEPTEL 705, February 25.

GOWEN

TT/1

(#) Omission of approximately 10 characters. Correction to follow.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
- [x] Releasable
- [ ] Releasable if _____ concurs
- [ ] Excise as shown) Basis-1-301 ___
- [ ] Deny)
- [ ] Downgrade to _____
- [ ] Review Again _____
- [x] Reviewer _____ Date _____

Action Assigned to CA/D/R

Action Taken _____

...e of Action _____

...tion Office Symbol _____

...e of Officer _____

...ection to DC/R _____

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PA 611.95a251/9-1255

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

ACTION COPY

16-13
Action
FE
Info
RMR

CONFIDENTIAL

9/13/55 8 p.m.
CORRECTED COPY

Control: 5709
Rec'd: September 12, 1955
11:34 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 715, September 12, 4 p.m.

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

Request names and other information Americans imprisoned Communist China from whom no letters received, no acknowledgment packages delivered, and no other data on health or whereabouts. Believe if I am able cite specific cases indicating failure Communists provide even these most elementary facts despite their promises of year ago, I will have additional argument support my requests complete information Americans still imprisoned and press for their right to communicate and their early release.

Latest material here obtained Hong Kong Despatch 141 and DEPTEL 705, February 25.

GOWEN

RSP:HMR

Action Assigned to LA/DIR

Action Taken

Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1955 SEP 14 AM 6 55

611.93/9-1255 CS

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FILE COPY (182)

Department of State

INDICATE COLLECT
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04545

279

DC/T

#163

SENT TO: ALL AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR POSTS

Origin

FOR PERSONAL ATTENTION CHIEF OF MISSION FROM THE SECRETARY

Reports indicate widespread erroneous impression abroad that Ambassadorial talks Geneva signify relaxation US opposition recognition or UN seating Communist China. US continues oppose recognition Communist China. US recognizes and supports Government Republic of China for reasons set forth CA 7316 of April 23. — 611.93

CP 793.5 - 700.5 - 611.90

Continued Communist military buildup South China coastal area and direct and indirect support of threat of force and subversion against Governments of Korea, Vietnam and Laos are serious unsettling factors in general Far Eastern situation.

Hoover

ACTING

HOOVER

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- [ ] Deny)
- [ ] Downgrade to _____
- [ ] Review Again _____
- [x] Reviewer _____ Date 8/18/82

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/DLOsborn/ikb/ek 9/12/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Herbert Hoover, Jr.

Clearances: FE - Mr. Sebald — WB
FE - Mr. Robertson WSR
L - Mr. Phleger IN DRAFT.

Approved in draft by the Secretary on September 1 for release when Agreed Announcement issued at Geneva

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(183)

4

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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☐ Deny) Basis I-301
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☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date _____

September 12, 1955

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 13

Dear Alex:

Congratulations on your achievement in bringing off the Agreed Announcement in a form so acceptable to us. It was a masterly piece of negotiation on your part. Everyone working on the subject here is full of praise for you. The imprisoned Americans and their relatives will certainly feel that they are permanently indebted to you. It is an accomplishment in which you can justly take an intense satisfaction. I wanted to tell you this over the phone on Saturday, but as you no doubt understood, we felt that if the conversation were being monitored we would not want the extent of our elation to be clearly apparent.

Friday and Saturday were days of furious activity. The stage was all set by the close of business on Friday. We were concerned by the extent of the press leaks here which we feared might actually jeopardize the issuance of the Agreed Announcement. John Hightower of the A.P. had practically the entire story on the ticker at noon on Friday. He obviously had been in touch with someone who had read all or virtually all of the telegrams. We are baffled and troubled by these leaks. We are taking steps to reduce the distribution of the telegrams to and from you. They have had entirely too wide distribution, up to now having

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
Geneva.

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having gone not only all over the Department but all over the Government. Henceforth I would recommend that you mark all of your telegrams other than completely non-sensitive routine factual ones "limited distribution".

Suydam's background briefing of the press went well. The points were effectively made and registered with the correspondents. Not all of the accounts reflected this briefing but a number of influential papers carried accounts which did.

We are meeting at 11:45 to consider instructions for your next meeting on Wednesday. This undoubtedly will be a tough one, as will succeeding ones. I doubt if Wang actually expects to get much if anything in the way of real substantive gains under Item Two from these Ambassadorial talks, but he undoubtedly is going to press very forcefully for immediate entry into Item Two. He will try hard to raise a number of subjects which are high on their priority list. He will want to get his debating points in the record and he will want to lay the groundwork for urging a later meeting at a still higher level.

The disposition here still is to refuse to enter into any discussions even of the topics which might be suitable for consideration under Item Two until all the Americans are out. As set forth in my last letter, it is the view that there is ample grist for the mill on the implementation of Item One, for the Wednesday meeting and the one after that. We will supply you with more information on the steps we have taken both as to publicity for the Agreed Announcement, measures to assist the Indian Government in discharging its function, and the movements of Chinese who have manifested a desire to return. It is true that it takes

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two to carry on a discussion and if Wang is absolutely adamant in refusing to say or listen to anything more on Item One, we would be face to face with an impasse. How to avoid a possible breakdown of the discussions if he takes an absolute rigid negative position is a poser. We hope it will not come to this. We are relying heavily on your negotiating skill, on a probable Communist analysis that it is not in their interest to take an absolute intransigent position at this stage which might lead to a rupture, and on the Good Lord.

Good wishes and assurances of every support we can extend you. We know you will need both.

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

P.S. Enclosed is a document on Charles Miner's difficulties at Shanghai, which was left with me on September 9 by Mort Rosse. This is for your background information. I do not know that you will want to get down to such details as this in the talks, but you are free to use it in your discretion in any way you wish.

Enclosure: Memorandum re Charles Miner.

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184

DUTGOING TELEGRAM

INDICATE [ ] COLLECT
[ ] CHARGE TO

Department of State

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

04930 (280)

SEP 13 PM 4 54

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 713

FOR JOHNSON

Your 715.

Following are detained Americans from whom so far as we aware no mail been received in United States despite assurances June 10 1954 Communists would arrange for exchange mail through Red Cross:

Dr. ~~Bradshaw~~ Bradshaw

Clifford

Proulx

Redmond.

FYI Defense affirms Downey Fenteau been heard from END FYI.

Despite many US requests through Geneva contact no specific information as to health these persons. Red Cross parcels been addressed to all these persons but no acknowledgment from them. No response to US Red Cross request that Chinese Communist Red Cross confirm delivery other than perfunctory reply "packages delivered to proper department" from Communist Red Cross.

No pertinent information above persons subsequent to material you have.

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S/S-CR
SEP 13 1955 P.M.

DC/3
Anal 55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

Hoover
ACTING
(WPMcC)
Walter P. McConaughy
Walter P. McConaughy

HOOVER
CS/M

Confidential
FE

Drafted by:
FE:CA:DLOsborn:mej:9/13/55

Clearances:
SCS - Mrs. Glover (cleared in substance) JPM
FE - Mr. Robertson MSR

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Classification

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OUTGOING
TELEGRAM (185)

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

05165

SEPT 15 1955

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA NIACT 717

FOR JOHNSON

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Origin

Info:

Dist. Desired (Offices Only)
FE
S/S
G
L -
r. Phleger

Instructions for September 14 meeting.

1. Basic position remains as stated second paragraph DEPTEL 677.

2. While discussion concerning Item Two should be postponed if possible until Item 1 completed and in any event should not be engaged in until it is clear that Agreed Announcement initiated in good faith, it important to bear in mind necessity of avoiding breakdown of talks.

3. It appears to us here that avoidance of Item II topics can best be accomplished by taking a positive position that urgent necessity exists for detailing the numerous steps called for on both sides in implementation of the Agreed Announcement. Progress in effectuating Item 1 is necessary preparation for discussion Item 2.

4. You may make an extensive statement on US implementation of the responsibilities it has assumed under its announcement. You will be given an enumeration of US steps by separate telegram.

5. You should call for a corresponding detailed account of steps taken by PRC to fulfill its responsibilities. This might include report on invitation to office of UK Charge, listing of measures to facilitate contact

Drafted by: WPMcConaughy
FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb/ek 9/13/55

Clearances:

FE - Mr. Sebald

11010

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson WPMcConaughy H.

L - Mr. Phleger

U - Mr. Hoover

SECRET
Classification

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611.93/9-1355

CS/A

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611.93/9-1355

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Contact of American citizens with him, itemization of steps taken to assure widespread publicity for Announcement in places where it will become known to all detained Americans, whereabouts of all Americans who wish to leave, welfare of jailed Americans, progress of 9 Americans already granted exit permits, status of 3 other Americans not in jail who do not yet have exit permits, and movements and approved travel routes for Americans enroute out of the country or preparing to depart.

6. There is no objection to a recess if desired by Wang, in which case it should be by agreed announcement.

7. If Wang endeavors obtain priority for his proposed Item Two topics by prematurely presenting a list to you at next meeting you should counter by telling him that you have Item Two topic in your pocket also (FYI missing American servicemen), but you are not presenting it yet because time is not yet ripe and same restraint expected from him.

8. Meetings should not be oftener than twice a week.

Hoover
ACTING

"HOOVER"

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11011

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Classification

OUTGOING TELEGRAM (186)

INDICATE: [ ] COLLECT
[ ] CHARGE TO

Department of State

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SEP 13 (282)
05 1 66 7 42
DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA NIACT ~~1718~~ 718

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

Our 717 paragraph 4.

Following is enumeration of US steps in implementation Agreed Announcement.

1. On September 11 Indian Ministry External Affairs informed of Agreed Announcement by ~~Ambassador~~ American ~~[illegible]~~ Embassy New Delhi and formally invited assume described role. Indian Ambassador Washington informed September 10.

2. Official press release quoting Agreed Announcement issued by Department 1:00 PM EDT September 10. Press corps Washington specially assembled receive announcement and explanation thereof same hour.

3. Announcement carried in full by all major US wire services including AP, UP, and INS.

4. Announcement constituted leading news item ~~September~~ September 11 papers all over US. Circulation American papers Sunday far greater than any other ~~day~~ morning of week. Announcement prominently carried US Sunday newspapers numbering nearly 500 with circulation of over 45 million. Verbatim text announcement carried in major newspapers. Substantially all Monday newspapers, numbering over 1,860, with circulation of over

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CS/DLS

Confidential File 611.93/9-1355

Drafted by: WPMcC
FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb
FE/P:JWHenderson

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: WPMcC
Walter P. McConaughy

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11012

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54 million, also gave wide publicity to announcement. See DEPTEL 714 for further particulars on US press coverage.

5. Agreed Announcement prominently carried all nation wide radio news broadcasts evening Saturday ~~September~~ September 10 and all day September 11. Announcement also prominently featured television news programs September 10 and 11.

6. It has been specifically verified that announcement was prominently carried all newspapers ~~and~~ in all US cities containing large Chinese population, namely New York, San Francisco, Chicago, Washington and Boston. Announcement obtained wide coverage in US areas where Chinese students chiefly concentrated, namely Pacific Coast, Mid West, and New England.

7. The Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, has been specifically apprised of the Announcement and arrangements made for district directors of all I & NS districts throughout the US be informed of Announcement and of the right of Chinese who express desire return mainland China to communicate with Indian Embassy if they wish to do so.

8. The Indian Government of course is aware that it is always free disseminate any type public information it may desire in US including full ~~confirmation~~ information concerning its function under Agreed Announcement, without reference to US Government.

Hoover
ACTING
(WPMcc)

HOOVER "

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TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

187

283

18-B
Action
FE
Info
RMR

CONFIDENTIAL

Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Control: 7008
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 14, 1955
10:18 A.M.
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R file

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 722, SEPTEMBER 14, 1 P.M.

NIACT

FROM JOHNSON

1) I OPENED THIS MORNING'S MEETING WITH A PREPARED STATEMENT ALONG LINES OF DEPTEL 718 CLOSING WITH HOPE WANG WOULD GIVE ME SIMILAR DETAILED INFORMATION ON IMPLEMENTATION ANNOUNCEMENT. HE REPLIED WITH SOME GENERAL STATEMENTS THAT WIDE PUBLICITY GIVEN IN CHINA AND PROPOSED US "PRESENT OFFICIAL TEXT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO UK" AND THEY WOULD DO LIKEWISE WITH INDIA "WHICH WOULD COMPLETE OFFICIAL PROCEDURES AFTER WHICH PRC WOULD FORMALLY NOTIFY UK CHARGE IN PEKING".

2) I REPLIED BY ASKING SERIES QUESTIONS ON METHOD WHEREBY AMERICANS IN CHINA UNABLE TO READ CHINESE WOULD OBTAIN INFORMATION ON ANNOUNCEMENT, HOW THOSE IN JAIL WOULD BE INFORMED, FACILITIES FOR THOSE IN JAIL COMMUNICATE WITH UK CHARGE (PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THIS POINT AS STILL 4 PERSONS IN JAIL FROM WHOM NO LETTERS WHATSOEVER RECEIVED) ARRANGEMENTS FOR UK CHARGE INTERVIEW AMERICANS IN JAIL WHEN IN ACCORDANCE ANNOUNCEMENT US DESIRES FACTS BE INVESTIGATED, MEANING "PRESCRIBED PERIOD" WITHIN WHICH FATHERS GORDON, HYDE AND JOYCE ORDERED TO LEAVE, DATE AND TIME 10 AMERICANS NOTIFIED LAST MEETING WILL ARRIVE HONG KONG, AND SPECIFIC INFORMATION ON HEALTH AND WELFARE EACH AMERICAN IN JAIL NOT YET RELEASED.

3) WANG REPLIED FULL TEXT ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD BE CARRIED IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE PUBLICATIONS IN PRC, THOSE IN JAIL WOULD HAVE ANNOUNCEMENT TRANSLATED AND READ TO THEM. DID NOT REPLY ON FREEDOM PRISONERS COMMUNICATE WITH UK CHARGE, SAID INVESTIGATIONS BY CHARGE WOULD BE "IN ACCORDANCE WITH TERMS OF ANNOUNCEMENT" WOULD SUBSEQUENTLY INFORM ME OF ANTICIPATED DATES OF ARRIVAL HONG KONG RELEASED AMERICANS AND ON HEALTH AND WELFARE THOSE STILL

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IMPRISONED. HE THEN RETURNED TO HIS PROPOSAL FORMAL TEXT ANNOUNCEMENT BE GIVEN UK BY US AND INDIA BY PRC. PRC WILL THEN GIVE FULL INFORMATION TO UK ON THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES "ENTRUSTED" TO THEM BY US.

4) HE THEN ASKED MY ASSENT TO HIS SPEAKING, ON WHICH I INDICATED I HAD NOTHING FURTHER TO SAY THIS MORNING AND INDICATED NO OBJECTION. HE THEN PULLED OUT AND READ A LONG PREPARED STATEMENT TO EFFECT NOW THAT "AGREEMENT" REACHED ON ITEM 1 SHOULD TURN TO ITEM 2 UNDER WHICH DESIRED RAISE TWO POINTS: US ECONOMIC BLOCKADE AND EMBARGO AND PREPARATION FOR "NEGOTIATIONS AT A HIGHER LEVEL ON EASING AND ELIMINATION OF TENSIONS IN THE TAIWAN AREA". ALSO ASKED WHAT I THOUGHT SHOULD BE DISCUSSED UNDER ITEM 2.

5) AT CLOSE HIS STATEMENT I SAID I HAD "NOTED IT" AND STATED THAT I ALSO HAD MATTERS WHICH I WISHED TO DISCUSS UNDER ITEM 2 "AT THE PROPER TIME" BUT FELT IT WAS PREMATURE. "I CANNOT CONSIDER ITEM 1 FINALLY DISPOSED OF UNTIL ALL AMERICANS IN PRC WHO DESIRE RETURN ARE ABLE TO DO SO." "AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT REPRESENTED ADVANCE BUT WAY IN WHICH CARRIED OUT CANNOT BUT HELP INFLUENCE ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH DISCUSSION ITEM 2 CARRIED ON." HOPED WE COULD QUICKLY GET TO ITEM 2.

6) WANG APPARENTLY SURPRISED AND NOT PREPARED FOR MY POSITION WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS VERY STRANGE AND REGRETTABLE. IN MUCH INCONCLUSIVE GIVE AND TAKE ALONG THESE LINES, I POINTED OUT ITEM 1 COULD HAVE BEEN QUICKLY AND COMPLETELY RESOLVED IF THEY HAD PERMITTED ALL AMERICANS RETURN BUT 19 AMERICANS STILL DETAINED, ETC. IN REPLY SPECIFIC QUESTION AS TO WHEN I WOULD CONSIDER IT "PROPER TIME" PROCEED ITEM 2, I STATED "WHEN IT IS CLEAR THE TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BEING FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTED."

7) AT END OF MEETING WHEN USUAL QUESTION AROSE AS TO WHAT TO SAY TO PRESS, HE SAID "I WILL INFORM PRESS OF THE TWO ITEMS I HAVE RAISED AND YOU ARE FREE TO TELL THEM WHAT YOU WISH". I MISUNDERSTOOD AND INTERPRETED HIS STATEMENT AS MEANING ONLY THAT HE WAS GOING TO TELL THE PRESS WE HAD DISCUSSED AGENDA ITEMS 1 AND 2, AND REPLIED THAT I WAS GOING TO INFORM PRESS SIMPLY THAT WE HAD

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EXCHANGED INFORMATION ON IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. ON COMPARING NOTES MY ADVISORS AFTER MEETING I AM NOW CLEAR THAT WHAT HE MEANT WAS THAT HE WAS GOING TO INFORM PRESS TWO SUBJECTS RAISED HIS PREPARED STATEMENT THIS MORNING WHICH HE HAS DONE. REGRET I DID NOT REALIZE THIS WAS HIS INTENTION OR I WOULD HAVE PROTESTED AS CONTRARY SPIRIT OUR AGREEMENT ON PRIVATE NATURE TALKS.

8) NEXT MEETING TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20.

GOWEN

Note: Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 9/14/55 10:53 a.m. EMB (CWO)

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28-21
Action
FE

SECRET

Control: 7243
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 14, 1955
4:14 PM

Info
RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 724, SEPTEMBER 14, 6 PM

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

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on Office Symbol
f Officer
n to DC/R file

COMMENTS TODAY'S MEETING:

1. THERE WAS NO PRACTICABLE WAY I COULD PREVENT WANG MAKING HIS STATEMENT ON ITEM TWO THIS MORNING'S MEETING.

2. WHILE AS STATED PARA 7 MYTEL 722 REGRET THAT BECAUSE MISUNDERSTOOD I DID NOT PROTEST WANG'S UNILATERAL PUBLIC STATEMENT ON ITEM TWO, AM CONVINCED HE WAS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS AND DETERMINED DO SO IN ANY EVENT AND MY PROTEST WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN EFFECTIVE EXCEPT FOR RECORD. BELIEVE FINAL RESULT MAY HAVE BEEN USEFUL AS IT ENABLED ME MAKE STATEMENT HERE AND THUS SERVE PUBLICLY CLARIFY ISSUE UPON WHICH THERE HAVE BEEN MANY CONFLICTING PRESS REPORTS AND MUCH MISUNDERSTANDING. IN VIEW ALL CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD NOT PLAN DIRECTLY RAISE ISSUE DURING COURSE NEXT MEETING BUT AT CLOSE MEETING WHEN USUAL QUESTION OF WHAT PRESS WILL BE TOLD ARISES WILL DEBATE TO EXTENT SEEMS NECESSARY ISSUE OF PRIVATE NATURE OF TALKS. AM

3. ALSO QUITE CLEAR AT THIS MORNING'S MEETING THAT IN SPITE PRECISE WORDING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WANG STILL ATTEMPTING MAINTAIN POSITION INDIA TO BE "INVITED" BY PRC TO WHICH U.S. HAS AGREED, SAME POSITION MUTATIS MUTANDIS WITH RESPECT UK. AS I HAD MADE IT VERY CLEAR IN MY OPENING PREPARED STATEMENT WE HAD ALREADY "INVITED" INDIA AND EXPECTED THEY WOULD DO SAME WITH RESPECT UK, AND SINCE HE WAS NOT TOO WELL PREPARED ON SUBJECT, I DELIBERATELY DID NOT PURSUE DEBATE WITH THOUGHT WOULD

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1955 SEP 15 AM 7:02

DEPT. OF STATE

FEB 17 1959

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WOULD WAIT AND SEE WHAT PRC IN FACT DOES THIS REGARD BY NEXT MEETING AND, IF NOT ACCORDANCE TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, WOULD BE USEFUL SUBJECT NEXT MEETING.

4. WANG'S ATTITUDE AT TODAY'S MEETING WAS THAT OF ENTIRE WILLINGNESS EXCHANGE INFORMATION ON IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BUT AT SAME TIME INABILITY SEE REASON WE SHOULD NOT ALSO PROCEED WITH DISCUSSION ITEM TWO.

5. HE WILL UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE STRONG PREPARED STATEMENT ON ENTIRE SUBJECT AT NEXT MEETING AND IT WILL BE IMPORTANT I BE WELL PREPARED TO COUNTER. I CAN AGAIN AS I DID TODAY KEEP HIM ENGAGED FOR PERIOD ON IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BUT THIS DOES NOT STOP HIM FROM RAISING ISSUE BETWEEN US ON TIMING DISCUSSION ITEM TWO.

6. WILL SUBMIT RECOMMENDATION ON TACTICS FOR NEXT MEETING IN SUBSEQUENT MESSAGE.

GOWEN

AAL

Note: Mr. Waddell (FE) notified 9/14/55 5:30 p.m. EH

'MING TELEGRAM

Department of State

ACTION COPY

189

CONFIDENTIAL

25-H
Action
FE

Info
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SOA
SCS

Control: 7295
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 14, 1955
6:31 PM

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 725, SEPTEMBER 14, 9 PM

PRIORITY

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611.93/9-1455

PA

1. AT 15TH MEETING TODAY WHICH LASTED ONE AND HALF HOURS, I OPENED WITH PREPARED STATEMENT SAYING THAT AS I HAD TOLD HIM LAST MEETING, I WAS PREPARED FULLY REPORT EXACT STEPS MY GOVERNMENT HAD TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I MADE VERY DETAILED STATEMENT INCLUDING FOLLOWING POINTS: OFFICIAL PRESS RELEASE GIVING FULL TEXT ISSUED BY DEPARTMENT SEPTEMBER 10 AND WASHINGTON PRESS CORPS ESPECIALLY INVITED TO RECEIVE IT. FULL TEXT CARRIED ALL MAJOR US WIRE SERVICES WHICH SERVE VIRTUALLY ALL DAILY NEWSPAPERS IN US. IT CONSTITUTED LEADING NEWS ITEM SEPTEMBER 11 WHEN CIRCULATION SUNDAY PAPERS FAR GREATER THAN ANY OTHER MORNING OF WEEK AND I GAVE CIRCULATION FIGURES. STATED ANNOUNCEMENT CARRIED IN RADIO AND TELEVISION PROGRAMS TWO DAYS. VERIFIED THAT ANNOUNCEMENT GIVEN WIDE COVERAGE CITIES WITH LARGE CHINESE POPULATIONS AND AREAS WHERE CHINESE STUDENTS CHIEFLY CONCENTRATED. INDIAN AMBASSADOR WASHINGTON INFORMED SATURDAY AND IN DELHI SUNDAY GOI INFORMED AND INVITED ASSUME FUNCTIONS SET FORTH IN ANNOUNCEMENT. ARRANGEMENTS MADE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZTION SERVICE INFORM DISTRICT DIRECTORS RIGHTS CHINESE DESIRING RETURN. CONCLUDED BY SAYING HOPED HE ABLE GIVE ME SIMILAR DETAILED INFORMATION STEPS TAKEN THIS GOVERNMENT TO IMPLEMENT STATEMENTS IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I ADDED CORRECTION IN MY STATEMENT SEPTEMBER 6 THAT 83 CHINESE HAVE DEPARTED US BETWEEN JULY 11 AND AUGUST 31. ACTUALLY ADDITIONAL 90 CHINESE DEPARTED FROM HAWAII MAKING TOTAL 173. HAD NO WAY OF KNOWING HOW MANY OF THESE PEOPLE INTENDED PROCEED CHINA MAINLAND.

2. WANG

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2. WANG REPLIED HE NOTED MY STATEMENT REGARDING DISSEMINATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND THAT FULL TEXT PUBLISHED ALL NEWSPAPERS IN US. SAID LARGE CIRCULATION SHOWED GENERAL PUBLIC ALSO GREATLY INTERESTED IN TALKS HERE. HE TOO HAD PAID ATTENTION TO ARTICLES CARRIED AMERICAN PRESS AND FOUND A NUMBER OF NEWSPAPER COMMENTS ON ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH WERE NOT APPROPRIATE. FOR INSTANCE, SOME SAID PRC INVITED UK TO TAKE CARE OF AMERICAN NATIONALS IN CHINA. THIS DID NOT CORRECTLY REFLECT AGREEMENT BECAUSE PRC AGREED UK WOULD BE INVITED TO IMPLEMENT A PORTION OF AGREEMENT. WANG SAID HE WISHED INFORM ME FULL TEXT CARRIED ALL MEDIA THROUGHOUT CHINA AT SPECIFIED TIME AGREED UPON AND GIVEN PROMINENT HEADLINES ALL NEWSPAPERS SO HE BELIEVED ALL PEOPLE COULD LEARN OF NEWS AND READ ANNOUNCEMENTS; RADIO STATIONS BROADCAST FULL TEXT IN CHINESE AND ENGLISH.

3. WANG THEN PROPOSED US GOVERNMENT PRESENT OFFICIAL TEXT OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO UK AND HE WOULD PRESENT SAME TO GOI THUS COMPLETING OFFICIAL PROCEDURES REGARDING INVITATION OF THIRD POWERS. AFTER THESE OFFICIAL PROCEDURES CONCLUDED HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD FORMALLY NOTIFY UK CHARGE IN PEKING.

4. I REPLIED I NOTED HIS STATEMENT ON PUBLICATIONS ANNOUNCEMENT IN CHINESE PRESS AND RADIO. I ASKED HOW IT WOULD BE BROUGHT TO ATTENTION OF AMERICANS MANY OF WHOM DO NOT UNDERSTAND CHINESE. WAS THERE ANY ENGLISH LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER WHICH AMERICANS READ? ALSO SINCE AMERICANS IN JAIL DO NOT HAVE ACCESS TO NORMAL MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION, BY WHAT MEANS WOULD THEY BE INFORMED OF TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT? WE HAD INFORMED GOI AND INVITED IT IN ACCORDANCE WITH TERMS ANNOUNCEMENT TO ASSUME ITS FUNCTIONS IN US. APART FROM WHATEVER ACTION WE MAY TAKE WITH REFERENCE TO UK, I WAS INTERESTED TO KNOW ACTION HIS GOVERNMENT HAD TAKEN TO INVITE UK PERFORM ITS FUNCTIONS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I REQUESTED INFORMATION ON STEPS TAKEN TO INFORM AMERICANS IN JAIL AND PERMIT THEM TO COMMUNICATE FREELY WITH UK CHARGE. I PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ON THIS POINT BECAUSE I UNDERSTOOD DURING MEETINGS LAST YEAR THAT HE HAD AGREED ALL AMERICANS IN JAIL

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JAIL WOULD BE PERMITTED SEND AND RECEIVE LETTERS. HOWEVER, STILL FOUR IN JAIL FROM WHOM NO LETTERS WHATSOEVER RECEIVED. I FOUND IT HARD BELIEVE PERSONS INCARCERATED SO LONG WOULD NOT WANT TO WRITE THEIR FRIENDS AND RELATIVES IF GIVEN OPPORTUNITY. I ALSO ASKED WHAT ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR UK CHARGE INTERVIEW AMERICANS WHEN CHARGE RECEIVED REQUEST FROM IMPRISONED AMERICAN AND MY GOVERNMENT DESIRED FACTS INVESTIGATED. I ASKED WHAT WAS "PRESCRIBED PERIOD" MENTIONED IN NCNA SEPTEMBER 11 ANNOUNCEMENT REGARDING RELEASE FATHERS GORDON, HYDE AND JOYCE. I REQUESTED DATES AND TIME WHEN 10 AMERICANS RELEASED WOULD ARRIVE IN HONG KONG. ALSO REQUESTED SPECIFIC INFORMATION ON HEALTH, WELFARE EACH DETAINED AMERICAN NOT YET RELEASED. EXPLAINED THIS QUESTION RAISED SEVERAL TIMES IN TALKS DURING PAST YEAR BUT ONLY INFORMATION WE RECEIVED WAS THAT ALL WERE IN GOOD HEALTH EXCEPT MRS. BRADSHAW. HOWEVER, WE HAD LEARNED SEVERAL PERSONS HAD BEEN SERIOUSLY ILL.

5. WANG SAID HIS GOVERNMENT GAVE AGREEMENT WIDE PUBLICITY TO INFORM AMERICANS AND NOT TO PREVENT THEM FROM BEING INFORMED. PUBLICATIONS IN ENGLISH ARE AVAILABLE TO THEM. IN PRISONS THERE WERE PEOPLE WHO WOULD READ NEWSPAPERS TO AMERICANS. ALL PERSONS CONCERNED WOULD CERTAINLY BE INFORMED WITHOUT EXCEPTION. HE SAID ACCORDING TO CHINESE RED CROSS 2,547 LETTERS AND 277 SMALL PARCELS HANDLED FOR AMERICANS IN YEAR ENDING JUNE. FIGURE INCLUDED LETTERS SENT AND RECEIVED. FURTHERMORE CHINESE GOVERNMENT ON MANY OCCASIONS NOTIFIED PERSONS THEY COULD WRITE THEIR FAMILIES AND CHINESE RED CROSS ALSO OFFERED DELIVER LETTERS. THEREFORE ALL PERSONS HAD FULL FREEDOM SEND MAIL IF THEY WISHED.

6. WANG SAID INVESTIGATION OF CASES WOULD BE CARRIED OUT ACCORDING PROVISIONS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. REGARDING THIRD POWER IMPLEMENTATION AND FUNCTIONS HE REPEATED HIS PROPOSAL US DELIVER FORMAL COMPLETE TEXT TO UK AND PRC THE SAME TO GOI. ADDED. OF COURSE HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD GIVE FULL INFORMATION TO UK CHARGE ON CARRYING OUT FUNCTIONS ENTRUSTED TO IT BY US GOVERNMENT IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. PROPOSED FORMAL TEXT BE HANDED PROMPTLY TO THIRD PARTIES.

7. WANG SAID

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7. WANG SAID HE WOULD GIVE INFORMATION REGARDING TIMES DEPARTURE THOSE RELEASED AND HEALTH PERSONS IN JAIL AFTER COMMUNICATING WITH HIS GOVERNMENT. HE THEN ASKED IF HE COULD MAKE A STATEMENT.

8. I REPLIED I HAD NOTHING MORE TO SAY TODAY.

9. WANG THEN READ PREPARED STATEMENT. (SEE FOLLOWING TEL FOR FULL REPORT).

10. FOLLOWING THIS STATEMENT I REPLIED I HAD NOTED WHAT HE SAID AND I TOO WOULD HAVE MATTERS I WISHED DISCUSS WITH HIM AT PROPER TIME UNDER AGENDA ITEM TWO. I COULD NOT HELP BUT FEEL IT PREMATURE ENTER THIS DISCUSSION AT PRESENT MOMENT. ITEM ONE CONCERNED RETURN CIVILIANS AND I COULD NOT CONSIDER IT FINALLY DISPOSED OF UNTIL ALL AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY WHO DESIRED RETURN WERE ABLE TO DO SO. WE HAD ISSUED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH HE ASSURED ME WOULD PERMIT THEM RETURN EXPEDITIOUSLY. WAY IN WHICH TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT CARRIED OUT COULD NOT BUT INFLUENCE ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH WE DISCUSSED QUESTIONS UNDER ITEM TWO OF AGENDA. I HOPED POSSIBLE VERY QUICKLY ESTABLISH ATMOSPHERE AND SITUATION IN WHICH WE COULD FRUITFULLY AND HELPFULLY DISCUSS THESE OTHER ITEMS. I CONSIDERED INFORMATION WE EXCHANGED THIS MEETING ON IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT VERY USEFUL AND HELPFUL.

11. WANG REPLIED AGENDA PROVIDED TWO ITEMS: ONE, RETURN CIVILIANS; TWO, PRACTICAL MATTERS WHICH HE WAS DISCUSSING. THIS AGENDA BASED ON ORIGINAL US PROPOSAL. WE HAD SPENT 40 DAYS DISCUSSING XIRST ITEM WHICH RESULTED IN ENABLING NUMBER AMERICANS RETURN AND ARRANGEMENTS FOR REMAINDER WOULD BE MADE IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREEMENT. NOW ARRANGEMENT REACHED ON FIRST ITEM WE SHOULD GO ON TO SECOND. AGREEMENT MUST BE IMPLEMENTED BY BOTH SIDES BUT IMPLEMENTATION COULD NOT BE COMPLETED IN A DAY OR A WEEK. HE COULD NOT EXPECT CHINESE CIVILIANS AND STUDENTS IN US RETURN

IN SUCH

IN SUCH SHORT TIME. HE FAILED SEE PURPOSE REMAINING ON FIRST ITEM AGENDA AFTER 40 DAYS OF DISCUSSION AND AFTER REACHING AGREEMENT. UNDER SECOND ITEM BOTH SIDES COULD RAISE QUESTIONS AT ISSUE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES IN ACCORDANCE ORIGINAL PROPOSAL OF US WHICH WAS CONFIRMED AT BEGINNING OF TALKS.

12. I SAID IT WAS NOT MY CHOICE WE SPENT 40 TO 45 DAYS DISCUSSING ITEM ONE. AT OUTSET I SUGGESTED QUICK EXPEDITIOUS WAY RESOLVE ITEM ONE WAS PERMIT THOSE WHO WANTED TO RETURN TO RETURN. HE DID NOT FIND THAT SUGGESTION ACCEPTABLE AND I ACCEDED TO HIS POSITION. OF THOSE AMERICANS ABOUT WHOM WE STARTED OUR DSICUSSION AUGUST 2 THERE ARE STILL 19 NOT YET ABLE TO RETURN. WE AGREED ON THE AGENDA. I FULLY HONOR THAT AGREMENT AND WAS PREPARED ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS ITEM TWO AT PROPER TIME.

13. WANG ASKED WHAT "PROPER TIME" MEANT AND WHEN COULD ITEM TWO BE DISCUSSED.

14. I REPLIED IT WAS VERY SIMPLE MATTER. IT WOULD BE WHEN IT WAS CLEAR TERMS ANNOUNCEMENT WERE BEING FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTED. I STATED ANNOUNCEMENT SAYS "FURTHER APPROPRIATE MEASURES WILL BE ADOPTED SO THEY CAN EXPEDITIOUSLY EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN". HE HAD INFORMED ME NAMES SOME AMERICANS NOW BEING ENABLED TO RETURN AND I HOPED HE WOULD SOON BE ABLE INFORM ME OF OTHERS AS WELL. MY GOVERNMENT INTENDED FULLY AND FAITHFULLY CARRY OUT TERMS ANNOUNCEMENT AND I WOULD KEEP HIM FULLY INFORMED ON MEASURES TAKEN TO THIS END. HE HAD TOLD ME SOME MEASURES HIS GOVERNMENT HAD TAKEN. THIS WAS HELPFUL AND USEFUL AND I HOPED NEXT MEETING HE COULD GIVE ME FURTHER INFORMATION THIS REGARD.

15. WANG INSISTED HE FAILED SEE CONNECTION BETWEEN IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENT AND SECOND ITEM OF AGENDA WHICH WE WERE GOING TO DISCUSS. HE SAID WE HAVE ALREADY DISCUSSED AT GREAT LENGTH MEANS FOR RETURN OF NATIONALS OF BOTH SIDES AND HE COULD NOT SEE WHY WE REMAINED ON ITEM ONE AND DID NOT ENTER ON DISCUSSION ITEM TWO. DID WE DESIRE RETURN TO OLD GROUND COVERED IN DISCUSSING

RETURN

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RETURN CIVILIANS? HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE MEANINGLESS IF WE RETURNED TO ARGUMENTS ON ITEM ONE BECAUSE AGREEMENT REACHED AND CONSENT OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS HAD RESOLVED AND SETTLED THAT QUESTION. HE FAILED TO SEE HOW WE COULD PUT ASIDE ITEM TWO AND RETURN TO ITEM ONE.

16. I REPLIED I WAS AS INTERESTED AS HE IN ITEM TWO BUT IT WAS OF TREMENDOUS IMPORTANCE WE HAVE BEST POSSIBLE ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH TO DISCUSS THESE MATTERS.

17. WANG SAID HE THOUGHT MY LINE OR ARGUMENT VERY PECULIAR AND REGRETTABLE. HE WAS DISAPPOINTED AFTER WE REACHED AGREEMENT ON ITEM ONE WE SHOULD PUT ASIDE ITEM TWO AND RETURN TO ITEM ONE.

18. I SAID WE WERE NOT RETURNING TO ITEM ONE BUT WE WERE ONLY STILL DISCUSSING IT. AGREED STATEMENT REPRESENTED PROGRESS. I HAD NO DESIRE GO OVER OLD ARGUMENTS AND NO SUCH INTENTION, BUT DISCUSSION OF IMPLEMENTATION WAS VERY USEFUL AND I HAD HOPED HE FELT THE SAME.

19. WANG SAID HE THOUGHT DISCUSSION IMPLEMENTATION AGREEMENT USEFUL BUT SHOULD NOT PREVENT DISCUSSION ITEM TWO. HE HAD PRESENTED HIS VIEWS ITEM TWO AND HOPED I WOULD GIVE CONSIDERATION HIS VIEWS NEXT TIME. HE ASKED IF WE SHOULD END MEETING.

20. I SUGGESTED WE MEET AGAIN SEPTEMBER 20 AND ASKED WHAT ANNOUNCEMENT SHOULD BE GIVEN TO PRESS.

21. WANG REPLIED HE WOULD TELL PRESS HE HAD RAISED TWO TOPICS. WE WOULD BE FREE TO TELL THEM WHAT WE WISHED.

22. I SAID I WOULD TELL PRESS WE HAD EXCHANGED INFORMATION ON IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

GOWEN

AAL

NOTE: MR WADDELL (FE) NOTIFIED, 9/14/55, 6:50 PM, EH

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Mrs. Stalnaker

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Control: 7303
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 14, 1955
6:58 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 726, SEPTEMBER 14, 10 P.M.

Action Assigned to EA/D

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. REFERENCE PARAGRAPH 9 MYTEL 725, FOLLOWING IS SUBSTANCE WANG'S PREPARED STATEMENT:

2. NOW HAVING REACHED AGREEMENT ON QUESTION RETURN CIVILIANS BOTH SIDES TO RESPECIVE COUNTRIES ACCORDING TO AGENDA, WE SHOULD GO ON TO DISCUSSION SETTLEMENT OTHER PRACTICAL MATTERS OF CONCERN TO BOTH SIDES. ON BASIS SAME SPIRIT NEGOTIATION AND CONCILIATION SHOULD BE POSSIBLE REACH AGREEMENT QUICKLY ON THIS ITEM ALSO. HE PROPOSED EACH SIDE PUT FORWARD QUESTIONS WHICH EACH THOUGHT INVOLVED RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES IN ORDER ALL COULD BE CONSIDERED. HE THEN SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO PUT FORWARD TWO POINTS.

3. FIRST POINT WAS QUESTION OF ECONOMIC BLOCKADE AND EMBARGO IMPOSED ON CHINA BY UNITED STATES. THIS WAS A MAJOR FACTOR LEADING TO TENSE RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. SHORTLY AFTER PRC ESTABLISHED US INSTITUTED EMBARGO. OUTBREAK KOREAN WAR WAS SEIZED UPON AS FURTHER PRETEXT TO INTENSIFY ECONOMIC EMBARGO AND BLOCKADE. SUCH A POLICY WAS EXTREMELY UNREASONABLE AND UNJUST. NOW THAT KOREAN WAR STOPPED LONG AGO, LESS EXCUSE THAN EVER FOR CONTINUATION THIS POLICY WHICH HINDERED IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS AND CREATED ARTICIAL BARRIERS TO TRADE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS AMONG NATIONS. FRANKLY RAISING THIS QUESTION DID NOT IMPLY EMBARGO CAUSED FORMIDABLE DIFFICULTIES FOR CHINESE, BUT POLICY UNREASONABLE AND UNJUST AND DID NOT BENEFIT FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES AND ECONOMIC WELFARE THEREFORE SHOULD BE REVOKED. SINCE OPENING OF TALKS MANY COUNTRIES

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FILED
SEP 15 1955
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

COUNTRIES EXPRESSED HOPE WE COULD AGREE ON LIFTING EMBARGO. HE HOPED WE COULD MEET ASPIRATIONS THESE COUNTRIES AND IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND US.

4. SECOND POINT HE WISHED RAISE WAS PREPARATION FOR SINO-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS AT HIGHER LEVEL. TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA KEY QUESTION BETWEEN CHINA AND US. CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAD MADE SERIES EFFORTS EASE TENSION TAIWAN AREA. AT BANDUNG CONFERENCE CHOU EN-LAI STATED CHINESE AND AMERICAN PEOPLE WERE FRIENDLY, AND CHINESE DID NOT WANT WAR WITH UNITED STATES. HE PROPOSED WE SIT DOWN TO NEGOTIATE ELIMINATION TENSIONS TAIWAN AREA. DULLES STATED JULY 26 PRESS CONFERNCE WHATEVER DIFFERENCES EXISTED SHOULD NOT BE SETTLED BY RECOURSE TO FORCE WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO INTERNATIONAL WAR. WANG SAID WE SHOULD PROCEED WITH CONCRETE ARRANGEMENTS FOR NEGOTIATIONS TO EASE AND ELIMINATE TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA. OBSTACLES COULD NOT BE RESOLVED IN THESE TALKS BUT MUST BE SETTLED IN CONFERENCE AT HIGHT LEVEL FOR WHICH OUR TALKS SHOULD AND COULD PREPARE.

5. WANG CONCLUDED SAYING EASING TENSION REQUIRED EFFORT BOTH SIDES. RESOLTUION THESE TWO QUESTIONS WOULD AID GREATLY IN EASING TENSIONS. HE WILLING LISTEN MY VIEWS ON THESE TWO AND ALSO ON WHAT SHOULD BE DISCUSSED AND SETTLED UNDER AGENDA ITEM TWO.

GOWEN

VHD

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(191)

18-B

Action

FE

Info

RMR

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28 8

Control: 7577
Rec'd: September 15, 1955
7:17 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 729, September 15, 11 a.m.

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

Word "conferences" in last sentence paragraph 4 my telegram 726 should be corrected read "conference", that is singular not (repeat not) plural.

GOWEN

VH/11

NOTE: FE Message Center notified 9/15/9:36 a.m. EMB (CWO)

Action Assigned to ...
Action Taken
Date of Action
... Office Symbol
... of Officer
...tion to DC/R

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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(192) (290)

5-L

Action
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Info

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Control: 8037
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 15, 1955
6:20 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 732, SEPTEMBER 15, 6 P.M.

FROM JOHNSON

1. WITH REFERENCE PARAGRAPH 3 DEPTEL 678, I HAVE NOT YET ADVISED WANG OF INTENTION TSIEN DEPART CLEVELAND AS I FELT IT PREFERABLE WAIT DETERMINE WHETHER HE ACTUALLY DOES DEPART. WOULD APPRECIATE CONFIRMATION HIS DEPARTURE FOR USE NEXT MEETING TOGETHER WITH INFORMATION ON NUMBER OTHER CHINESE DEPARTING SAME SHIP.

2. ASSUME I WILL ALSO BE FULLY INFORMED JUST PRIOR TO OUR NEXT MEETING ON SITUATION WITH RESPECT TO ASSUMPTION OF FUNCTIONS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BY INDIA AND UK.

3. BELIEVE IT ALSO BE USEFUL IF I COULD HAVE INFORMATION ON PUBLICITY GIVEN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT IN CHINESE LANGUAGE PRESS IN UNITED STATES.

TLS

Action Assigned to CA/DIR GOWEN

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TELEGRAM 193

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 728

FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Following is text London's 1034:

(Code Room please repeat London's 1034, Control 7183)

Hoover
ACTING
(WPMcC)

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Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:ek 9/15/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

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(194)

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
SEP 21 1955
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

September 19, 1955

Official - Informal
SECRET

Letter No. 8

Dear Walter:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 12 which arrived here yesterday. We get most excellent pouch service on your letters to me and they are most timely and helpful. However, I am discouraged at the time it seems to take my letters to reach you. I fear that most of them are out of date and overtaken by events by the time they do arrive. I am going to see what I can do from this end, but fear that there isn't much as we are up against complicated courier schedules.

Wang moved yesterday under item 2 much more decisively than might have been expected. It is quite clear that by offering only the two topics they hope to get out of this stage very quickly in order to pass on to the Foreign Ministers' meeting. With the exception of "no force" the two items that we have to propose are of a very miniscule nature as far as the length of the negotiations here are concerned. Chou's proposal for a Foreign Ministers' meeting is their answer to our "no force" point, and they will probably reply to "no force" proposals by saying that this would be something for the "higher level" and attempt to avoid discussion. Of course we can counter by making something acceptable to us in the field of "no force" pre-condition for even discussion of a higher level meeting. This, of course, carries with it the difficulty of the more or less implied commitment to a higher level meeting if they come through with anything remotely responsive to our request.

Related to all this, of course, is what we really want and expect to get under "no force". I would hope to be very clear on this before I would start. I find it entirely impossible in my own mind to think through to any logical demand on the Communists that would have the effect of at least a promise of a cease fire in the Formosa area without relating it to what we could ask or obtain from the PRC in the same sphere.

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State.

With the

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Lot 72 D 415

With the paucity of subjects suggested by the PRC as well as the paucity on our side, I wonder how much scope there is actually going to be for discussions on what we are going to discuss under item 2. We are faced with some real dilemmas. A flat refusal even to consider a meeting at a higher level as a subject for discussion under item 2 would, it seems to me, not be consistent with our tactics. On the other hand, the longer it is left alive without challenge, the greater the implication that we may agree to it. Eventually we have only two choices: to turn it down; or expressedly, or impliedly, agree to it under certain conditions. The question is what conditions we would establish. Of course the best tactic is to try to prevent it coming to a head any time in the near future, but to do this I will need substance with which to work. If we have a clearly defined goal under "no force", we could, of course, probably work this vein for a considerable period, but our success in this would be considerably dependent on whether the Communists saw, or thought they saw, a pot of gold of the higher level meeting at the other end.

The only other vein I see that I could work is the embargo, and that is entirely dependent on decisions taken back there. It is my understanding that there was some discussion of this subject and, as I urged the Secretary before I left, I think it of the highest importance, if any shift in our position is going to take place, that the decision be most closely held and given to me to trade with here.

I forgot to mention in my last letter that Wang had invited the four of us to the gala opening of the Peking Opera here. He was very correct in calling to see whether I would be willing to accept the invitation, to which I replied that, although I would be glad to see the opera, I could not accept his invitation to the opening and invitational night where he and other officials would be present and there would be inevitable publicity. He immediately accepted position and sent us tickets for the following night with the promise that there would be no publicity over my presence. We went and he faithfully kept his agreement. Incidentally it is an excellent show and magnificent propaganda in Europe for them just because there is no overt propaganda whatever in it.

I am returning the courtesy by sending him tickets for the New York Philharmonic Orchestra concert here next week.

I wanted you and a few others concerned to know that I was doing this and doing it very deliberately, with the thought this

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of thing will help me carry out our objectives in the difficult days ahead. I am going to have little or nothing in the way of substance to give them, but feel that by maintaining a reasonably easy personal relationship to which he has been responsive, I can do much to avoid or postpone a break when the going gets tough. I hope all of it will also keep them guessing a little without committing us to anything.

With reference my remarks on the telephone that Washington stories were saying we had finished item one, even USIA went way out on the limb on this. With our help the USIA man wrote a very careful story which some bright boy in Washington saw fit to rewrite. I recommend you take a look at the September 12 radio bulletin which carries a September 11 story under a Geneva date line which says almost all the wrong things and is far different from the story the USIA man filed from here. After all our struggle on the phrase the lead says Americans aregoing to be released "as soon as possible". Then down in the story it makes the flat statement "the announcement completed the first item of business on their two point agenda".

I can understand Wang's confusion at yesterday's meeting if, as is likely, they had read this in our own official output.

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

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195

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

291

ACTION COPY

6 B

SECRET

Action Taken

Action

Control: 8413

Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 16, 1955

Date of Action 9:16 A.M.

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

FE

Info

RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 733, SEPTEMBER 16, NOON

FROM JOHNSON

1. ANTICIPATE THAT AT NEXT MEETING WANG WILL INSIST ON OPENING TO WHICH I CANNOT OBJECT AS HE DEFERRED TO MY INSISTENCE ON OPENING LAST MEETING.

2. HE MAY AS PROMISED AT LAST MEETING ANSWER FEW OF QUESTIONS I ASKED ON IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, DEPENDENT ON DEVELOPMENTS AT THAT TIME RAISE QUESTION "INVITATION" TO THIRD COUNTRIES, AND THEN LAUNCH INTO ATTACK ON OUR REFUSAL DISCUSS ITEM TWO AT THIS TIME.

3. I WILL REITERATE ANY UNANSWERED QUESTIONS ON PRC IMPLEMENTATION, DEAL AS NECESSARY WITH QUESTION "INVITATIONS", GIVE FURTHER INFO ON OUR IMPLEMENTATION, AND THEN DEAL WITH QUESTION OF TAKING UP AGENDA ITEM TWO.

4. I WILL APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S SUGGESTION OR INSTRUCTIONS ON HOW I HANDLE QUESTIONS OF "INVITATIONS" AND AGENDA ITEM TWO.

5. ON FIRST QUESTION OF "INVITATIONS" HAVE CHOICE OF SQUARELY MEETING ISSUE IF THEY SHOW SIMILAR DISPOSITION OR ATTEMPTING AVOID DIRECT ISSUE IN MEETING WHILE BEING CAREFUL NOT ACCEPT HIS POSITION. WE HAVE MADE OUR POSITION ENTIRELY CLEAR AT LAST MEETING AS WELL AS PUBLICLY, AGREED STATEMENT IS ALSO CLEAR, AND IT MIGHT BE THAT TO ENGAGE IN SHARP DEBATE ON THIS WITH WANG WOULD GIVE THEM PRETEXT FAIL IMPLEMENT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OUR POSITION ON DISCUSSION AGENDA ITEM TWO. I SHOULD BE ABLE AVOID ISSUE BY AVOIDING FURTHER USE OF WORD "INVITATION" SIMPLY STATING FACT BOTH UNITED KINGDOM AND INDIA NOW OFFICIALLY INFORMED BY US OF

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AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, IF THEY HAVE DONE SAME NO REASON UNITED KINGDOM AND INDIA SHOULD NOT ASSUME FUNCTIONS. HOWEVER, BELIEVE WE CANNOT FINALLY DECIDE HOW HANDLE THIS UNTIL WE KNOW WHAT ATTITUDE INDIA IS TAKING WITH RESPECT OUR INVITATION ON WHICH I HAVE NO INFO HERE.

6. WITH RESPECT SECOND QUESTION OF TIMING OF DISCUSSION ABOUT AGENDA ITEM TWO WILL DESIRE MAKE CAREFULLY PREPARED STATEMENT AND IN THIS REGARD WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS IN LIGHT WHAT I SAID IN LAST MEETING AND MYL SUBSEQUENT PUBLIC STATEMENT.

7. AM CONFIDENT I CAN AVOID ANY QUESTION OF A BREAK AT NEXT MEETING BUT BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT DO MAXIMUM HANDLE MATTER SO AS AVOID ULTIMATUM OR CHALLENGE WHICH COULD LEAD TO FREEZING POSITIONS.

GOWEN

CES

Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 9/16/10:31 a. m. EMB (CWO)

DEPT. OF STATE
1955 SEP 16 AM 11 28
OFFICE OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

(196)

5-35

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301___
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer ___ Date 9/6/78

September 16, 1955

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 14.

Dear Alex:

You raise some basic questions in your letter No. 7 of September 7. Of course these questions had occurred to us and had already been given some thought. But the answers are not easy and Messrs. Robertson and Phleger feel I should not write anything on policy questions to you until the Secretary returns and gives us some guidance. He is due back tomorrow the 17th from Duck Island. He leaves after the close of business on the 19th for the opening of the UNGA Session in New York. We hope to have some time with him over the week end. The telegram containing the instructions to you for your Tuesday meeting will not be drafted until after we get the benefit of the Secretary's thinking. I hope to be able to give you some helpful background thinking in my next letter of Monday morning the 19th. We have prepared a summary of developments at Geneva since September 1 for the Secretary to read on the plane enroute to Washington so that he will be fairly current when he gets here. For your background information the Secretary will return to the Department from New York on Friday, September 23. He will be absent again from September 26 through September 28.

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

We have been concerned about insuring that the Americans in jail get word of the Agreed Announcement and can get in touch with O'Neill. We are of course caught in a box because we must avoid giving the Chinese Communists and the Indian Embassy access to Chinese in this country other than those who express a wish to return to the Mainland. We are considering sending individual letters to each of the 18 Americans still denied permission to leave, signed by Mr. Robertson, for delivery by Wang Ping-nan with the request that he effect their delivery to the addressees. The letter would read as follows: (attached).

We have some misgivings about this since it may give Wang an opening wedge for insisting that you accept undesirable communications from him for delivery in this country. Please give us your reaction to (1) the idea of direct Departmental communication with the detained Americans, (2) the proposed mode of transmittal through Wang Ping-nan and (3) the content of the draft letter which is attached. If you do not like this proposal we would like your recommendations for alternative means of satisfying ourselves that all Americans have the word.

I have taken up your code clerk problem with senior administrative people in the Department. They asked me to tell you that two regular code clerks who have just been assigned to European posts are leaving Washington this week end for Geneva. They are assigned elsewhere but our instructions read that they should stay on detail at Geneva

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until further notice. The intention is to keep them there as long as your talks continue. They are due to arrive in Geneva on Monday. It is true that these two will merely take the place of two others who have been detailed to Geneva who are going back to their regular posts But the situation will be more stable since you can count on having these people as long as you are there. This will give Geneva a total of four people in the code room staff, and the specialists here say that this is enough to give you good service on Saturday and Sunday as well as some overtime on regular working days. The volume is down a lot since the Atomic Energy Conference ended. They think the problem is essentially one of overtime rather than heavy volume. They believe these four can handle the seasonal peaks as well as the overtime. Bob Stufflebeam asked me to assure you that the Department has not dealt lightly with this problem. The seriousness of it is recognized and a special effort has been made to solve it. The administrative people are confronted with a chronic shortage of code clerks coincident with an increase in volume in all geographic areas. They feel that Cowen has chiefly been worried by the uncertainty of the temporary assignments. That problem is now solved. You may wish to pass the foregoing on to Cowen as coming from authoritative administrative sources here, if he has not already received it by telegram. If your talks are still going on around mid-October, you will be more than

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amply covered for a big influx of code people will be going in in preparation for the Foreign Minister's Meeting, October 27.

The telephone exchange on Wednesday was very satisfactory from our standpoint although we were sorry to have kept you waiting on the line so long. You handled Wang's unexpected move well and there is no reason to worry about the slight misunderstanding of his intentions in the course of the session. I would have expected Ralph or Doug to pass you a note if they suspected that you did not get the purported of what Wang intended to do, but it turned out all right. Under separate cover we are sending you the five items you requested in your last letter.

We are instructing Drum to try to record very systematically the stories of all the Americans who are now beginning to come out. The same instructions will go to Japan. We are also going back over the old records here in an effort to compile a complete story of the maltreatment of Americans from the beginning. There may be no occasion to use it at Geneva but we want to have it in reserve in readily useable form in case it should be needed.

I take Wang's sudden unilateral public move on the 14th as a bad augury. I doubt if he would have made a public demand for moving the talks to a higher level at that moment unless a Communist decision had been made which depreciated the value of further talks at the Ambassadorial level, from their standpoint. It may be increasingly difficult to keep the ball rolling. We will give you all the ammunition we can before your next meeting.

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Good luck and warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

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19 B

CONFIDENTIAL

(292)

Action FE

Info RMR

Control: 9132
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 17, 1955
12:03 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 739, SEPTEMBER 17, 4 PM

Action Assigned to CA/DIR

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/T file

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611.93/9-1755

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. HAVE JUST RECEIVED LETTER FROM WANG REFERRING HIS SEPT. 14 PROPOSAL US "SHOULD FORMALLY ENTRUST UK" AND PRC " SHOULD FORMALLY ENTRUST" GOI SO AS "TO COMPLETE PROCEDURES OF ENTRUSTING THIRD POWERS". THEN PRC "SHOULD NOTIFY UK AND US GOI EXTENDING THEIR AGREEMENT TO RESPECTIVE THIRD POWERS BEING ENTRUSTED ASSUME FUNCTIONS STIPULATED" IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. WANG INSTRUCTED INFORM ME THAT AFTER US "HAS FORMALLY ENTRUSTED UK" PRC "WILL NOTIFY UK OF ITS AGREEMENT TO LATTER'S BEING ENTRUSTED BY USG TO OFFER AMERICANS WHO DESIRE RETURN VARIOUS ASSISTANCE SPECIFIED" IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

2. MY NOTIFICATION TO HIM AT SEPT 14 MEETING US HAS INVITED GOI ASSUME FUNCTIONS CAN ONLY BE INTERPRETED USG AWARE PRC "HAS PREVIOUSLY INDICATED ITS READINES TO GOI ENTRUST INDIA EXTEND ASSISTANCE IN MATTER CONCERNING RETURN CHINESE NATIONALS RESIDING IN US" DURING TALKS " I AGAIN INDICATED TO YOU ON MANY OCCASIONS THAT PRC WOULD ENTRUST GOI EXTEND ASSISTANCE TO CHINESE NATIONALS RESIDING IN US WHO DESIRE RETURN; HENCE NOTIFICATION OF USG TO GOI MEANS FORMER'S AGREEMENT TO GOI BEING ENTRUSTED BY PRC ADN PRC INTERPRETS AND UNDERSTAND AU SUCH SEPT. 11 NOTIFICATION OF USG TO GOI".

3. " IT MUST BE POINTED OUT THAT OUR SIDE HAS TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT OF DIFFICULT POSITION IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IN WHICH

PA

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FILED SEP 17 1955

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USG FINDS, AND HAS ACCEDED TO YOUR PROPOSED TEXT ON ENTRUSTING OF THIRD POWERS IN ITS PRESENT FORM IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. HOWEVER, ON CONCRETE CONTENT WITH REGARD TO PRC'S ENTRUSTING GOI AND USG ENTRUSTING UKG BOTH SIDES CANNOT HAVE ANY OTHER INTERPRETATION".

4. "AFTER PUBLICATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AMERICAN PRESS INCLUDING USIS INVARIABLY MADE DISTORTED INTERPRETATION AT VARIANCE WITH ACTUAL FACT OF TEXT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT REGARDING ENTRUSTING OF THIRD POWERS ALLEGING PRC WOULD ENTRUST UKG ON ONE HAND AND USG WOULD ENTRUST GOI ON OTHER. USG OUGHT NOT AGREE TO SUCH DISTORTED INTERPRETATION".

5. DESIRE KNOW "IF USG HAS FORMALLY ENTRUSTED UKG AND WILL APPRECIATE CONFIRMATION" BY LETTER IF DONE SO WILL BE ABLE REPORT HIS GOVERNMENT WHICH WILL INFORM UKG OF "ITS AGREEMENT TO LATTER'S BEING ENTRUSTED BY USG".

6. COMMENTS FOLLOW.

SHILLOCK

MEM

FE Duty Office notified 9/17/12:53 p. m. EMB (CWO)

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198 293

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19-B
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nto
RMR

SECRET

Control: 9166
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 17, 1955
1:51 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 740, SEPTEMBER 17, 6 P.M.

Action Assigned to OA/DIR

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

611.93/9-1755

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FROM JOHNSON

1. DO NOT BELIEVE I SHOULD SEND WRITTEN REPLY BUT SHOULD HANDLE AT TUESDAY MEETING WHEN I WILL REFER TO HIS LETTER AND IF HE REQUESTS GIVE HIM COPY MY PREPARED REMARKS ACCORDING TO STANDING ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN US.

2. INDIAN ACCEPTANCE (NEW DELHI'S 542, REPEATED GENEVA 36) REMOVES WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN PROBLEM. I SUSPECT THAT IF GOI ALSO RECEIVE "INVITATION" FROM PRC IT HAS MADE IDENTICAL REPLY TO PRC. HOWEVER, INTERESTING NOTE NEITHER IN SEPTEMBER 14 MEETING NOR IN LETTER HAS WANG MADE REFERENCE TO ANY ACTION TAKEN BY PRC WITH RESPECT INDIA. IN ANY EVENT MAIN POINTS ARE US IMMEDIATELY TOOK EVERY POSSIBLE ACTION IMPLEMENT ANNOUNCEMENT AND WITH RESPECT TO PORTION OF PRINCIPAL PRC INTEREST ALL ACTION COMPLETED PERMIT GOI FUNCTION IN US WHILE UK APPARENTLY STILL NOT ABLE FUNCTION IN PRC. (IN THIS CONNECTION WOULD APPRECIATE MOST RECENT INFORMATION AVAILABLE FROM O'NEIL PRIOR TUESDAY'S MEETING.)

3. OF COURSE, I HAVE NOT YET INFORMED WANG OF ACTION WE HAVE ALSO TAKEN WITH RESPECT UK AS I DID NOT HAVE THAT INFO AT LAST MEETING.

4. AS PARENTHETICAL NOTE WITHRESPECT USE OF WORD "ENTRUST" IN WANG'S LETTER DEPT WILL RECALL DISCUSSION THIS WORD VERSUS "INVITE" PARTICULARLY PARA 13 MYTEL 661. BELIEVE WANG MAY

HAVE AGREED

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HAVE AGREED TO "INVITE" IN ENGLISH TEXT WITHOUT FULLY REALIZING IMPLICATIONS AND IS NOW TRYING TO RECOVER LOST GROUND. WHILE USE OF WORD "ENTRUST" IN PLACE OF "INVITE" WOULD HAVE BEEN SOMEWHAT MORE ADVANTAGEOUS TO PRC POSITION DO NOT SEE EVEN THIS INVALIDATES OUR POSITION.

5. SUGGEST MY REPLY TO WANG BE ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

A. AS I INFORMED HIM SEPT 14 USG HAS FORMALLY TRANSMITTED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO GOI AND INVITED IT UNDERTAKE IN US FUNCTIONS SET FORTH IN ANNOUNCEMENT. GOI HAS FORMALLY REPLIED ACCEPTING INVITATION.

B. USG HAS ALSO TRANSMITTED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO UKG AND FORMALLY REQUESTED IT UNDERTAKE IN PRC FUNCTIONS SET FORTH ANNOUNCEMENT.

C. USG HAS THEREFORE TAKEN ALL ACTION REQUIRED OF IT IN ORDER THAT THIRD COUNTRIES CONCERNED MAY UNDERTAKE THEIR FUNCTIONS. WHAT ACTION HAS PRC TAKEN?

SHILLOCK

BD

Note: FE duty office notified 3:07 pm 9/17/55 EMB(CWO)

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OUTGOING 199
TELEGRAM

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

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Classification

1955 SEP 19 PM 2 38

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 743

FOR JOHNSON
URTEL 732
Following is summary of Chinese language press coverage for Johnson and Wang statements of September 10; Reports on 8 RPT 8 of 11 RPT 11 Chinese dailies have been received:

1. Chinese World, San Francisco, 12 September 1955, published United Press and Associated Press releases in full in both English and Chinese sections without editorial comment. (AP and UP despatches contained full text of agreed announcement):

2. May Tong, Chinese newscaster over San Francisco Station KSAN broadcast a much condensed version of the communique without comment.

3. Chinese Pacific Weekly, San Francisco, did not publish news release but commented editorially briefly to effect that US for some time had been permitting any Chinese to leave who wished to do so.

4. Young China News, San Francisco, published translation of International News Service release without editorial comment.

5. New York papers, Chinese Journal, China Tribune, Chinese Nationalist Daily, United Journal, carried statements in entirety as carried by United Press.

6. China Daily News, New York, Communist publication, has representative in Geneva and published entire text as filed by their correspondent.

7. Chicago papers not heard from yet. Los Angeles weekly Kwang Tai did not carry item last week.

Dulles

DULLES

Confidential

Drafted by: OIR/DRF: HWJacobson 9/19/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Joseph A. Yager

Clearances:
IAD (Cleared in substance with Mr. Pope)
CA - Mr. McConaughy
FE/P - JMHLindbeck

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SEP 19 1955 PM

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA ~~PRIORITY~~ NIACT 745

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

9-1755

Instructions for September 20 meeting.

1. Department approves your suggested oral reply to Wang question invitation to GOI and UKG, as contained paragraph 5 your 740. While question raised by Wang seems trivial and without merit, considering explicit language of Agreed Announcement, it would seem desirable for you to explore fully with him subject of respective communications to GOI and UKG. Department expects obtain further information from British Embassy later in day regarding ability UK Mission in Peiping to perform agreed function. Wang should be queried insistently in regard to action taken by PRC with UK Mission in Peiping until you are satisfied that necessary facilities accorded.

2. Department will send you separate report today on publicity for Agreed Announcement in Chinese language newspapers in U.S.

3. Department has received note from Indian Embassy containing formal GOI acceptance role assigned to it. Indian Ambassador calling at Department September 20 to discuss Indian Government responsibilities under Agreed Announcement. UK has orally indicated in answer to our formal note that it is prepared to accept function requested. Written confirmation expected.

(Phleger)

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Drafted by: WPMcC 9/19/55
:CA:WPMcConaughy/L:HPhleger/ikb

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:
FE - Mr. Sebald
S - The Secretary (Cleared in Draft)

55

11014

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SEP 19 1955 PM

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expected shortly. We of course do not object to PRC approaching GOI in same vein that we have approached UKG. We consider it mandatory on PRC to approach UK as we have approached GOI.

4. We hope to have additional information for you from I & NS in time for tomorrow's meeting on latest departures Chinese for Far East.

5. You are requested to raise question of unilateral public statements. You should make it clear to Wang that you are not charging him with act of bad faith on September 14, since it now appears that he did give notice at last meeting that he intended issue statement. However his statement of intention was not clearly understood by you at the time and created necessity for you put out unilateral public statement. You should propose that both sides get back to original agreement of no unilateral public statements without clear understanding or explicit advance notice.

6. If necessity develops you are authorized inform Wang at Tuesday meeting that while Item One has priority on Agenda until implementation complete, you will be prepared at following meeting (not before Sept. 24 but preferably following week) begin task of making up Agenda under Item Two. You will propose that each side come to following meeting with list of items which it wishes raise under Item Two. Lists would be exchanged at that meeting. After interval of about a week in which each side could consider items proposed by other, meeting would be scheduled at which agreement would be sought on topics to be considered under Item Two. At that meeting effort would be made determine order in which topics would be considered.

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7. You should inform Wang at Tuesday meeting that request which he has publicly made for talks at higher level is procedural and not substantive and cannot be considered by us as "practical matter at issue". Request does not fall within agreement regarding Geneva talks represented by mutually agreed communique of July 25. It would nullify the agreement we now have to discuss "practical problems now at issue" at the Ambassadorial level. We are not prepared substitute another forum for this one nor to discuss or agree now as to what would happen when current Geneva talks concluded which we would hope would be when all practical matters at issue disposed of. Both sides should make maximum effort settle "practical matters now at issue" at Ambassadorial level as already agreed.

8. You may remind Wang that during discussion topics for item two we will feel free return to implementation Item One which will always remain in priority position on agenda and we will continuously observe such implementation. We have taken due note of fact that 7 of 29 imprisoned Americans have arrived Hong Kong. We confidently anticipate early release of remainder as well as 12 Americans previously denied exit permits.

9. FYI ONLY. Topics we propose raise under Item Two are following: (1) unaccounted for American servicemen from Korean war and (2) renunciation of force. We consider proposing(3) "restitution of seized American diplomatic and consular property on China mainland" and request your comment on this item.

Dulles DULLES

11016

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1955 SEP 19 PM 6 39

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 750

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

For completion our records forward exact text statements released by you and Wang to press September 14.

DULLES

Dulles (WPMcC)

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Drafted by: WPMcC 9/19/55
FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: WPMcC
Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

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(297)

1955 SEP 19 PM 6 39

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 751

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

Following is text of note received from Indian Embassy dated September 16:

QUOTE The Ambassador of India presents his compliments to the Secretary of State and has the honour to acknowledge on behalf of his Government the note dated 10th September, 1955, presented to the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India extending the cordial invitation of the Government of the United States to assume the functions described in the Agreed Announcement of the Ambassadors of the United States of America and the People's Republic of China concerning the repatriation from the United States of Chinese nationals who express a desire to return to the People's Republic of China. The Ambassador has now been asked by his Government to state that they have agreed to assume these functions. The Embassy of India has been asked to carry out on behalf of the Government of India the responsibilities which are to be discharged in the territory of the United States.

The Ambassador wishes to state that he proposed to provide both in his Embassy in Washington, D. C. and in the two Consulates-General of India in New York and San Francisco, necessary facilities for Chinese nationals

Drafted by: FE:CA:WHMcConaughy/ikb 9/19/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:
FE - Mr. Robertson
FE- Mr. Sebald

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6/1/93

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nationals wishing to return to China to bring to notice any difficulties which they might encounter.

The Ambassador of India avails himself of this opportunity to renew to the Secretary of State the assurances of his highest consideration.

UNQUOTE

Dulles
"DULLES"
(W Dulles)

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1955 SEP 19 PM 9 26

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA NIACT 752

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

1. Re your telephone call to Robertson today, on reconsideration Dept finds it difficult deal with only one phase Wang statement, thereby tacitly implying it has no answer to remaining Wang charges. Dept has decided to put out no repeat no press release on any aspect Wang statement and believes that any reply should come from you. Matter is left your discretion. If you decide take cognizance Wang statement with press, it may take form either press release or backgrounder for press as your judgment dictates. You might wish use something along following lines:

(A) Wang's statement regrettably misconstrues motives and actions U. S. Sept. 14 statement based on fact U. S. had already announced measures to implement Agreed Announcement whereas Chinese had not yet indicated steps taken to release Americans except for those cases which had been reviewed. Chicom indication of steps proposed for implementing agreement appear to us to be first order of business and one that U. S. has already fulfilled.

(B) There is no basis for Wang's contention that U. S. has

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Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy 9/19/55
FE/P:JMHLindbeck

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances: FE- Mr. Robertson (Approved in draft)

DC/R 55

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prevented departure of Chinese. As of March 24 Immigration orders against departure from this country were outstanding for 129 technically trained Chinese students. Since then 36 rpt 36 have left this country and 3 rpt 3 more are reported about to leave. All now free to leave.

2. Wang's action today does not appear to call for any change in your instructions (Deptel 745) except possibly in paragraph 5. If you believe that in light Wang's latest action we go too far in exonerating him from any imputation bad faith, you may wish to strengthen tone of your presentation on unilateral public statements. Need for emphatic representations on this question further confirmed by Wang's statement.

3. Immigration has not yet confirmed departure three Chinese, including TSIEN, on Cleveland, September 17.

4. British Embassy has had no recent word from O'Neill in Peiping. We instructing Embassy London query Foreign Office as to whether PRC has yet extended invitation to UK Charge, and as to actual and prospective difficulties confronted by British Charge.

Dulles
"DULLES"

Drafted by:

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

Clearances:

11020

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204

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9/20/55, 2 p.m.
Corrected copy.

299

Control: 10257
Rec'd: September 20, 1955
11:35 a.m.

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FROM: Geneva

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 744, September 20, 3 p.m.

NIACT

FROM JOHNSON

In reply press inquiries am informing them for background that agreed statement following today's meeting should not be interpreted as representing any change in US position set forth my September 14 statement. Today's statement merely expresses what is already public knowledge, that is there is difference of view between Wang and myself on timing discussion item two of agenda.

SHILLOCK

TT/11

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- [ ] Releasable
- [ ] Releasable if _____ concurs
- [ ] Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
- [ ] Deny)
- [ ] Downgrade to _____
- [ ] Review Again _____
- [ ] Reviewer _____ Date 8/13/82

Action Assigned to CN/[illegible]
Action Taken _____
_____
Date of [illegible] _____
Action [illegible] Symbol _____
Name of Officer _____
Direction to DC/A file

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205

19-H
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RMR

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 10263
Rec'd: September 20, 1955
12:44 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 745, September 20, 3 p.m.

Action Assigned to CAID

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Distribution to DCI

NIACT

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FROM JOHNSON

1. At today's meeting two hours ten minutes, apparently in theory best defense is offensive, Wang opened with statement accusing me of violating understanding on private nature talks reaffirming desire to keep talks private.

2. I replied with statement explaining my misunderstanding his intention at last meeting, pointing out his statement disclosed substance his remarks therefore required me make public substance our position. Regretted his statement yesterday, noted I had made no response and hoped "I will not have to do so". Glad he agreed meetings should continue to be private. This followed by some give and take on whose fault but reaffirmation of agreement on private nature talks.

3. I then made reply his letter along lines paragraph 5 my 740 adding only Indian Ambassador today discussing with Department responsibilities being assumed.

4. There was then long give and take with Wang on one hand trying twist my remarks into statement we had "invited" UK and "agreed" to PRC invitation to GOI. I expressed surprise Wang's effort make issue out of this, pointed out clear language agreed announcement, and emphasized substance of situation, that is, US had immediately taken all action implement agreed announcement with respect to third countries, India now able function in US, UK apparently still not able function in PRC. Said it was imperative they take with UK action similar that US had taken with GOI. Wang said PRC had extended "invitation" to GOI and Nehru had announced in Parliament its acceptance. Towards end I pressed hard for statement PRC would contact UK Charge Peiping and do necessary permit UK immediately start functioning. After unsuccessfully pressing me hard to say we had "invited" UK in accordance with announcement he apparently chose to accept my statement that we had

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PAGE TWO

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we had informed UK and requested it undertake functions and while avoiding direct reply my insistence that PRC contact UK Charge, appeared to indicate they would do necessary permit UK function.

5. I then made statement on publicity agreed announcement Chinese press in US and referred to unanswered questions I had asked him in last meeting specifically pointing up health and welfare each American not released and information on agreed announcement to Americans still in jail.

6. On health and welfare he countered by renewing demand for names and addresses all Chinese in US but avoided direct reply to my question as to whether he now refusing give me information on health and welfare Americans in jail. With respect informing Americans in jail he said "I told you last meeting what is done and that still holds".

7. After some additional give and take along these lines during which I expressed disappointment he had no information for me today on implementation, I made statement accordance paragraph 7, DEPTEL 745.

8. Wang made impromptu reply to effect that understanding at outset of talks was that either side could bring up anything it considered be practical matter at issue, not possible settle all practical matters at issue these talks, therefore higher level meeting necessary. Such meeting also desired by "some high American officials". I made no reply and he indicted nothing further say today, suggesting next meeting Friday, September 23, to which I agreed.

9. There was then considerable discussion as to exact wording of statement to press.

SHILLOCK

SW:LFS/6

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(206)

Action Assigned to CA/D/R

Action Taken

18

Action

FE

Info

RMR

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 10430

Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 20, 1955

4:02 P M

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

FROM: LONDON

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1119, SEPTEMBER 20, 5 P M

FOREIGN OFFICE HAS DRAWN EMBASSY'S ATTENTION TO COMMENTARY IN PEIPING PEOPLE'S DAILY DENOUNCING "DISTORTION BY USIS" OF US-CHICOM "AGREEMENT" OF SEPTEMBER 10 AT GENEVA. ALTHOUGH INVOLVED AND CONFUSED, COMMENTARY APPEARS MAKE TWO BASIC POINTS:

(A) US DELAYING INVITATION TO UK ASSUME FUNCTIONS SET FORTH IN ANNOUNCEMENT IN ORDER POSTPONE CONSIDERATION OF "ITEM 2", AND

(B) CHICOMS INSIST THEY, AND NOT US, SHOULD INVITE INDIANS.

RE (A) FOREIGN OFFICE HAS PREPARED FOR MACMILLAN'S SIGNATURE REPLY TO AMBASSADOR'S LETTER OF SEPTEMBER 13 (EMBTEL 1018) AGREEING ASSUME FUNCTIONS. IT IS HOPED REPLY CAN BE DELIVERED TODAY. FOREIGN OFFICE WILL THEN BE ABLE INFORM PRESS IT HAS DONE SO.

RE (B) FOREIGN OFFICE NOTES THAT IN THE BACKGROUND STATEMENT READ TO PRESS IN WASHINGTON ON SEPTEMBER 10 (SUBSTANCE OF WHICH WAS GIVEN FOREIGN OFFICE ON BASIS DEPTEL 1363) McConaughy US IS TO INVITE BOTH UK AND INDIA TO ASSUME THEIR RESPECTIVE FUNCTIONS, ALTHOUGH AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WAS FAR FROM SPECIFIC (AND PERHAPS INTENTIONALLY SO) ON THIS POINT.

FOREIGN OFFICE REQUESTS INFORMAL AND CONFIDENTIAL CLARIFICATION ON THIS POINT, INCLUDING WHETHER THIS AMBIGUITY OF LANGUAGE WAS ACCEPTED BY CHICOMS IN APPARENT GOOD FAITH AND IS NOW BEING AIRED BY THEM, PERHAPS, FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES.

NEW SUBJECT:

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-2- 1119 SEPTEMBER 20, 5 P M, FROM LONDON.

NEW SUBJECT: HAS DEPARTMENT ANY COMMENT TO MAKE ON POINTS MADE BY O'NEILL (EMBTEL 1034) ESPECIALLY PARAGRAPH 4.

BUTTERWORTH

MGG

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1955 SEP 21 AM 7 02
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FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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28-D
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Control: 10368
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 20, 1955
2:41 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 747, SEPTEMBER 20, 7 P.M.

Action Assigned to ADOR

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

PRIORITY

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS TODAY'S MEETING:

1. WANG'S ENTIRE ATTITUDE THROUGHOUT MEETING WAS DELIBERATELY MUCH MORE BRUSQUE AND IN GENERAL HARDER THAN AT ANY PREVIOUS MEETING. THIS CHANGE IN ATTITUDE WAS PARTICULARLY MARKED IN COMPARISON WITH LAST MEETING WITH RESPECT TO HIS REFUSAL TO GIVE US FURTHER INFO ON AMERICANS AND IMPLEMENTATION ANNOUNCEMENT. HAD FEELING HE WAS ACTING UNDER DEFINITE INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING HIS TONE AND THAT AT LAST MEETING HE HAD PROMISED MORE THAN PEIPING WILLING DELIVER WITH RESPECT INFORMATION ON AMERICANS.

BELIEVE THIS CHANGE DERIVES FROM A) OUR ATTITUDE ON PROCEEDING TO AGENDA ITEM TWO; B) OUR ATTITUDE ON "INVITATION" UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT (POSSIBLE WANG IS IN TROUBLE WITH CHOU OVER THIS POINT); AND C) OUR IMMEDIATE AND SHARP REACTION TO HIS SEPTEMBER 14 PUBLIC STATEMENT.

2. ALTHOUGH HE CONTINUED PRESS ME THROUGHOUT MEETING START DISCUSSION AGENDA ITEM TWO THERE WAS NO MOVE ON HIS PART TO BRING MATTERS TO A HEAD AND I FELT NO NECESSITY OF USING AUTHORITY GIVEN ME IN PARAS 6 AND 8 DEPTEL 745. ALSO MY ABILITY MAKE STATEMENT CONTAINED PARA 7 DEPTEL 745 WAS OF GREAT ASSISTANCE IN KEEPING SITUATION FLUID. MY THOUGHT IN PERMITTI

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HIM FOR FIRST TIME IN SEVERAL MEETINGS TO SUGGEST DATE FOR NEXT MEETING WAS TO TEST HIS ANXIETY TO MOVE ON AND, IN AGREEING TO HIS SUGGESTION OF SEPTEMBER 23, TO USE AUTHVRITY IN PARAS 6 AND 8 DEPTEL 745 AT THAT MEETING IF IT SEEMS DESIRABLE DO SO.

3. FELT I WAS COMPLETELY ON TOP OF "INVITATION" SITUATION TODAY AND THAT WANG FULLY REALIZED WEAKNESS HIS POSTION. NOTABLE THAT TODAY HE ENTIRELY AVOIDED USE OF WORD "ENTRUST" WHICH SO HEAVILY EMPLOYED HIS LETTER. DOUBT HE WILL TAKE FURTHER INTIATIVE THIS REGARD BUT WE MAY WANT DO SO DEPENDENT ON DEVELOPMENTS WITH UK CHARGE PEIPING BY NEXT MEETING.

SHILLOCK

RWN

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1955 SEP 20 PM 5 18
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FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

(208)

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CONFIDENTIAL

9/26/55, 1 p.m.
Corrected Copy
Control: 10391
Rec'd: September 25, 1955
2:54 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 748, September 20, 1 p.m.

FROM JOHNSON

Re telcon with Robertson, regret necessity replacing either Clough or Forman at this time. Both have done excellent work and are very helpful to me. Had hoped when replacement made he could have had advantage intimate association over a period with Departmental work on these talks. However, realize pressure work in GA may make earlier action imperative. Balancing all considerations, including Department's needs and new phase talks entering here, believe best Clough return. Hope whoever sent will be given maximum opportunity familiarize self with Department's thinking.

SHILLOCK

SBH/5

Note: Delayed in transmission.

Action Assigned to CA/DIR

Action Taken Noted

Date of Action 9/25/55

Action Office Symbol CA

Name of Officer CWMC

Direction to DC/R file

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
- [x] Releasable
- [ ] Releasable if _____ concurs
- [ ] Excise as shown
- [ ] Deny) Basis-1-301
- [ ] Downgrade to _____
- [ ] Review Again
- [x] Reviewer [illegible] Date 8/13/82

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Department of State

303

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Action
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Control: 10369
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 20, 1955
3:15 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 750, SEPTEMBER 20, 7 PM

1-10

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

RE DEPTEL 752.

PRESS INTEREST HERE WANG'S STATEMENT NOW DEAD AND BELIEVE IT NOT DESIRABLE ATTEMPT REVIVE. OUR EXCHANGE AT TODAY'S MEETING REAFFIRMING DESIRE MAINTAIN PRIVACY MEETINGS MAKES PRESS RELEASE INADVISABLE AND CONSIDERING PRESENT COMPOSITION PRESS CORPS HERE BACKGROUNDER NOT PRACTICABLE. PRESS STORIES I HAVE SEEN HAVE REFLECTED INDIVIDUAL BACKGROUND GUIDANCES I GAVE ON WANG INITIATING BREAK IN PRIVACY TALKS, TALKS ARRANGED SOLELY THROUGH UK, MY SEPTEMBER 14 STATEMENT ANSWERS PARA 3 HIS STATEMENT, AND PICKING UP SUYDAM SEPTEMBER 10 STATEMENT 173 CHINESE LEFT US BETWEEN JULY 11 AND AUGUST 31 AS COUNTER TO FOURTH PARA HIS STATEMENT.

VERY MUCH HOPE I CAN HAVE BY NEXT MEETING CONFIRMATION DEPARTURE TSIEN.

MEM

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Action Taken SHILLOCK

Date of Action

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Direction to DC/R

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Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 20, 1955
7:32 P M

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Date of Action
Action Symbol
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 751, SEPTEMBER 20, 10 P M, (SECTION ONE OF THREE)

PRIORITY

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. AT 16TH MEETING TODAY WANG ASKED IF HE COULD MAKE FIRST STATEMENT. HE SAID THAT AT OUTSET OF TALKS WE AGREED ABSTAIN FROM MAKING PUBLIC STATEMENTS REGARDING PROCEEDINGS TO PRESS WITHOUT PRIOR NOTIFICATION OR AGREEMENT. HE ASKED IF WE CONSIDERED THIS AGREEMENT STILL VALID AND SAID I HAD GIVEN TO PRESS A STATEMENT REGARDING DISPUTED POINTS OUR LAST MEETING AND HAD EVEN GIVEN A DISTORTED INTERPRETATION.

AFTER GIVING MATTER CONSIDERABLE THOUGHT HE BELIEVED HE COULD NOT REMAIN SILENT AND THEREFORE ISSUED STATEMENT ON SEPTEMBER 19. CONCLUDED BY SAYING HE HOPED WE WOULD RETURN TO ORIGINAL AGREEMENT REGARDING PRESS RELEASES.

2. I REPLIED I WAS GLAD HE MENTIONED SUBJECT AS I HAD ALSO INTENEDD TO DO SO. AT CLOSE OF LAST MEETING HE INFORMED ME HE INTENDED MAKING STATEMENT TO PRESS REGARDING TWO QUESTIONS RAISED AT MEETING. I DID NOT UNDERSTAND HE INTENDED REVEAL SUBSTANCE HIS REMARKS ON TWO POINTS HE HAD INTRODUCED. FRANKLY WHAT I THOUGHT HE SAID WAS THAT WE HAD DISCUSSED ITEMS ONE AND TWO OF AGENDA. HOWEVER, WHEN I LEARNED OF HIS STATEMENT AFTER MEETING IT SEEMED TO ME VERY DEFINITELY TO GO INTO SUBSTANCE HIS REMARKS AND THIS NECESSITATED MY ALSO RELEASING STATEMENT GOING INTO SUBSTANCE OUR POSITION. I DID THIS IN PRESS RELEASE WHICH I MADE AS BRIEF AND NON-CONTROVERSIAL AS POSSIBLE. I WAS NOT ALLEGING HE DID NOT INFORM ME BUT SIMPLY THAT I DID NOT UNDERSTAND HIS INTENT. I REGRETTED HE CONSIDERED IT NECESSARY MAKE A SECOND STATEMENT TO PRESS. I HAD MADE NO RESPONSE AND HOPED I WOULD NOT HAVE

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NOT HAVE TO DO SO. I WAS GLAD TO KNOW HE SHARED MY FEELING THAT OUR PRACTICE IN PAST OF NOT ISSUING PRESS RELEASES ON SUBSTANCE OR TALKS HERE WAS RIGHT. OUR ABILITY KEEP THESE MATTERS PRIVATE HAS BEEN BENEFICIAL BOTH PARTIES AND TO PROGRESS OUR TALKS. I WOULD BE ENTIRELY WILLING AND HOPED HE WOULD AGREE TO PROCEED ON SAME BASIS WE HAVE IN PAST AND NOT DISCUSS SUBSTANCE OUR MEETINGS WITH PRESS BY UNILATERAL PUBLIC STATEMENTS.

3. WANG REPLIED HE COULD NOT AGREE MY EXPLANATION THIS REGARD. AT LAST MEETING WE AGREED ON RELEASE, HIS STATEMENT HAD BEEN CLEAR AND THERE COULD HAVE BEEN NO MISUNDERSANDING.

HIS STATEMENT HAD BEEN IN CONFORMITY WITH OUR AGREEMENT AND HE HAD MADE PRIOR NOTIFICATION. WHAT HE SAID TO PRESS DID NOT GO BEYOND SCOPE OF WHAT HE TOLD ME IN MEETING HE WOULD SAY. BUT MY STATEMENT WAS NOT IN CONFORMITY WITH AGREEMENT. IF US STILL DESIRED KEEP SITUATION AS IT WAS BEFORE, THEN HE HOPED THERE WOULD BE NO RECURRENCE SUCH ACTION. HOPED IN FUTURE WE WOULD ADHERE TO AGREEMENT REGARDING RELEASES TO PRESS.

4. I SAID I COULD NOT AGREE MY STATEMENT HAD BEEN IN VIOLATION OUR AGREEMENT ON PRIVATE NATURE OF TALKS. I TOLD HIM I DID NOT UNDERSTAND HIS INTENTION AND, IF I HAD, THEN I WOULD HAVE OBJECTED BECAUSE HIS RELEASE WENT INTO SUBSTANCE HIS REMARKS AND I WOULD HAVE TO MAKE REPLY. FURTHERMORE, I REMINDED HIM THAT WHEN I HAD PROPOSED PRIVATE NATURE OF TALKS I HAD ALSO SUGGESTED THAT PRIOR NOTICE OF UNILATERAL STATEMENTS SHOULD BE REASONABLE IN TIME, FOR EXAMPLE A DAY OR TWO BEFORE RELEASE. I WOULD GIVE HIM SUCH ADVANCE NOTICE IF I MADE A STATEMENT. I DID NOT BELIEVE USEFUL PURPOSE SERVED PURSUE THIS SUBJECT FURTHER AND, HOPED HE AGREED ABIDE BY UNDERSTANDING IN FUTURE AS I INTENDED SO TO DO.

5. WANG SAID HE HAD NOTHING MORE TO SAY EXCEPT THAT FACTS SPOKE FOR THEMSELVES AND COULD NOT BE REFUTED. HE THEN SUGGESTED WE DISCUSS ITEM TWO AND SAID HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO HEAR MY COMMENTS ON TWO POINTS HE RAISED LAST TIME. ALSO IN REFERRING MY EARLIER INDICATION I HAD REPLY HIS SEPTEMBER 16 LETTER

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LETTER, SAID HE WOULD BE GLAD RECEIVE REPLY.

6. I REPLIED WITH PREPARED STATEMENT IN WHICH I SAID I HAD INFORMED HIM SEPTEMBER 14 THAT US GOVERNMENT HAD FORMALLY TRANSMITTED TO GOI TERMS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND HAD INVITED GOI UNDERTAKE IN US FUNCTIONS SET FORTH IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. US GOVERNMENT HAD RECEIVED FORMAL REPLY FROM GOI SAYING IT PLEASED ACCEPT INVITATION. ARRANGEMENTS MADE TO DISCUSS TODAY WITH INDIAN AMBASSADOR WASHINGTON CARRYING OUT RESPONSIBILITIES ASSUMED BY GOI UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. US GOVERNMENT ALSO TRANSMITTED TO GOVERNMENT UK TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND FORMALLY REQUESTED UK UNDERTAKE ON BEHALF AMERICAN NATIONALS IN PRC FUNCTIONS SET FORTH. UK INDICATED IT WAS PREPARED UNDERTAKE THESE FUNCTIONS. US GOVERNMENT HAD THEREFORE TAKEN ALL ACTION REQUIRED IN ORDER THIRD POWERS MIGHT UNDERTAKE THEIR FUNCTIONS. I SAID I WOULD APPRECIATE BEING INFORMED WHAT ACTION PRC HAD TAKEN THIS REGARD.

7. WANG SAID HE NOTED MY STATEMENT US GOVERNMENT HAD INVITED GOI. HE COULD NOT AGREE, BECAUSE GOI WAS BEING INVITED BY PRC AND NOT BY US. CLEARLY PROVIDED IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT THAT PRC SHOULD INVITE INDIA TAKE CARE CHINESE NATIONALS IN US. IF PRC INVITED GOI THEN US SHOULD ACCEPT THIS ARRANGEMENT AND CONFIRM THAT GOI ASSUME FUNCTIONS. IT WAS NOT A QUESTION OF GOI BEING INVITED BY US. IN SAME WAY COULD NOT SAY PRC SHOULD INVITE UK. PRC COULD ONLY AGREE TO UK BEING INVITED BY US TO CARRY OUT FUNCTIONS SET FORTH IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. IN OUR DISCUSSION AND IN TEXT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT THIS POINT VERY CLEAR AND ALLOWED OF NO MIS-INTERPRETATION.

SHILLOCK

AW

NOTE: MR MCCONAUGHY (CA), NOTIFIED 9 10 P M, 9/20/55, CWO/FED

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CONFIDENTIAL

Action Assigned to CA/DIR

Control: 10552
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 20, 1955
8:10 P M

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to RM/R

23-D
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 751, SEPTEMBER 20, 10 P M, (SECTION TWO OF THREE)

PRIORITY

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

8. HE STATED US PRESS AND OFFICIAL USIS MISREPRESENTED AND MISINTERPRETED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, ALLEGING US WILL INVITE GOI AND PRC WILL INVITE UK. HE COULD NOT AGREE TO SUCH DISTORTED INTERPRETATION.

9. HE CONTINUED BY SAYING PRC HAD FORMALLY INVITED GOI TAKE CARE WELFARE OF CHINESE NATIONALS IN US. NEHRU IN STATMENT MADE INDIAN PARLIAMENT HAD SAID INDIA HAD ACCEPTED THIS INVITATION FROM PRC. IF US GOVERNMENT HAS COMPLETED ITS FORMAL INVITATION TO UK, THEN PRC CAN INFORM UK IT AGREES TO UK PERFORMING FUNCTIONS SET FORTH REGARDING AMERICAN NATIONALS. HOWEVER, PRC HAD MADE NO FORMAL CONTACT WITH UK BECAUSE DID NOT KNOW IF US HAD COMPLETED FORMAL INVITATION TO UK.

10. I SAID I WAS GENUINELY PUZZLED BY HIS STATEMENT AND HAD NO INTENTION OF REOPENING, AS HE APPEARED TO DESIRE, WHOLE QUESTION OUR NEGOTIATIONS ON TEXT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. LATTER IS CLEAR AS CAN BE ON THIS SUBJECT AND US GOVERNMENT HAS DONE EVERYTHING WHICH COULD BE REQUIRED OF IT IN ORDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT COULD BE PUT INTO EFFECT. HERE I QUOTED PERTINENT SECTIONS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ADDING I DID NOT WANT TO ENGAGE IN SEMANTIC ARGUMENT OVER TEXT BUT RATHER LOOK AT SUBSTANCE OF ARRANGEMENT. AT VERY OUTSET OF TALKS HE INDICATED PRC WANTED GOI ASSUME CERTAIN FUNCTIONS REGARDING CHINESE IN US WHO DESIRE RETURN. WE HAD AGREED IN ANNOUNCEMENT WHAT THESE FUNCTIONS SHOULD BE AND THEY WERE ONES WHICH HAD TO BE UNDERTAKEN IN THE US. WE HAD IMMEDIATELY TAKEN ALL ACTION NECESSARY TO PERMIT GOI UNDERTAKE THESE FUNCTIONS.

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FUNCTIONS. THAT WAS SUBSTANCE OF SITUATION. WE HAD DONE EVERYTHING WE COULD TO PERMIT GOI UNDERTAKE FUNCTIONS HIS GOVERNMENT WANTED AND INDIAN AMBASSADOR WAS TODAY DISCUSSING IMPLEMENTATION ANNOUNCEMENT IN US. IN CONTRAST WITH US ACTION, I UNDERSTOOD FROM HIM THAT UK STILL WAS NOT IN POSITION UNDERTAKE FUNCTIONS AGREED ANNOUNCEMNT IN PRC. IMPERATIVE WHATEVER WORDS MIGHT BE USED, HIS GOVERNMENT TAKE SAME ACTION WITH RESPECT UK AS WE TOOK WITH RESPECT TO INDIA SO THAT UK CAN UNDERTAKE FUNCTIONS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

11. WANG ASKED WHETHER UK WAS "INVITED" BY US.

12. I REPEATED THAT UK HAD BEEN FORMALLY REQUESTED UNDERTAKE FUNCTIONS SET FORTH AND THIS DONE EVEN BEFORE OUR LAST MEETING AND VERY PROMPTLY, AS WITH OTHER MATTERS RELATING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I DID NOT KNOW OF THIS ACTION AT TIME OF LAST MEETING OR I WOULD HAVE INFORMED HIM THEN.

13. WANG SAID, "DO I UNDERSTAND US INVITED UK AND AGREED TO INVITATION GOI BY PRC".

14. I SAID THAT WAS NOT WHAT I HAD SAID.

15. WANG ASKED IF WHAT I MEANT WAS PRC HAD INVITED GOI AND US HAD INVITED UK, OR WAS THERE DIFFERENCE OF OPINION BETWEEN US.

16. I SAID I THOUGHT IT IMPORTANT TO GET INTO SUBSTANCE SITUATION WHICH WAS THAT US HAD DONE EVERYTHING PERMIT GOI UNDERTAKE ITS FUNCTIONS IN US. I UNDERSTOOD THAT WAS WHAT HE WAS INTERESTED IN, AND THAT HAD BEEN DONE.

17. WANG SAID HE CONCERNED WITH TWO POINTS : ONE WAS INVITATION TO THIRD GOVERNMENT, AND THE OTHER WAS AGREEMENT TO THIS INVITATION. HE WAS READY AGREE MY STATEMENT THAT UK INVITED BY US BUT HE WANTED BE CLEAR WHETHER GOI BEING INVITED BY PRC OR US.

18. I SAID IT WAS OUR CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT THAT WE SHOULD INVITE GOI PERFORM FUNCTIONS. AT SAME

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AT SAME TIME I HAD NO OBJECTION HIS GOVERNEMENT TAKING WHATEVER ACTION IT DESIRED WITH RESPECT GOI, AND WHATEVER WORDS THEY USED BETWEEN THEM WAS UP TO HIM. HIS GOVERNMENT HAD SUGGESTED GOI UNDERTAKE FUNCTIONS IN US, BUT, AS WE HAD DISCUSSED IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS,. THIRD PARTIES COULD UNDERTAKE FUNCTIONS ONLY IF AUTHORIZED. ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IS THAT EACH GOVERNMENT PERMIT FUNCTIONS BE UNDERTAKEN WITHIN OWN TERRITORY. IF WE INVITED SOMEONE TO DO SOMETHING OF COURSE WE AGREE TO THEIR DOING IT AND WOULD ASSIST THEM.

19. WANG SAID "TO AGREE" AND "TO INVITE" WERE TO DIFFERENT THINGS. IF US HAD INVITED GOI, THEN IT APPEARED US HAD INVITED BOTH UK AND GOI. PRC HAD NEVER INVITED UK TO DO ANYTHING. MERELY SAID THEY WOULD AGREE TO UK PERFORMING FUNCTIONS AND ASSIST THEM. HE HAD INDICATED WHEN UK INVITED BY US, THEN PRC WOULD AGREE AND ASSIST. THERE WOULD BE NO DIFFERENCES OF OPINION IF I MEANT GOI INVITED BY PRC AND US WOULD AGREE AND ASSIST, BUT IF I MEANT GOI WAS INVITED BY US, THEN HE WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER STATEMENT WAS INTENTIONAL DISTORTION AND MISREPRESENTATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. IF BY MY STATEMENT THAT US FORMALLY INFORMED UK I MEANT US HAD FORMALLY INVITED UK, AND IF I FORMALLY DECLEARED THIS TO BE SO IN THIS MEETING, THEN HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD CONTACT UK AND EXPRESS AGREEMENT IT ASSUME FUNCTIONS SET FORTH IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WITH ASSISTANCE PRC.

20. I SAID WE HAD FORMALLY NOTIFIED BOTH UK AND GOI IMMEDIATELY AND WONDER WHAT MORE WE COULD DO TO PUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT INTO EFFECT.

21. WANG REPLIED IF MY STATEMENT TODAY MEANT THAT I WAS FORMALLY NOTIFYING HIM US HAD COMPLETED INVITATION UK, THEN PRC WOULD CONTACT UK AND GIVE ASSISTANCE.

22. I ASKED IF, WHATEVER WORD WAS USED BY HIS GOVERNMENT, HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD PROMPTLY TAKE ACTION WITH RESPECT UK SO THAT IT COULD PROMPTLY UNDERTAKE FUNCTIONS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

23. WANG SAID IF WE HAD COMPLETED INVITATION PROCESS PRC

WOULD

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WOULD CERTAINLY DO ITS PART AND THAT WHAT HE MEANT WAS IF US HAD TRANSMITTED FORMAL TEXT TO UK.

SHILLOCK

AW

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DEPT OF STATE
1955 SEP 21 AM 7 03
OF
AFFAIRS

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

9/22/55, 5:30 p.m.
CORRECTED PAGE 1, 3, 4.

23-D
Action
FE

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 20565
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 20, 1955
8:58 PM

Action Assigned to CA/DR

Info
RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

Action Taken

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NO: 751, SEPTEMBER 20, 10 P M, (SECTION THREE OF THREE)

PRIORITY

Date of Action

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Action Office

FROM JOHNSON

Name of Officer

24. I SAID THIS HAD BEEN DONE.

Direction to

25. WANG SAID, VERY WELL, THAT MEANT WE HAD INVITED UK AND THAT PRC HAD NOT, BUT THAT PRC HAD ONLY AGREED.

26. I ASKED IF PRC WOULD CONTACT OFFICE OF UK CHARGE IN PEIPING.

27. HE SAID AS A MATTER OF COURSE THEY WOULD DO WHATEVER WAS REQUIRED UNDER THE AGREEMENT.

28. I THEN TOLD HIM I WOULD LIKE TO INFORM HIM ABOUT THE PUBLICITY CARRIED IN CHINESE LANGUAGE PRESS IN US REGARDING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I SAID IN NEW YORK FULL TEXT ANNOUNCEMENT CARRIED IN FIVE CHINESE PAPERS, AND GAVE NAMES. IN SAN FRANCISCO TEXT CARRIED IN CHINESE WORLD WHILE NEWS AND EDITORIALS CARRIED TWO OTHER PAPERS. SINCE THESE PUBLICATIONS CIRCULATE FREELY THROUGHOUT US IT WAS ASSURED EVEN CHINESE IN US WHO DID NOT UNDERSTAND ENGLISH COULD HAVE ACCESS TEXT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

29. I SAID AT LAST MEETING I HAD RAISED SEVERAL QUESTIONS REGARDING IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WITH RESPECT TO AMERICANS ON CHINA MAINLAND. I WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF HE COULD GIVE ME FULLER ANSWERS TO MY QUESTIONS THAN HE HAD BEEN ABLE TO LAST TIME.

30. WANG SAID HE HAD NOTHING TO TELL ME BEYOND WHAT HE HAD SAID IN THE LAST MEETING BECAUSE AT THAT TIME HE TOLD ME ALL HE WAS ABLE TO.

31. I SAID I PARTICULARLY WANTED SPECIFIC INFORMATION ON THE HEALTH

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wo p. 2 8/29/56 RM

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THE HEALTH AND WELFARE OF AMERICANS NOT YET RELEASED.

32. WANG SAID HE HAD NOTHING NEW TO TELL ME. REPORTING ON THE CONDITION OF AMERICANS IN CHINA WAS RELATED TO INFORMATION ON CHINESE IN US ON WHICH HE HAD RECEIVED NO INFORMATION. HE SAID HE WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF I COULD PROVIDE THIS INFORMATION, AND FIRST OF ALL PROVIDE A LIST OF THEIR NAMES AND ADDRESSES. IF I WOULD GIVE HIM INFORMATION ON CHINESE NATIONALS THEN HE WOULD ALSO GIVE ME INFORMATION ON AMERICANS IN CHINA.

33. I ASKED WHAT NATIONALS HE WANTED INFORMATION ABOUT. AS FAR AS I KNEW NO CHINESE NATIONALS IN THE US WERE IN JAIL.

34. WANG SNAPPED THAT HE WANTED INFORMATION ON ALL HIS NATIONALS IN THE US INCLUDING THEIR NAMES AND ADRESSES.

35. I ASKED IF I UNDERSTOOD HIM TO SAY THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS UNWILLING TO GIVE US INFORMATION ON THE HEALTH AND WELFARE OF AMERICANS IN JAIL FOR WHICH HIS GOVERNMENT HAD A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND WHOSE NAMES I HAD GIVEN HIM. I CONSIDERED THIS VERY IMPORTANT. AT LAST MEETING I HAD ASKED HIM HOW THE AMERICANS IN JAIL WHO DID NOT HAVE ACCESS USUAL FORMS OF COMMUNICATION WOULD BE INFORMED OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I UNDERSTOOD FROM HIM THEY WOULD BE INFORMED BY PERSONS READING AND TRANSLATING NEWSPAPERS FOR THEM IF THEY DID NOT UNDERSTAND CHINESE LANGUAGE. WAS HE ABLE TO ASSURE ME THIS HAD BEEN DONE?

36. WANG REPLIED THIS WAS AN INTERNAL MATTER OF CONCERN TO HIS GOVERNMENT. HE HAD ALREADY TOLD ME WHAT WAS DONE AND WHAT HE SAID STILL HOLDS. HE ADDED THAT HEALTH CONDITIONS OF PRISONERS HAD ALREADY BEEN DISCUSSED DURING THE TALKS BETWEEN CONSULAR REPRESENTATIVES. ALSO HE HAD INFORMED ME REGARDING IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND NOTIFYING PERSONS CONCERNED AND HE WOULD NOT REPEAT HIS REMARKS. HE HOPED I WOULD GIVE HIM MY OPINION ON THE TWO ITEMS HE HAD PUT FORWARD UNDER AGENDA ITEM TWO.

37. I SAID OUR FIRST ORDER OF BUINESS WAS THE RETURN OF NATIONALS AND THAT I STILL CONSIDERED IT SO. I HAD ATTEMPTED FULLY,

FRANKLY

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FRANKLY AND IMMEDIATELY INFORM HIM WHAT WE HAD DONE TO IMPLEMENT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. ONLY BY ITS IMPLEMENTATION COULD WE COMPLETELY DISPOSE OF FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS WE CAME HERE TO DISCUSS. I HAD HOPED HE COULD GIVE ME INFORMATION ON IMPLEMENTATION AS HE DID AT LAST MEETING. I WAS DISAPPOINTED HE HAD NOT GIVEN FURTHER INFORMATION TO ME TODAY. AS HE WAS UNABLE TO DO SO, I SAID I WISHED REFER BRIEFLY TO THAT PORTION HIS STATEMENT AT LAST MEETING AND HIS PUBLIC STATEMENT REGARDING TALKS AT HIGHER LEVEL. I THEN READ FROM PREPARED STATEMENT AS FOLLOWS:

38. A. "I SIMPLY WANT TO SAY MY GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THIS TO BE A PROCEDURAL RATHER THAN A SUBSTANTIVE MATTER. THEREFORE, IT CONSIDERS THAT IT CANNOT BE PROPERLY INCLUDED AS A 'PRACTICAL MATTER AT ISSUE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES' UNDER THE MUTUALLY AGREED COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS ON JULY 25, AND OUR AGREED AGENDA.

B. I CANNOT BUT CONSIDER THAT SUCH A PROPOSAL WOULD NULLIFY THE AGREEMENT WE NOW HAVE TO DISCUSS AT THE AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL PRACTICAL PROBLEMS AT ISSUE BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS.

C. MY GOVERNMENT IS NOT PREPARED TO SUBSTITUTE ANOTHER FORUM FOR THIS ONE. NEITHER IS MY GOVERNMENT PREPARED NOW TO DISCUSS OR AGREE AS TO WHAT WILL HAPPEN AFTER OUR TALKS HERE HAVE BEEN CONCLUDED. WE WOULD HOPE THIS WOULD BE WHEN ALL PRACTICAL MATTERS AT ISSUE HAD BEEN DISPOSED OF. WE FEEL THAT BOTH SIDES SHOULD MAKE A MAXIMUM EFFORT TO SETTLE 'PRACTICAL MATTERS AT ISSUE' IN OUR TALKS HERE AS ALREADY AGREED RATHER THAN PROPOSE ANOTHER FORUM EVEN BEFORE THE TWO OF US HAVE UNDERTAKEN DISCUSSION OF THE SECOND ITEM OF OUR AGENDA."

39. WANG COUNTERED THAT ACCORDING TO THE AGREEMENT AT THE OUTSET OF OUR TALKS AND WITH RESPECT TO HIS STATEMENT AT THE LAST MEETING HE BELIEVED EACH SIDE COULD RAISE ISSUES IT CONSIDERED SHOULD BE DISCUSSED UNDER ITEM TWO. HE HAD SUGGESTED ~~ONLY~~ TWO PROBLEMS: EMBARGO; ~~SECOND,~~ PREPARATIONS FOR SINO-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS AT A HIGHER LEVEL. HE CONSIDERED OBJECTIVE OF TALKS WAS IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS TWO COUNTRIES AND EASING OF TENSIONS IN FAR EAST. THEREFORE, PRC DID NOT CONSIDER THAT ALL PRACTICAL ISSUES BETWEEN US

AND CHINA

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AND CHINA COULD BE SETTLED IN THESE AMBASSADORIAL TALKS. HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE MORE SIGNIFICANT TO REFER THESE ISSUES TO A MEETING AT A HIGHER LEVEL. THIS PROPOSAL NOT ONLY CONFORMED WITH DESIRE TWO PEOPLES AND WORLD PUBLIC OPINION BUT ALSO CONFORMED WITH DESIRE SOME HIGH OFFICIALS IN US GOVERNMENT. OF COURSE THIS WAS HIS OPINION REGARDING AGENDA ITEM TWO AND HE WAS PREPARED TO LISTEN TO ANYTHING I WISHED TO PUT FORWARD.

40. SAID I HAD NOTHING FURTHER TO SAY THIS MORNING.

41. WANG SAID HE HAD NOTHING FURTHER TO SAY. HE SUGGESTED WE MEET AGAIN SEPTEMBER 23.

42. IN DISCUSSING RELEASE TO PRESS WANG SUGGESTED WE ISSUE STATEMENT SAYING WE HAD DISCUSSED (A) IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND (B) ITEM TWO.

43. I SUGGESTED WE SAY WE "DISCUSSED POINTS OF VIEW WITH RESPECT TO ITEM TWO".

44. WE FINALLY AGREED ON TEXT MYTEL 743.

SHILLOCK

HMR/11

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1955 SEP 23 AM 7 01
OFFICE OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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(211)

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** (368) ACTION COPY

19-H

Action FE

Info

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Control: 10866
Rec'd: September 21, 1955
9:42 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 752, September 21, 10 a.m.

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
SEP 21 1955
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

DEPTEL 757 Nagoski

Name second Chinese listed apparently incomplete as received. Confirm whether it Lee Cheng-Wu (repeat Lee Cheng-Wu).

Total number Chinese who departed US (repeat US) on Cleveland September 17 would be useful to me for next meeting if available.

Helpful for me receive figures (not names) Chinese departing US (repeat US) as promptly after their leaving as possible.

SHILLOCK

REM/5

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Action Taken answered by conf. tel to Geneva Sept 21

Date of Action Sept 21

Action Office Symbol A

Name of Officer J F Nagoski

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1955 SEP 21 PM 1 25

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14-13
Action
FE
Info

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Control: 10988
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 21, 1955
Taken 11:58 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 753, SEPTEMBER 21, 11 A.M.

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FROM JOHNSON

1. RE PARA 9 DEPTEL 745. FOLLOWING APPEAR TO BE SOME OF CONSIDERATIONS TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT WITH RESPECT LISTING RESTITUTION SEIZED DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR PROPERTY:

A. LISTING ITEM WILL INEVITABLY BE INTERPRETED BY CHICOMS AND OTHERS AS POSSIBLY REMOTE BUT NEVERTHELESS DEFINITE STEP IN CONTEMPLATION EVENTUAL RECOGNITION. FROM NARROW STANDPOINT CONTINUATION THESE TALKS AND RELEASE AMERICANS THIS WOULD BE USEFUL. PRINCIPAL ADVERSE FACTOR TO BE CONSIDERED IS EFFECT IN TAIWAN.

B. WHAT LEGAL ASPECTS MAY BE; THAT IS, CAN MATTER BE HANDLED WITHOUT SACRIFICE OUR POSITION ON GRC AS DE JURE GOVERNMENT OF CHINA?

C. CHICOMS MAY COUNTER WITH ITEM ON RELEASE BLOCKED ACCOUNTS IN US.

D. CHICOMS MAY ALTERNATIVELY COUNTER WITH POSITION THIS NOT "PRACTICAL MATTER" UNLESS AND UNTIL RECOGNITION CONTEMPLATED AT WHICH TIME "WILL BE EASY TO RESOLVE".

E. IN UNLIKELY EVENT PROPERTIES RESTORED THIS WOULD LEAD DIRECTLY TO QUESTION UK REPRESENTATION US. INTERESTS IN PRC AND RECIPROCAL REPRESENTATION PRC INTERESTS IN US BY GOI.

F. HAVE IMPERFECT RECOLLECTION CONCERNING OUR RETURNING TITLE TO GRC PROPERTIES ACQUIRED UNDER SURPLUS PROPERTY

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AGREEMENT FOLLOWING WORLD WAR II. AM NOT CLEAR WHAT EFFECT THIS WOULD HAVE ON EXTENT RESTITUTION DEMAND WE WOULD MAKE ON CHICOMS.

SHILLOCK

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Control: 11038

Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 21, 1955
1:13 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 758, SEPTEMBER 21, 4 P.M.

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FROM JOHNSON

1. SUBJECT DEPARTMENT'S SUGGESTIONS, AT FRIDAY'S MEETING I PLAN GIVE WANG ALL FURTHER AVAILABLE INFO ON OUR IMPLEMENTATION OF ANNOUNCEMENT INFORM HIM DEPARTURE TSIEN, NUMBERS ADDITIONAL CHINESE WHO HAVE DEPARTED, ETC. WOULD HOPE COULD MAKE UNQUALIFIED STATEMENT INDIAN EMBASSY ALREADY FUNCTIONING AS ENVISAGED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

2. WILL THEN MAKE CAREFULLY PREPARED AND BALANCED STATEMENT NOTING PROGRESS THUS FAR MADE WITH RESPECT PRC IMPLEMENTATION ANNOUNCEMENT BUT WITH NOTE BEING SERIOUS DISSATISFACTION WITH RATE OF PROGRESS RELEASE OF AMERICANS IN JAIL. OF 29 AMERICANS IN JAIL OR UNDER HOUSE ARREST BEGINNING THESE TALKS HAVE THUS FAR PROMISED RELEASE 10 OF WHOM 9 OUT AND 19 STILL REMAIN JAIL WITH NO APPARENT STEPS TAKEN EFFECT THEIR RELEASE. THIS IS NOT"EXPEDITIOUSLY."

3. WILL ALSO EXPRESS DISSATISFACTION WITH HIS ATTITUDE AT LAST MEETING ON MY REQUEST FOR INFO ON HEALTH AND WELFARE OF AMERICANS STILL IN JAIL AND UNANSWERED QUESTIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION ANNOUNCEMENT.

4. WILL ALSO CONTRAST OR PROMPT ACTION WITH RESPECT INDIA WITH THEIR DILATORINESS WITH RESPECT UK, WORKING IN LATEST AVAILABLE INFORMATION ON THIS SITUATION AT TIME OF MEETING.

5. WILL EXPRESS REGRET THUS FAR BEEN UNABLE TURN TO ITEM TWO BECAUSE THEIR SLOWNESS DISPOSING THESE MATTERS AND EXPRESS HOPE THEY WILL PROMPTLY REMEDY SITUATION. ON

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TIMING DISCUSSIONS ITEM TWO WOULD MAINTAIN NOTE IN SECOND SENTENCE PARA 14 MYTEL 725, THAT IS "WHEN IT WAS CLEAR TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BEING FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTED."

6. I WOULD NOT PLAN AT THIS MEETING TO USE AUTHORITY CONTAINED PARAS 6 AND 8 DEPTEL 745 EXCEPT IN UNLIKELY EVENT IT APPEARED NECESSARY PREVENT BREAK, BUT WOULD CLOSE ON NOTE OF CONTINUED DISSATISFACTION AND WAITING FOR THEM TO ACT.

7. WANG WILL PROBABLY REACT SHARPLY AND MEETING MAY WELL BECOME SOMEWHAT ACRID BUT I FEEL IT MAY BE USEFUL MOVE AT THIS TIME.

8. HOWEVER IN EVENT THAT HE INFORMS ME AT MEETING OF RELEASE ADDITIONAL AMERICANS AND IT ALSO APPEARS ANNOUNCEMENT HAS BEEN IMPLEMENTED WITH RESPECT UK FUNCTIONS IN PRC, I WOULD RESPOND WITH LINE IN PARAS 6 AND 8 DEPTEL 742.

SHILLOCK

CES

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STATE
1955 SEP 21 PM 3 30
OF
FAR AFFAIRS

TELEGRAM (214)

Department of State

INDICATE: [ ] COLLECT
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08888 (311)

1955 SEP 21 PM 7 03

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 761

Origin

— FOR JOHNSON

(a) Second name is Lee (or Li) Cheng-wu.

(b) INS reports total 56 Chinese left Los Angeles September 17 by ship (presumably on Cleveland) of whom 38 reported destined mainland China.

(c) As of September XX 21, cumulative total of confirmed departures of Chinese for Far East since July 11 is 380.

(d) FYI. Cumulative total of Chinese who have left U.S. for all destinations during same period is 714. Recommend you not volunteer latter figure to Wang unless you deem it has utility overriding undesirable implication that Chicoms have legitimate interest in movements all Chinese to other parts of world. End FYI.

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Hoover, Acting (WB)

"HOOVER"

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Dist. 55

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611.93/9-2155

Drafted by: FE:CA:JPNagoski/jpn

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald

Clearances: CA: Mr. McConaughy (in draft)

S/S-CR SEP 21 1955 P.M.

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This document consists of 3 pages
Number 1 of 8 copies, Series A

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

file

366

DATE: September 21, 1955

SUBJECT: U.S. - Red China Geneva Talks

PARTICIPANTS: Senator Walter F. George
Walter S. Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs

COPIES TO: S/S - (2 cc)
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FE - (2 cc)

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I arrived at Senator George's office (in Vienna, Georgia) at 10:15 a.m. EST and talked with him until 11:45 a.m., at which time a party of several people arrived to see him by appointment. There was ample time, however, for a complete review and discussion of the Geneva talks. I opened the conversation by saying that the Secretary had wanted me to come down to see him, to bring him up to date on the progress of the Johnson-Wang talks, to explain the strategy we had followed and planned to follow, to answer any questions he might have in mind, and to receive any suggestions he cared to make.

I reviewed in some detail the situation with respect to Chinese students in this country and of American nationals in China. Apparently, he had not been entirely clear as to the facts of either situation and was obviously interested in obtaining accurate information.

I reviewed the negotiations to date, calling his attention to the fact that, despite Chou En-lai's public statement that the repatriation of civilians could quickly be settled because of the fact that so few Americans were involved, it had taken six weeks and fourteen meetings of dogged insistence to get the Reds' public commitment to release all civilians who desired to go home.

Senator George had not seen the full text of the September 10 Geneva announcement and read carefully, the copy I handed him. He was very pleased with the implications of the wording but added that in view of their protestations it was surprising that the Reds should have taken six weeks to agree to the release of our nationals when two weeks should have sufficed.

I then explained

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I then explained the respective positions of the Chinese Reds and ourselves with respect to Item 2 of the agenda. I pointed out that the subjects likely to be discussed under Item 2 would almost certainly generate emotional outbursts and prolonged deadlocks. We therefore felt that we should not proceed to the discussion of other matters until we were satisfied that the public commitment to free all Americans desiring to come home was being implemented in good faith. Otherwise, their release might be long delayed and conceivably jeopardized altogether. Senator George agreed. He said we were entirely correct, in our long six weeks of negotiations, to accept nothing less than a public agreement to free all Americans and, further, that in his opinion we should not now proceed with other discussions until we were certain that the 19 imprisoned Americans had been notified of their rights under the agreement and that the British Chargé had been given access to the prisoners.

I then referred to the Red Chinese proposal that plans for negotiations at a higher level be a subject for discussion under Item 2 of the agenda. This presented a good opening to refer to the Gonzales (United Press) story in the "Washington Post" of September 12 in which Senator George was quoted as renewing "his call for a Foreign Ministers meeting between the United States and Red China later this year." Upon reading the clipping I handed him, Senator George remarked that as usual the reporter had reported only part of what he had said. I also informed him of Wang's statement (at the September 20 meeting) justifying his request for a high-level meeting on the ground that such meeting was also desired by "some high American officials." We both agreed Wang was probably referring to the Gonzales story.

I explained our position that as Wang's request for talks at a higher level was procedural, not substantive, we could not consider it "a practical matter at issue" falling within the agreement for the Geneva talks represented by our mutually agreed communique of July 25, that we are not prepared to nullify the agreement we now have to discuss "practical matters at issue" at the ambassadorial level, by substituting another forum for this one, and further that maximum effort should now be made to settle "practical matters at issue" at the ambassadorial level without prior commitment as to what would happen when the current talks are concluded.

I informed Senator George of the two subjects we would push for discussion. He did not recall that military personnel were still unaccounted for and agreed that we should press for an accounting.

I reviewed the Red Chinese armistice violations in North Korea, their covert activities in Indochina, and the war-like preparations on the mainland of China opposite Formosa, as reasons why it seemed to us that the "Renunciation of Force" was a sine qua non for present discussions in Geneva.

Senator George heartily agreed that we should press for a renunciation of force at the Ambassadorial level and stated further that, unless the Communists would agree to renounce force in the settlement of the Formosa problem, we should not consider having a conference at the foreign ministers level.

Senator George was obviously appreciative of my visit. Throughout our

discussions

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discussions he was friendly, intensely interested and thoroughly cooperative in his attitude. He did not express a single dissent from the positions we had taken or propose to take. As I left, he sent his warm regards to the Secretary and asked me to assure him of his entire approval of the course he was following.

[I am certain that Senator George means to be helpful. However, he is aging fast, has a poor memory and is an easy target for enterprising reporters seeking a story. I do not believe he realizes that his telephone interview with Gonzales was a violation of the promise he made the Secretary some months ago to stop making public statements on delicate matters of foreign policy. Probably the best way to minimize his getting off the track is to keep in constant contact with him.] E

FE:WSRobertson:aow

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VIA AIR POUCH
PRIORITY

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FROM : Geneva, Switzerland

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.

DATE: September 21, 1955

REF : Geneva's Telegram 739, September 18, 1955

G-1 S/S-2 S/P-1C-1
EE-4 R-1 SCA-2 ONI-6

For Dept. Use Only	ACTION	DEPT.
	RECD 9-26	INFO OTHER RM/R-2 EUR-5 L-2 NEA-4 L-2 CIA-4 OSD-4

SUBJECT: Transmitting Letter Received from Ambassador Wang Ping-nan Regarding Implementation of the Agreed Announcement

There is enclosed a copy of the full text of the translation of a letter addressed to me in Chinese by Ambassador Wang Ping-nan on September 16, 1955. The signed original of the Chinese letter was accompanied by this translation which was evidently hastily done and contains some inaccuracies. However, it has been checked with the Chinese text and was found to be correct in its essential substance.

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

Enclosure:

Translation of Letter
dated September 16, 1955.

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(Translation)

Geneva
September 16, 1955

Mr. U. Alexis Johnson:

At our September 14 meeting I informed you that the Chinese Government had published the full text of our Agreed Announcement at the agreed time. I also proposed that the United States Government should formally entrust the United Kingdom Government on the one hand and the Chinese Government should formally entrust the Indian Government on the other so as to complete the procedures of entrusting the third powers. Then the Chinese Government should notify the United Kingdom Government and the United States Government should notify the Indian Government respectively extending their agreement to the respective third powers being entrusted to assume the functions stipulated in the Agreed Announcement of the Ambassadors of China and the United States.

I am hereby instructed to inform you that after the United States Government has formally entrusted the United Kingdom Government the Chinese Government will notify the United Kingdom Government of its agreement to the latter's being entrusted by the United States Government to offer the Americans who desire to return the various assistance specified in our Agreed Announcement.

At the September 14 meeting you advised me that the United States Embassy in New Delhi had informed the Indian Ministry of External Affairs on September 11 and formally invited it to assume the functions stipulated in the Announcement. This notification of the United States Government can only be interpreted in the following manner: The United States Government is aware that the Chinese Government has previously indicated its readiness to the Indian Government to entrust India to extend assistance in the matter concerning the return of Chinese nationals residing in the United States. During these talks I again indicated to you on many occasions that the Chinese Government would entrust the Indian Government to extend assistance to Chinese nationals residing in the United States who desire to return. Hence, the notification of the United States Government to the Indian Government means the former's agreement to the Indian Government being entrusted by the Chinese Government and the Chinese Government interprets and understands as such the September 11 notification of the United States Government to the Indian Government.

It must be pointed out that our side has taken into account of the difficult position in the diplomatic relations in which the United States Government finds, and has acceded to your proposed text on the entrusting of third powers in its present form in the Agreed Announcement. However, on the concrete content with regard

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to the Chinese Government's entrusting the Indian Government and the United States Government's entrusting the United Kingdom Government both sides cannot have any other interpretation.

After the publication of our Agreed Announcement the American press including the United States Information Service invariably made distorted interpretation at variance with the actual fact of the text of the Agreed Announcement regarding the entrusting of the third powers, alleging that the Chinese Government would entrust the United Kingdom Government on the one hand and the United States Government would entrust the Indian Government on the other. The United States Government ought not to agree to such a distorted interpretation.

We desire to know if the United States Government has formally entrusted the United Kingdom Government and will appreciate a confirmation in a reply letter to this effect if it has already done so, so that I will be able to report promptly to my Government. Then my Government will inform the United Kingdom Government of its agreement to the latter's being entrusted by the United States Government.

(Signed) Wang Ping-nan

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Control: 11649
Rec'd: September 22, 1955
11:49 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 760, September 22, noon

SENT PRIORITY HONG KONG 6; REPEATED INFORMATION DEPARTMENT 760.

Would appreciate any immediately available information whether nine jailed Americans released from Communist China were informed by prison officials of these negotiations or terms of agreed announcement before their release. Wang has alleged remaining prisoners will be informed agreed announcement by having newspapers read and if necessary translated to them.

SHILLOCK

SW:SEG/11

611.95A251/9-2255

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Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
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Reviewer _____ Date 8/13/82

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FOR JOHNSON

611.93/9-2055

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Drafted by: WPMcC
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Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: WPMcC
Walter P. McConaughy

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1955 SEP 22 PM 4 56

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA NIACT 766

FOR JOHNSON

611.93/9-2155

Your 758.

1. Your general course of action for September 23 meeting as proposed REFTEL approved.

2. Department strongly endorses your intention make vigorous representations regarding slow PRC implementation Agreed Announcement, and totally unsatisfactory status PRC arrangements for performance UK function. In fact such arrangements non-existent so far as US Government aware. Wang should be severely taxed with PRC non-compliance this obligation. It should be put to Wang that it pressingly incumbent upon PRC afford conclusive evidence American nationals, including those in jail, have been informed their rights under Agreed Announcement and that Office of UK Chargé has been given necessary advice and facilities by PRC. As to those in jail, we should insist that UK Chargé be given access to them, since they have no access to him. US Government does not care whether PRC calls this approach to UK Government invitation, notification or request. US Government unable see that this is more than mere quibble. Essential objective is inform Americans and enable UK Chargé to act. We will not allow this question

Origin

Info

Dist. Desired (Offices Only)

S/S
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G
FE
CA
L-Mr. Phleger
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Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:ikb/ek 9/22/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

FE - Mr. Sebald

L - Mr. Phleger

SEP 22 1955 P.M.

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question rest until satisfaction afforded.

3. Department requesting Embassy London inform you by direct cable if possible in time for tomorrow's meeting whether written Foreign Office reply yet received to our note of September 12, and whether any word yet received by Foreign Office from PRC as to arrangements for performance UK function. Our reply to London's 1034 has been delayed from day to day in anticipation early word from Peiping. Replies to London's 1034 and 1119 will be repeated you in any event before tomorrow's meeting.

611.93/9-1455

4. Re paragraph 5 reftel concur most unlikely that discussion anything in regard to Item Two can appropriately take place at next meeting in view scope and seriousness our unanswered questions on implementation Agreed Announcement.

5. Indian Ambassador called at Department September 20 to discuss Indian role. He reaffirmed Indian acceptance and satisfactorily cleared up all questions of interpretation which had occurred to him. Expressed appreciation for US assurances full cooperation. Said discharge Indian function will begin promptly.

6. FYI. We are working on draft letter from you to Wang requesting accounting for 450 missing American servicemen, and on remunciation force study. These are for possible introduction next week or later.

7. xxxxx

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7. XXX. Re your 753, Subject Secretary's approval we have discarded idea of raising subject seized US Government properties on China mainland in course these talks. END FYI

8. Department believes we should concentrate efforts and attention on implementation Agreed Announcement. We question advisability devoting emphasis to demands for reports on health and welfare jailed Americans about which we could do nothing. Most constructive approach problem health and welfare prisoners would be their release. However, you may wish seek reason why Kanady has not yet departed and why Sister Dugay apparently unable leave Shanghai on SS HUNAN (Hong Kong's 630). We are suggesting to Maryknoll Mission that it repeat its orders to Bishop Walsh (your 761) apply for exit permit.

ACTING "HOOVER"

MRN

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SENT TO: Amembassy LONDON 1624
RPT INFO: Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON 772

Your 1119. Department consider it mere Chinese Communist quibble whether GOI and UK should be "invited", "notified" or "requested" to perform allotted functions. Department naturally communicated with both GOI and UKG in regard U. S. interest in their functions. It assumed PRC would do likewise.

PRC clearly obligated make arrangements necessary to enable UK Government function. U. S. Government promptly discharged its obligation to enable GOI to function.

Hoover "HOOVER"
ACTING
(WPMcC)

611.93/9-2055

611.93/9-2055
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Anal 52

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Drafted by: WPMcC
FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: WPMcC
Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:
FE- Mr. Sebald — WRS
Mr. Robertson WR

S/S-CR
SEP 22 1955 P.M.

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Department of State

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09597

1955 SEP 22 PM 59

DC/T

SENT TO: Amembassy LONDON PRIORITY 1625

RPT INFO: Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON PRIORITY 773

Your 1034. Department considers that under Agreed Announcement, O'Neill should have access to detained Americans if they are not given unimpeded access to O'Neill. Imprisoned Americans in special situation where they unable exercise their rights under Agreed Announcement unless PRC provides special facilities for information and communication. Good faith on part of PRC in implementation Agreed Announcement calls for extraordinary treatment these unfortunate persons. PRC has particular responsibility to these persons made helpless by its action. Repeat priority direct to Johnson Geneva any information from Foreign Office re provisions made by PRC for O'Neill to perform agreed function.

Hoover
ACTING

"HOOVER"

FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 9/22/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

Walter P. McConaughy

CS/M

FE - Mr. Robertson

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SECRET Number 1 of 8 copies, Series A

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

file (310)

Memorandum of Conversation

DATE: September 22, 1955

SUBJECT: U.S.-Red China Geneva Talks

PARTICIPANTS: Congressman James P. Richards
Walter S. Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs

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611.93/9-2255

CSBM

SECRET HTL 19

611.93/9-2255

Congressman Richards had luncheon today with me at the Carlton Hotel. I briefed him at length on the status of our talks with the Red Chinese in Geneva, explaining the strategy we had followed in the negotiations to date, would follow for the present and intended following in the future, along substantially the same lines as reported in my conversation with Senator George in Vienna, Georgia on yesterday, September 21st.

Congressman Richards heartily approved our position, recommended that we be unyielding in insisting that the British Chargé in Peiping be permitted personal contact with our imprisoned citizens before discussing any subjects under Item 2 of the agenda and further that we insist upon the Communists carrying out the agreement to discuss "practical matters" at the Ambassadorial level without any commitment from us as to a later conference at the foreign ministers level.

Congressman Richards repeatedly emphasized that while he could not speak for the Senate that the House would give overwhelming approval to a firm line at this time.

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Congressman Richards expressed deep appreciation for our courtesy in bringing him up to date on our Geneva discussions and said that we could count upon his full support in the course we were now following. He expressed fear, however, that pressure upon the President by some of our allies and certain groups in this country would be such that we would be tempted to weaken on the strong positions we had heretofore taken on trade, recognition and UN membership.

FE:WSRobertson:aow/tas

WSR

223

Received Sept. 26

WSR

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 1/6/75

September 22, 1955

Official - Informal
SECRET

Letter No. 9

Dear Walter:

First, let me thank you and all the others concerned for the instructions contained in Deptel 745. They were a model of clarity and gave me enough latitude and alternative positions so that, on entering the meeting, I felt completely confident of being able to meet any situation that might arise.

Next, I refer to the suggestion contained in your letter of September 16 that individual letters signed by Mr. Robertson be sent to each of the remaining Americans. I have serious doubts of the wisdom of this, largely for the reason set forth in your letter. If I thought that by so doing we might advance even by a single day the release of any of the individuals, it would a somewhat different matter. However, I do not see how it would do so and the only value might be in whatever lift it would give to their morale. I intend to keep hammering at Wang on this subject and we will see what the results will be. In the meantime my alternative thought is that we suggest to each of the relatives who write to the prisoners that they send them a copy of the Agreed Announcement with one of their letters if they have not already done so. We might send to each of them a mimeographed text for the purpose, but, in order not to prejudice its delivery, would suggest that the relative not mention this was being done at the Department's instigation.

The code clerk problem is now very satisfactorily resolved through your help as well as that of Mr. Carpenter with whom I raised the problem when he was through here last week. Please thank Bob Stufflebeam for me. I know the problem that he faces.

I agree

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State.

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Lot 72 D 415

I agree with the analysis that Wang's unilateral public move on the 14th probably means that the Communists have made the decision that further talks at this level have little or no value to them, and it will, therefore, become increasingly difficult to keep the ball rolling unless I am in a position to introduce something that has even a slight substantive value from their standpoint. All of this, of course, is related as well to the speed with which we obtain the release of the remaining Americans.

I noted the policy information statement to USIA (Department's CA-2241, September 16) cautioned against the use of the term "agenda". Although this is a new thought to me, I see the Department's point. However, at least Wang and I have talked so much about agenda item one and agenda item two, and have also used the term in our routine communiques of meetings, that the vocabulary has been well established and it seems to me now difficult to avoid the use of the term.

With kindest regards to all,

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

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(224)

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Department of State

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(318)

Control: 12311
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 23, 1955
9:50 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 767, SEPTEMBER 23, 1 PM

NIACT

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FROM JOHNSON

1. AS EXPECTED TODAY'S MEETING BECAME VERY ACRID. I OPENED WITH LONG STATEMENT ALONG LINES MY 758, CLOSING WITH STATEMENT WHEN PRC HAS "BY ITS ACTION, DEMONSTRATED THAT IT US EXPEDITIOUSLY CARRYING OUT TERMS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, WAY WILL BE CLEARED FOR DISCUSSION ISSUES EACH SIDE WISHES BRING UP UNDER ITEM TWO". HOPED PRC WILL ACT PROMPTLY SO CAN QUICKLY PROCEED TO THOSE DISCUSSIONS.

2. WANG REPLIED BY "FORMALLY INFORMING"ME THAT ON SEPTEMBER 22 NOTE WAS SENT TO UK CHARGE PEIPING IN REPLY TO NOTE RECEIVED FROM HIM STATEING "UK HAD ACCEPTED US INVITATION" AND WAY THEREFORE CLEARED FOR UK ACT IN PRC.

3. IGNORED REMAINDER MY QUESTIONS, GENERAL LINE BEING ALL THESE MATTERS NOW FOR THIRD POWER, AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT DISPOSED AGENDA ITEM ONE, PRC WILL FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENT, AND LAUNCHED INTO STRONG ATTACK ON MY MENTION OF 19, NO AMERICANS DETAINED, ONLY CRIMINALS IN JAO, HAVE ADMITTED CRIMES OF ESPIONAGE AND SUBVERSION, DO ALIENS IN US HAVE FREEDOM CARRY OUT SUB-VERSIVE ACTIVITIES, ETC., ETC., AND THEN AT SOME LENGTH FLATLY ACCUSED US OF RAISING THESE ISSUES DELIBERATELY IN ORDER TO STALL ON DISCUSSION ITEM TWO, DIFFICULT UNDERSTAND SINCE US HAD MADE ORIGINAL JULY 25 PROPOSAL, ETC.

4. HE THEN CONTINUED WITH STATEMENT REPLYING TO MY

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STATEMENT LAST MEETING ON HIGHER LEVEL MEETING (TEXT BY SEPARATE TEL). THERE WAS THEN MUCH VIGOROUS GIVE AND TAKE DURING WHICH I IGNORED HIS REPLY ON HIGHER LEVEL MEETING AND WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING HIS STATEMENT UK NOW FINALLY ABLE FUNCTION, CONCENTRATED ENTIRELY ON OUR DISSATISFACTION WITH IMPLEMENTATION ANNOUNCEMENT. OF 29 AMERICANS IN JAIL WHEN THESE TALKS BEGAN 19 STILL THERE, THIS NOT "EXPEDITIOUS"RELEASE, NO REPLIES OUR REQUEST FOR SPECIFIC ASSURANCE EACH AMERICAN IN JAIL HAD BEEN INFORMED OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATION WITH UK CHARGE, AND ABILITY UK INTERVIEW. THESE ALL PROBLEMS OF PRC IMPLEMENTATION AND NOT FOR UK CHARGE. STALLING HAD BEEN BY PRC WHICH UNWILLING TO ACCEPT OUR ORIGINAL PROPOSAL WAY TO RESOLVE ITEM ONE WAS SIMPLY PERMIT CIVILIANS RETURN.

5. HE EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION I UNWILLING SAY ANYTHING THIS MEETING ON ITEM 2 AND PRESSED ME HARD FOR COMMITTMENT TO DISCUSS ITEM 2 NEXT MEETING, TO WHICH I EXPRESSED MY STRONG DISSATISFACTION HIS LACK OF REPLIES ON IMPLEMENTATION ANNOUNCEMENT AND REFUSED MAKE ANY COMMITMENT ON DISCUSSION ITEM TWO. AT CLOSE OF MEETING HE STATED THAT IF AT NEXT MEETING WE STILL REFUSED DISCUSS ITEM TWO, "THEY WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER MAKING A PUBLIC UNILATERAL STATEMENT".

6. AGREED ON PRESS COMMUNIQUE IDENTICAL WITH LAST MEETING (MYTEL 743) EXCEPT FOR SUBSTITUTION "THEY CONTINUED TO EXCHANGE INFORMATION" FIRST PORTION SECOND PARAGRAPH.

7. NEXT MEETING WEDNESDAY SEPTEMBER 18.

SHILLOCK

MDG

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1955 SEP 23 AM 11 30
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FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

(225)

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Department of State

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Control: 12426
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 23, 1955
1:20 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 768, SEPTEMBER 23, 2 PM

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT O'NEILL BE WELL INFORMED ON SUBSTANCE MY EXCHANGES WITH WANG ON IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WITH RESPECT UK AND THAT HE FOLLOW UP AT PEIPING PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT INFO ON AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO AMERICANS IN JAIL, THEIR FREEDOM COMMUNICATE WITH HIM AND HIS ABILITY INTERVIEW THEM WHEN US DESIRES HAVE FACTS CASE INVESTIGATED ACCORDANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

WOULD HOPE THAT PRIOR NEXT MEETING I COULD HAVE FULL INFO ON WHATEVER HAS UP TO THAT TIME TRANSPIRED BETWEEN HIMSELF AND PRC THIS REGARD.

MDG

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Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 23, 1955
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 770, SEPTEMBER 23, 5 PM

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Date of Action

Action Officer

Time of Action

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FROM JOHNSON

1. BELIEVE TODAY'S MEETING VERYUSEFUL IN BRINGING HOME TO PRC DEPTH OUR DISSATISFACTION ON IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND MAKING IT UNMISTAKABLY CLEAR WE CONTINUE EXPECT PROMPT ACTION ON REMAINING 19.

2. AS OF TODAY WANG IS SOMEWHAT IN DOUBT AS TO WHAT EXACTLY WE INTEND TO DO WITH RESPECT ITEM TWO. LAST MEETING I DEALT WITH SOMETHING THEY HAD RAISED UNDER ITEM TWO, TODAY I REFUSED TO DEAL AT ALL WITH ITEM TWO, AND MY REMARKS HAVE BEEN SUFFICIENTLY AMBIGUOUS THAT THEY ARE NOW NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR AS TO WHETHER OUR INTENT IS FLATLY TO REFUSE DISCUSS ITEM TWO UNTIL ALL REMAINING AMERICANS ARE RELEASED OR SOMETHING SHORT OF THAT. HOWEVER IT CANNOT BUT BE PERFECTLY CLEAR TO THEM THAT WE EXPECT ADDITIONAL PERFORMANCE. I DID NOT FEEL THAT I COULD TODAY DEBATE, HOWEVER LIGHTLY, HIS REPLY TO MY STATEMENT AT LAST MEETING ON HIGHER LEVEL TALKS WITHOUT WEAKENING IMPRESSION I WAS ATTEMPTING CREATE.

3. DO NOT BELIEVE I COULD STATE OUR POSITION ANY MORE FORCEFULLY THAN I DID TODAY WITHOUT GOING TO NEXT STEP OF FLATLY REFUSING ENTER ANY SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION ITEM TWO UNTIL EVERY AMERICAN RELEASED. IN PRESENT ATMOSPHERE I WOULD HAVE TO QUICKLY REVEAL WHETHER OR NOT WE PREPARED MAINTAIN SUCH POSITION UP TO POINT OF BREAK.

4. ALTHOUGH HE TODAY AVOIDED WORD "BREAK" THIS WAS SOMEWHAT

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2-770, SEPTEMBER 23, 5 PM FROM GENEVA

IMPLIED IN HIS THREAT MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT IF WE CONTINUE THROUGH NEXT MEETING OUR REFUSAL DISCUSS ITEM TWO. DO NOT BELIEVE THEIR IMPATIENCE IS FEIGNED AND IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE KEEP TALKS GOING SOLELY ON TODAY'S NOTE USEFUL AND IMPORTANT THOUGH I FEEL IT HAS BEEN.

5. QUESTION IS WHAT WE DO IF BY TIME OF NEXT MEETING THERE HAS BEEN NO ADDITIONAL PERFORMANCE ON THEIR PART. BELIEVE THAT SOME SORT ADDITIONAL REPLY TO HIS STATEMENT TODAY ON HIGHER LEVEL MEETING AND LINE IN PARAS 6 AND 8 DEPTEL 745 WOULD WITH SOME DIFFICULTY CARRY ME THOUGH NEXT MEETING OR TWO BUT PROBLEM WILL BE WHERE WE GO FROM THERE. WITH OUR HAVING ALREADY REJECTED ONE OF HIS TWO ITEMS AND WE APPARENTLY HAVING ONLY TWO ITEMS THERE IS NOT GOING TO BE MUCH SCOPE FOR AN AGENDA ARGUMENT. IT WOULD, UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES SEEM TO ME TO BE OUR BEST TACTIC TO ATTEMPT TO FOCUS ON A SUBSTANTIVE EXCHANGE ON "NO FORCE" FOR AS LONG AS WE COULD KEEPING THEIR ITEM OF TRADE EMBARGO ON ICE FOR AS LONG AS WE COULD.

6. IT OCCURS TO ME THAT WE MAY RAISE PROBLEMS BY ATTEMPTING TO ARRIVE AT ANY FORMAL AGENDA AGREEMENT ON ITEM TWO. FOR EXAMPLE, OUR REJECTION OF A HIGHER LEVEL MEETING AS A SUITABLE AGENDA ITEM BUT OUR ACCEPTANCE OF TRADE EMBARGO MAY CARRY WITH IT IMPLICATION THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO DO SOMETHING, HOWEVER CONDITIONAL, WITH RESPECT TO LATTER. THIS IMPLICATION MIGHT BE AVOIDED IF NO WAS MADE TO ESTABLISH FORMAL AGENDA. THEY IN TURN WILL PROBABLY REJECT OUR ITEM ON PERSONS MISSING FROM KOREAN WAR, OR ACCEPT IT IF WE ACCEPT THEIR ITEM ON HIGHER LEVEL MEETING. WITH RESPECT TO MISSING PERSONNEL FROM KOREAN WAR I FIND IT DIFFICULT TO FORMULATE IT AS AN AGENDA ITEM BUT AM VERY CLEAR THAT I COULD EASILY PRESENT SIMPLY AS A LIST OF NAMES AND ASKING FOR A CATEGORICAL YES OR NO AS WHETHER ANY ARE ALIVE IN TERRITORY UNDER THEIR CONTROL.

7. WITH REFERENCE PARA 6 DEPTEL 766 I AM DOUBTFUL DESIRABILITY LETTER FROM MYSELF TO WANG. I WOULD PREFER MAKE PRESENTATION ON MISSING SERVICEMEN ENTIRELY INFORMAL AND ORAL. WITH RESPECT RENUNCIATION FORCE BELIEVE ORAL STATEMENT IN MEETING BEST FORM BUT COULD ACCORDANCE OUR STANDING ARRANGEMENT GIVE

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-3-770, SEPTEMBER 23, 5 PM FROM GENEVA

HIM COPY MY REMARKS THIS REGARD.

8. DEPENDING UPON NATURE MY INSTRUCTIONS FOR NEXT MEETING WE SHOULD BE PREPARED FOR POSSIBILITY WANG MAY IMPLEMENT HIS THREAT ISSUE PUBLIC STATEMENT ON OUR"STALLING" ON DISCUSSION ITEM TWO. I WILL SUBMIT DRAFT FOR DEPARTMENT'S APPROVAL.

SHILLOCK

JAK

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8:48 PM

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

RMR

NO: 772, SEPTEMBER 23, 10 PM (SECTION ONE OF THREE)

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PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. AT 1715 MEETING, LASTING ONE HOUR FORTY-FIVE MINUTES, TODAY I OPENED WITH PREPARED STATEMENT.

2. I INFORMED WANG THAT DR. TSIEN SHUE-SHENHAD DEPARTED LOS ANGELES SEPTEMBER 18, AND 56 OTHER CHINESE HAD DEPARTED ON SAME SHIP. 151 OTHERS HAD DEPARTED BY OTHER MEANS, SO THAT CUMULATIVE TOTAL OF THOSE WHO HAD LEFT FOR FAR EAST BETWEEN JULY 11 AND SEPTEMBER 21 WAS 380.

3. AS I INFORMED HIM AT OUR LAST MEETING, INDIAN AMBASSADOR WAS THAT DAY DISCUSSING WITH DEPARTMENT CARRYING OUT IN US RESPONSIBILITIES OF GOI SET FORTH IN OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. THOSE DISCUSSIONS WERE QUICKLY AND SUCCESSFULLY CONCLUDED AND AMBASSADOR INFORMED DEPARTMENT THAT EMBASSY OF INDIA WAS IMMEDIATELY UNDERTAKING TO DISCHARGE ITS FUNCTIONS IN THIS REGARD.

4. I HAD GIVEN HIM FOREGOING INFORMATION AS FURTHER EVIDENCE THAT MY GOVERNMENT WAS FAITHFULLY CARRYING OUT OBLIGATIONS IT ASSUMED IN ISSUING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. AS I HAD TOLD HIM REPEATEDLY, AND AS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT CONFIRMED, ALL CHINESE IN US WHO DESIRED TO LEAVE WERE FREE TO DO SO. FURTHERMORE MY GOVERNMENT PROMPTLY TOOK ALL NECESSARY ACTION SO THAT GOI MIGHT UNDERTAKE IN US, AT EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE, FUNCTIONS PROVIDED FOR UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. MY GOVERNMENT WAS TAKING EVERY POSSIBLE

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EVERY POSSIBLE ACTION FAITHFULLY AND EXPEDITIOUSLY TO FULFILL OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

5. ON OTHER HAND, I HAD ONLY VERY LIMITED INFORMATION AS TO EXTENT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS FULFILLING OBLIGATIONS WHICH IT HAD ASSUMED UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. IN FIRST PLACE, ALTHOUGH MY GOVERNMENT ACTED IMMEDIATELY TO PERMIT GOI UNDERTAKE IN US ITS RESPONSIBILITIES UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCMENT, I DID NOT HAVE ANY INFORMATION WHETHER GOVERNMENT OF THE UK WAS YET ABLE TO CARRY OUT ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN HIS COUNTRY. I HOPED HE COULD GIVE ME DEFINITE INFORMATION IN THIS REGARD.

6. I SAID I WAS ALSO DISTURBED BY FACT THAT AT OUR LAST MEETING HE DID NOT GIVE ME ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCERNING FURTHER APPROPRIATE MEASURES BEING TAKEN BY HIS GOVERNMENT SO THAT 19 AMERICANS STILL IN JAIL COULD EXPEDITIOUSLY EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN , PRINCIPAL REASON THAT IT TOOK US SO LONG TO FORMULATE AND ISSUE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WAS NOT ONLY DUE TO FACT THAT HIS GOVERNMENT REFUSED RELEASE ALL AMERICANS DETAINED IN HIS COUTRY, BUT ALSO BECAUSE HE HAD REFUSED EVEN TO STATE HOW LONG IT WOULD TAKE BEFORE ALL AMERICANS COULD BE RELEASED. HOWEVER, HE HAD SAID THAT IF WE COULD AGREE ON AND ISSUE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, IT WOULD NOT ONLY BE POSSIBLE TO RELEASE A NUMBER OF AMERICANS IMMEDIATELY, BUT THAT THIS WOULD ALSO FACILITATE RELEASE OF THE OTHERS. HE HAD ASSURED ME THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD ACT PROMPTLY TO COMPLETE REVIEW OF THESE ADDITIONAL CASES. WE HAD AGREED ON WORD "EXPDITIOUSLY" IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, CHINESE EQUIVALENT OF WHICH HE EXPLAINED MEANT "VERY QUICKLY." ALTHOUGH I HAD NOT BEEN SATISFIED WITH LACK OF AN EXPRESS STATEMENT ON WHEN ALL AMERICANS WOULD BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE HIS COUNTRY, I FINALLY ACCEPTED HIS ASSURANCES THAT TIME WOULD NOT BE LONG.

7. NEARLY TWO WEEKS HAD NOW PASSED SINCE ISSUING OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. OF TWENTY-TWO PEOPLE ON WHOM HE HAD TOLD ME ACTION WAS BEING

WAS BEING COMPLETED TO PERMIT THEIR DEPARTURE, NINE HAD COME OUT, AND WE LOOKED FORWARD TO EARLY ARRIVAL OF THE OTHERS. HOWEVER, WITH RESPECT TO 19 OTHERS I HAVE STILL HEARD NOTHING. I WAS BEGINMING TO BE CONCERNED OVER HIS GOVERNMENT'S INTERPRETATION OF WORD "EXPEDITIOUSLY." NOT ONLY HAD NONE OF THESE 19 PERSONS BEEN RELEASED, BUT HE HAD REFUSED TO TELL ME ANYTHING ABOUT THEIR PRESENT HEALTH AND WELFARE, TO CONFIRM WHETHER THEY HAD BEEN INDIVIDUALLY INFORMED OF TERMS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, TO SAY WHETHER AND HOW LONG THEY WOULD BE PERMITTED TO COMMUNICATE WITH BRITISH CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, OR TO SAY WHETHER LATTER WOULD BE PERMITTED INTERVIEW THEM. HIS REFUSAL THUS FAR GIVE ME THIS INFORMATION REGARDING IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT INCREASED MY CONCERN OVER THESE 19 AMERICANS AND RAISED SERIOUS QUESTION IN MY MIND AS TO WHETHER HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD PERMIT THESE PERSONS DEPART "EXPEDITIOUSLY" AS PROVIDED IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

8. I SAID THAT AT OUR 15 TH MEETING HE HAD SAID HE REGARDED IT AS "PECULIAR AND REGRETTABLE" THAT I EXPRESSED UNWILLINGNESS TO BEGIN DISCUSSION OF ITEM TWO BEFORE IT WAS CLEARLY APPARENT THAT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ISSUE UNDER ITEM ONE WAS BEING FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTED. I COULD NOT AGREE WITH HIM ON THIS. IT SEEMED TO ME THAT WHEN TWO PARTIES WERE ATTEMPTING TO SETTLE ISSUES BETWEEN THEM, ONLY THE FAITHFUL CARRYING OUT OF OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED COULD ESTABLISH ESSENTIAL BASIS OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE FOR GOING ON TO SETTLE OTHER ISSUES. SURELY, IT WAS NOT GOING TO BE POSSIBLE FOR US TO SETTLE OTHER ISSUES UNTIL EACH OF US WAS SATISFIED THAT OTHER PARTLY WAS PROMPTLY AND EFFECTIVELY IMPLEMENTING UNDERTAKINGS ARRIVED AT UNDER ITEM ONE OF AGENDA. ONCE HIS GOVERNMENT HAD, BY ITS ACTION, DEMONSTRATED THAT IT WAS EXPEDITIOUSLY CARRYING OUT TERMS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT THIS WOULD CLEAR PATH FOR DISCUSSION OF ISSUES WHICH EACH SIDE WISHED BRING UP UNDER ITEM TWO. I HOPED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD PROMPTLY

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ACT WITH REGARD TO THIS MATTER SO THAT WE COULD QUICKLY PROCEDD TO THOSE DISCUSSIONS.

9. WANG SAID, FIRST HE WISHED FORMALLY INFORM ME THAT IN FORMAL NOTE TO HIS GOVERNMENT, GOVERNMENT OF UK HAD SAID IT ACCEPTED INVIATION OF GOVERNMENT OF US TO TAKE CARE OF AMERICAN NATIONALS IN CHINA. IN FORMAL REPLY TO GOVERNMENT OF UK ON SEPTEMBER 22 PRC HAD AGREED THAT UK WOULD ASSUME FUNCIONS IN CHINA SET FORTH IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

10. HE SAID AFTER SOME 40 DAYS OF DISCUSSION AGENDA ITEM ONE REGARDING RETURN OF CIVILIANS WE FINALLY REACHED AGREEMENT AND THIS ITEM HAD NOW BEEN DISPOSED OF. QUESTION NOW BEFORE US WAS FAITHFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENT BY BOTH SIDES. HIS GOVERNMENT WAS ENTIRELY WILLING TO CARRY OUT AGREEMENT FAITHFULLY AND HE HOPED US GOVERNMENT WOULD DO SAME. AFTER AGREEMENT HAD BEEN CONCLUDED BOTH SIDES RESPECTIVELY INVITED THIRD POWERS PERFORM FUNCTIONS PROVIDED FOR. THEREFORE, FOR IMPLEMENTATIN OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT IN FUTURE WE WOULD ESPECIALLY RELY ON GOVERNMENT OF THIRD POWERS ENTRUSTED BY EACH SIDE.

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Control: 12796
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 24, 1955
5:18 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 772, SEPTEMBER 23, 10 PM (SECTION TWO OF THREE)

PRIORITY

11. REFERENCE HAD BEEN MADE IN MY STATEMENT TO THE 19 AMERICANS WHO HAD COMMITTED CRIMES AND TO OTHERS BEING DETAINED IN HIS COUNTRY. HE RESOLUTELY OPPOSED ALLEGATION THAT AMERICANS BEING DETAINED. ONLY US GOVERNMENT HAD ILLEGALLY DETAINED CHINESE IN US. INNOCENT CHINESE NATIONALS HAD BEEN ILLEGALLY DETAINED BY US. THIS ACTION WAS VIOLATION OF LEGAL FREEDON OF CHINESE NATIONALS AND ALSO VIOLATED PRACTICES UNDER INTER-NATIONAL LAW. AS TO AMERICANS IN CHINA HIS SIDE HAD NEVER DETAINED ANY OF THEM. THOSE WHO WERE IN PRISON HAD BEEN PROSECUTED ACCORDING TO CHINESE LAW BECAUSE THEY HAD VIOLATED CHINESE LAW. RECENTLY A NUMBER OF AMERICANS WHO HAD VIOLATED CHINESE LAW HAD BEEN RELEASED. HE WAS SURE I WAS WELL AWARE OF CRIMES THEY HAD COMMITTED IN HIS COUNTRY BECAUSE THEIR ACCOUNT HAD BEEN REPORTED IN NEWSPAPERS. ALL OF THEM HAD ADMITTED THEY HAD COMMITTED CRIMES AND ALSO ADMITTED THEY WERE PUNISHED LIGHTLY. ACCORDING TO STATEMENTS MADE BY AMERICANS THEMSELVES THEY ADMITTED THEY HAD CARRIED OUT ESPIONAGE. HE ASKED IF ANY ALIENS IN US HAD RIGHT TO CARRY OUT SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES AGAINST US GOVERNMENT. WERE ALL THOSE IN US JAILS AMERICANS, OR WERE THERE ALSO SOME ALIENS?

12. HE SAID I HAD PUT FORWARD REPEATED CLAIMS REGARDING THE 19 AMERICANS AND THAT HE HAD REPEATEDLY MADE CLEAR HIS GOVERNMENT'S STAND. HE HAD MADE CLEAR HIS POSITION IN A SPIRIT OF MAXIMUM CONCILIATION. HIS GOVERNMENT HAD REVIEWED A NUMBER OF CASES, HAD RELEASED A NUMBER AND HAD ADVANCED RELEASE OF A NUMBER WHO HAD COMMITTED CRIMES. AS TO REMAINDER, HE HAD MADE CLEAR HIS GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE ON WAY THEIR CASES WOULD BE HA DLED AND THAT HAD BEEN MADE A MATTER OF RECORD IN OUR TALKS. PRC WILLING TO CONDUCT REVIEWS OF CASES IN LIGHT OF AGREEMENT,

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IN ACCORDANCE WITH DEGREE OF EACH OFFENSE AND ALSO TAKING INTO ACCOUNT IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. WHEN RESULTS THESE REVIEWS AVAILABLE, HIS SIDE WOULD INFORM THIRD POWER CONCERNED.

13. HE SAID HE HAD MADE VERY CLEAR HIS GOVERNMENT'S POSITION ON COUNTLESS OCCASIONS, BUT IN SPITE OF THIS I AGAIN PUT FORWARD QUESTION OF 19 AMERICANS. HE RECALLED I HAD ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION STATED I WAS NOT ATTEMPTING INTERFERE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OR VIOLATE SOVEREIGNTY OF CHINA. HOWEVER, IT HARD FOR HIM TO EXPLAIN WHY I AGAIN BROUGHT FORWARD QUESTION 19 AMERICAN IF IT WAS NOT INTERFERENCE IN JURIDICAL PROCESSES AND VIOLATION OF SOVEREIGNTY CHINA. HIS COUNTRY HAD NO DESIRE VIOLATE SOVEREIGNTY OTHER STATES BUT ON OTHER HAND HAD NO INTENTION PERMIT ANYONE ELSE VIOLATE ITS SOVEREIGNTY.

14. HE SAID REFERENCE HAD BEEN MADE TO IDEA THAT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED IMMEDIATELY WITHOUT REGARD FOR FACT THAT NOT ALL CHINESE IN US COULD RETURN IMMEDIATELY TO CHINA. THIS INTERPRETATION OF AGREEMENT WAS BEING USED AS PRETEXT TO INTENTIONALLY STALL TALKS. THIS INTENTIONAL STALLING WAS NOT CONDUCING TO SUCCESS OF TALKS NOR TO IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENT. IT WAS INTENTIONAL STALLING. WE HAD SPENT 40 DAYS TO REACH AGREEMENT AND AFTER AGREEMENT TWO MORE WEEKS HAD PASSED. IT WOULD NOT CONTRIBUTE TO PROGRESS OF TALKS IF WE NOW RETROGRESSED. THIS WAS AN OBSTRUCTION TO OUR ENTERING UPON DISCUSSION OF ITEM TWO. (HETHEN MADE STATEMENT ON HIGHER LEVEL TALKS CONTAINED IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING TEL.)

15. I REPLIED I WAS PLEASED TO NOTE ARRANGEMENT APPARENTLY BEING MADE SO THAT UK COULD UNDERTAKE FUNCTIONS IN HIS COUNTRY AS SET FORTH IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

16. I HAD TO MAKE IT CLEAR I COULD NOT CONSIDER THAT AGENDA ITEM ONE WAS FINALLY DISPOSED OF UNTIL IT HAD BEEN MADE CLEAR ALL AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY WHO DESIRE TO RETURN HAD BEEN ENABLED TO DO SO. WE HAD ISSUED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH I EXPECTED WOULD FACILITATE RESOLUION THIS QUESTION. WE EACH UNDER TOOK OBLIGATIONS IN THAT ANNOUNCEMENT. WE EACH AGREED THIRD COUNTRIES WOULD HAVE CERTAIN FUNCTIONS IN EACH OF OUR COUNTRIES. THIRD COUNTRIES COULD BE OF SOME ASSISTANCE, BUT

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THERE WERE PORTIONS OF ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH COULD ONLY BE IMPLEMENTED BY OUR OWN GOVERNMENTS. I HAD FULLY, FRANKLY AND COMPLETELY INFORMED HIM IMMEDIATELY OF ACTION WE HAD TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT ANNOUNCEMENT. I THOUGHT IT ENTIRELY REASONABLE THAT WE SHOULD EXPECT FROM HIS SIDE INFORMATION REGARDING STEPS TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT ANNOUNCEMENT. IN ANNOUNCEMENT EACH GOVERNMENT HAD STATED IT WOULD FURTHER ADOPT MEASURES SO THAT CHINESE AND AMERICANS WHO DESIRED TO DO SO COULD EXPEDITIOUSLY EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN. HE HAD ASKED WHETHER ALL CHINESE IN THE US WHO DESIRED TO LEAVE COULD IMMEDIATELY DO SO. MY ANSWER WAS, YES. THERE WAS NO ACTION MY GOVERNMENT HAD NOT TAKEN WHICH IT COULD BE EXPECTED TO TAKE IN ORDER TO PERMIT CHINESE IN THE US TO RETURN. I HAD ALREADY INFORMED HIM OF THE NUMBERS WHO HAD LEFT US FOR FAR EAST. IF ANY CHINESE WERE STILL REMAINING IN US TODAY IT WAS ENTIRELY AT THEIR OWN CHOICE.

17. ALTHOUGH HE HAD SAID HE COULD NOT ACCEPT MY STATEMNT THAT 19 AMERICANS WERE STILL DETAINED IN HIS COUNTRY AND ALTHOUGH HE HAD ACCUSED ME OF AGAIN PUTTING FORWARD QUESTION OF 19 I HAD DONE SO AND MUST CONTINUE TO DO SO UNTIL THEY WERE ENABLED TO RETURN. WHATEVER REASONS MIGHT BE GIVEN, THERE CERTAINLY WAS NO MORE EFFECTIVE MEASURE WHICH COULD BE TAKEN FOR DETAINING A PERSON THAN KEEPING HIM IN JAIL. HE HAD SAID I STATED I HAD NO INTENION OF INTERFERING WITH HIS LEGAL PROCESSES OR SOVEREIGNTY OR OF DICTATING TO HIM WHAT MEASURES HE SHOULD TAKE, AND THAT WAS CORRECT. I REFERRED ONLY TO THAT PORTION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH CONTAINED A STATEMENT BY HIM ON BEHALF OF HIS GOVERNMENT THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD ADOPTED AND WOULD FURTHER ADOPT MEASURES SO AMERICANS COULD EXPEDITIOUSLY RETURN. I WAS NOT ATTEHPTING TO TELL HIM HOW TO IMPLEMENT THE AGREEMENT. I WAS MERELY ASKING FOR INFORMATION ON HOW IT WAS BEING IMPLEMENTED.

18. I CONTINUED THAT RELEASE OF AMERICANS IN JAIL WAS SOMETHING OVER WHICH THIRD POWER COULD HAVE NO CONTROL. IT WAS SOMETHING WHICH ONLY ACTION BY HIS GOVERNMENT COULD RESOLVE. I HAD ASKED HIM FEW, SIMPLE, STRAIGHT FORWARD QUESTIONS ON ASPECTS OF IMPLEMENTATION ON WHICH I DID NOT CONSIDER I HAD RECEIVED SATISFACTORY REPLIES. I HAD ASKED FOR SPECIFIC INFORMATION

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WHETHER EACH AMERICAN IN JAIL HAD BEEN INFORMED OF TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I UNDERSTOOD THERE WAS GENERAL ARRANGEMENT FOR GIVING NEWS TO PEOPLE IN JAIL BY WHICH THEY WOULD NORMALLY HAVE BEEN INFORMED. IT CERTAINLY SHOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR HIS GOVERNMENT TO LET US KNOW AND CONFIRM WHETHER THIS HAD BEEN DONE WITH RESPECT INFORMING AMERICAN PRISONERS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I HAD ALSO ASKED FOR

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8:15 A.M.

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RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 772, SEPTEMBER 23, 10 A.M. (SECTION THREE OF THREE)

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INFORMATION ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR SUCH PERSONS TO COMMUNICATE WITH OFFICE UK CHARGE. IT SHOULD CERTAINLY BE POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO TELL ME WHETHER THESE ARRANGEMENTS HAD BEEN MADE, ALSO WHETHER ARRANGEMENTS HAD BEEN MADE SO THAT UK CHARGE COULD INTERVIEW THESE PERSONS. THESE WERE ALL MATTERS WHICH HE CONSIDERED VERY IMPORTANT IN IMPLEMENTATION OF ANNOUNCEMENT.

19. I THEN SAID HE HAD SPOKEN OF STALLING. WHEN WE CAME HERE AUGUST 1, I HAD PROPOSED ARRANGEMENT WHICH WOULD IMMEDIATELY AND QUICKLY DISPOSE OF FIRST ITEM SO THAT WE COULD GO ON TO SECOND ITEM. I PROPOSED SIMPLY THAT HIS GOVERNMENT TAKE SAME ACTION AS MY GOVERNMENT: THAT IS, ANY ACTION NECESSARY PERMIT AMERICANS LEAVE. THIS WOULD HAVE BEEN SIMPLE, STRAIGHTFORWARD, NATURAL WAY SOLVE THIS PROBLEM. HIS GOVERNMENT DID NOT SEE FIT ACCEPT THIS PROPOSAL. I DID NOT INTEND GO BACK OVER THAT ARGUMENT, BUT DELAY WAS DUE ENTIRELY HIS GOVERNMENT'S UNWILLINGNESS ACCEPT THAT REASONABLE, SIMPLE PROPOSAL. OF 29 AMERICANS IN JAIL AUGUST 1, WHO WERE STILL THERE.

20. WANG REPLIED SINCE WE NOW HAVE AGREEMENT, QUESTION IS IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENT. THERE WAS NO QUESTION ABOUT FACT THAT MEASURES WOULD BE FURTHER ADOPTED AS PROVIDED IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. HE HAD MADE IT VERY CLEAR ACTIONS AND MEASURES HIS SIDE HAD ADOPTED TO IMPLEMENT AGREEMENT, AND THEY SHOWED THAT HIS SIDE WAS EARNESTLY IMPLEMENTING AGREEMENT. THIS WAS A MATTER OF COMMONSENSE USED IN IMPLEMENTING AGREEMENT. HE WAS NOT A MACHINE LIKE A GRAMAPHONE TO PLAY THE SAME RECORD EVERY TIME I ASKED. HE WANTED TO POINT OUT CLEARLY THAT THERE WAS NO PROVISION IN THE AGREEMENT THAT ANY PARTICULAR INDIVIDUAL WOULD DEPART FROM CHINA AT A CERTIN FIXED YEAR, MONTH, DAY OR HOUR...

IF WE

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IF WE HAD BEEN ABLE TO ARRIVE AT AN AGREEMENT PROVIDING FOR A PRECISE DATE AND HOUR ON WHICH EACH INDIVIDUAL WOULD RETURN, WHAT WOULD HAVE BEEN THE USE OF AN AGREEMENT OF THE KIND WE CONCLUDED? THIS AGREEMENT HAD CONCERNED CIVILIANS AND NOT THE RETURN OF CRIMINALS OR LAW OFFENDERS. HE STATED I HAD SAID THAT ALL CHINESE WHO DESIRED RETURN COULD. HOWEVER, HOW COULD THEY RETURN IN A MATTER OF WEEKS? HE AGAIN REQUESTED ME FOR A COMPLETE LIST OF NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF HIS NATIONALS SO THAT HIS GOVERNMENT COULD CONFIRM WHETHER THOSE WHO DESIRED TO RETURN COULD ACTUALLY DO SO.

21. HE SAID DELAY IN PAST DURING FIRST PHASE OF TALKS WAS ENTIRELY DUE MY INSISTENCE ON RETURN THESE CRIMINALS. MY INSISTENCE AND DEMANDS CONTAINED AN ELEMENT OF INFRINGEMENT ON HIS SOVEREIGNTY. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT ON THE RETURN OF CIVILIANS COULD NEVER BE MADE AN OBSTACLE TO THE DISCUSSION OF ITEM TWO. HIS SIDE CONSIDERED THIS ARGUMENT WAS AN EXCUSE AND A PRETEXT WHICH HE INTERPRETED AS AN ATTEMPT AT INTENTIONAL STALLING. HE COULD NOT SEE WHY WE SHOULD AGAIN RETURN TO OUR REPEATED DICUSSION OF ITEM ONE.

22. HE SAID WE HAD COME HERE FOR TALKS AS A RESULT PROPOSAL INITIATED BY OUR SIDE. FURTHERMORE HIS SIDE HAD ACCEPTED AN AGENDA WHICH HAD BEEN PROPOSED BY OUR SIDE. HE HAD COME TO TALKS TO RESOLVE QUESTIONS AND TO MAKE PROGRESS. HE WAS NOT HERE TO FURTHER DISCUSS AGREEMENT CONCLUDED TWO WEEKS AGO, AND HE COULD SEE NO REASON FOR OUR STALLING THESE TALKS. HE HAD PUT FORWARD TWO TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION UNDER AGENDA ITEM TWO. AT LAST MEETING I HAD GIVEN MY OPINION AND NOW HE HAD COMMENTED ON MY OPINION. I HAD SAID I WOULD DISCUSS PRACTICAL MATTERS AT ISSUE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AND HE WAS PREPARED TO DO LIKEWISE.

23. I REPLIED HE HAD SAID SOMETHING WHICH I WANTED TO BE SURE I UNDERSTOOD. WAS IT CORRECT HE CONSIDERED TERMS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT DID NOT APPLY TO PERSONS IN PRISON IN HIS COUNTRY?

24. WANG SAID HE DID NOT SAY THAT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT DID NOT APPLY TO PERSONS IN PRISON. AGREEMENT CONCERNED RETURN OF

CIVILIANS

CIVILIANS RATHER THAN RETURN OF PERSONS WHO HAD COMMITTED CRIMES. CASES OF LATTER MUST NECESSARILY BE HANDLED ACCORDING TO CHINESE LAW. IT WAS A MATTER OF COURSE FOR A SOVEREIGN STATE TO DEAL WITH THESE CASES, AS IT ALSO CONFORMED WITH PRACTICE IN INTERNATIONAL LAW. ANY DEMAND THAT THESE PERSONS DID NOT COME UNDER CHINESE LAW WAS TANTAMOUNT TO AN UNEQUAL TREATY KNOWN AS EXTRATERRITORIALITY. A COUNTRY WHICH COULD BE SO HUMILIATED HAD PERISHED FOREVER.

25. I REMARKED I SIMPLY WANTED TO SAY THAT I HAD ASKED WHAT I THOUGHT ARE REASONABLE QUESTIONS REGARDING IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I WAS SORRY I COULD NOT SAY REPLIES I HAD RECEIVED HAD BEEN SATISFACTORY. I HAD NOTED UK CHARGE NOW BEING ABLE ASSUME HIS FUNCTIONS. I HOPED AT NEXT MEETING I WOULD HAVE REPLIES TO QUESTIONS I HAD RAISED TODAY.

26. WANG ASKED IF I HAD ANY COMMENT REGARDING HIS PROPOSALS FOR TOPICS UNDER ITEM TWO.

27. I SAID I HAD NO MORE TO SAY TODAY.

28. WANG ASKED IF I COULD STATE WHETHER NEXT TIME I WOULD BE ABLE TO COMMENT ON HIS PROPOSALS.

29. I REPLIED I HAD NOTHING MORE TO SAY THAN WHAT I HAD SAID ALREADY.

30. WANG SAID HE COULD NOT CONSIDER WAY THESE TALKS ARE BEING CONDUCTED AS SATISFACTORY. DID I MEAN TO SAY US WAS NOT WILLING TO DISCUSS ITEM TWO?

31. I STATED I HAD NOT SAID THAT. I HAD MADE SOME REMARKS ON SUBJECT AT LAST MEETING.

32. WANG ASKED WHETHER THAN I AGREED TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSION ITEM TWO AT NEXT MEETING.

33. I ASKED IF HE WOULD AT NEXT MEETING GIVE ME ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS I HAD ASKED HIM TODAY ON IMPLEMENTATION.

34. WANG

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34. WANG SAID HE HAD ALREADY REPLIED TO MY QUESTIONS. HE HAD TOLD ME THAT UK HAD BEEN FORMALLY NOTIFIED BY HIS GOVERNMENT. THESE TALKS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES HAD BEEN INITIATED BY THE US. COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY TWO GOVERNMENTS HAD CONFIRMED THE TWO ITEMS FOR AGENDA. ON AUGUST 1 WE HAD AGREED ON THESE TWO ITEMS OF AGENDA. AT 14TH MEETING WE HAD REACHED AGREEMENT ON FIRST ITEM. TALKS SHOULD IMMEDIATELY PROCEED TO SECOND ITEM AFTER AGREEMENT REACHED ON FIRST. AT 15TH MEETING HE HAD PUT FORWARD TWO PROPOSALS TO DISCUSS UNDER SECOND ITEM. AT 16TH MEETING US SIDE HAD MADE OBSERVATIONS ON ONE OF HIS TWO PROPOSALS UNDER SECOND ITEM. TODAY AT 17TH MEETING I HAD NOT BEEN WILLING DISCUSS SECOND ITEM AT ALL. IT SEEMED SOMEWHAT FARCICAL TO HIM THAT SUCH SERIOUS TALKS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES SHOULD BE CONDUCTED THIS WAY. IF WE WERE TO GO ON LIKE THIS HE WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER IT INTENTIONAL STALLING AND WASTING OF TIME ON OUR PART. IF AT NEXT MEETING US STILL NOT IN POSITION TO DISCUSS ITEM TWO, HIS SIDE WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER ISSUING A PUBLIC UNILATERAL STATEMENT TO LET PUBLIC OPINION PASS ON THIS MATTER.

35. I SAID I HAD NOTHING MORE TO SAY AND SUGGESTED WE MEET AGAIN SEPTEMBER 28.

36. WE AGREED ON STATEMENT FOR PRESS IDENTICAL WITH ONE ISSUED FOLLOWING LAST MEETING WITH ADDITION WORD "CONTINUED" PARAGRAPH TWO.

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 773, SEPTEMBER 23

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1. FOLLOWING IS FULL ACCOUNT WANG'S PREPARED STATEMENT REFERRED TO IN PARA 4 MYTEL 767.

2. HE SAID HE WAS NOW GOING TO MAKE SOME OBSERVATIONS REGARDING TWO POINTS HE HAD RAISED AT 15TH MEETING. HE RECALLED THAT AT LAST MEETING I HAD SAID THAT HIS PROPOSAL REGARDING PREPARATIONS FOR SINO-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS AT A HIGHER LEVEL WAS A PROCEDURAL AND NOT A SUBSTANTIVE MATTER. HE HAD INDICATED HE COULD NOT AGREE WITH THIS POSITION. NOW HE WISHED TO FURTHER CLARIFY POINT OF VIEW OF HIS SIDE.

3. HE SAID IT HAD BEEN STATED IN JULY 25 AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ON CONVENING OF THESE TALKS THAT THEY WOULD BE CONDUCED "IN ORDER TO SAID IN SETTLING MATTER REPATRIATION CIVILIANS WHO DESIRED RETURN THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES AND TO FACILITATE FURTHER DISCUSSIONS AND SETTLEMENT OF CERTAIN OTHER PRACTICAL MATERS NOW AT ISSUE BETWEEN BOTH SIDES." AT OUTSET OF TALKS TWO ITEMS HAD BEEN AGREED UPON FOR AGENDA ON BASIS JULY 25 AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. OBVIOUSLY ITEM TWO HAD NEVER MEANT TO EXCLUDE DISCUSSION AND SETTLING AT CONFERENCE ON HIGHER LEVEL THOSE PRACTICAL MATTERS THIS CONFERENCE NOT ABLE TO SOLVE. ON THE CONTRARY IT WAS THE FUNCTION OF THESE TALKS TO MAKE ARRANGEMENT FOR PARCTICAL AND PHYSICAL CHANNELS THROUGH WHICH THESE PRACTICAL MATTERS MIGHT BE SOLVED. HENCE HIS PROPOSAL WAS CONSISTENT WITH BOTH THE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT OF JULY 25 AND THE AGENDA FOR THESE TALKS. IT WAS OF VERY GREAT PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE TO DISCUSS THE REMOVAL OF TENSION BETWEN CHINA AND US

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AND US IN TAIWAN AREA. IMPORTANCE THIS MATTER RECOGNIZED BY GENERAL PUBLIC OPINION AND MANY IMPORTANT LEADERS IN US. IF WE HAD ANY CONCRETE OPINIONS ON RELAXING TENSIONS IN TAIWAN AREA HE CERTAINLY WOULD BE GLAD TO HEAR THEM. WHEN WE CAME TO A DISCUSSION OF AGENDA ITEM TWO EACH SIDE COULD RAISE PROBLEMS IT THOUGHT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AND SO WE WOULD BE FREE TO EXCHANGE VIEWS. HE SAID I HAD APPROVED THIS IDEA BUT NOW NEARLY TWO WEEKS HAD PASSED SINCE AGREEMENT REACHED ON AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND, WHILE HE HAD PUT FORWARD TWO ITEMS FOR DISCUSSION, I HAD TODAY FAILED TO EXPRES ANY VIEWS ON THEM OR TO PUT FORWARD ANY IDEAS OF MY GOVERNMENT.

4. WANG SAID HE COULD NOT BUT FEEL THAT THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS WAS UNSATISFACTORY AND HE HOPED I WOULD PUT FORWARD CONCRETE VIEWS WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY.

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 776

FOR JOHNSON

Chicom propaganda on international subjects during past week continued stress Communist efforts ease international tensions and gave considerable attention Geneva talks. Peiping states agreement item one welcomed by world opinion as "new event in Sino-US relations." Nevertheless regarding Geneva talks, Peiping took occasion criticize US on three points. US charged (1) with refusal move on to item two of agenda before implementation of agreement item one; (2) of distorting agreement on item one; ~~and~~ (3) violating agreement procedure releasing news. Peiping asserted these actions perpetrated "with ulterior motives" for purpose "obstructing" talks and "preventing conciliation."

Regarding first criticism Peiping harped on alleged US violation "normal procedures of international conferences" stating that when agreement reached on item one it "common sense" proceed to item two. US "return" to item one portrayed as contrary to "unanimous wish of peace-loving people" and Times of India quoted to effect US stand "may virtually block further progress." US also accused attempting keep item one open to put pressure on Peiping in conduct domestic matters and prevent further negotiation since US has "5000" Chinese students "return" of whom would require long time.

Criticism two

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Drafted by: OIR/DRF:HWJacobson 9/23/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: OIR/DRF: Joseph A. Yager

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Criticism two maintained US had stated China would invite UK assist return to US of Americans wishing return to US while US would invite India. Peiping appeared to read into alleged USIS treatment indication US intends not repeat not invite UK and charged US with scheming to stall current talks and "obstruct operation of agreement."

In third criticism Peiping claimed US had violated agreement news release when US delegation unilaterally on evening after 15th meeting reportedly released statement on "contents of the talks" together with announcement that Johnson regarded it "premature" proceed to item two. Peiping also gave much publicity two topics Chicoms introduced for consideration under item two.

People's Daily September 19 published article by one Stetson Kennedy, identified as US writer, on "plight" Chinese students "forcibly detained" in US. Article charged students treated "like criminals" through curtailment movement, "relentless surveillance" and interrogations.

Taiwan receded further in background. Chiang reported forming committee for return of 6,000 students from US in order gain control over students and prevent foreign minister level talks between Chicoms and US.

NCNA publicized "mass airlift exercise recently" of US Air Division, saying US aircraft completed airlift of 18th Fighter-Bomber Wing from Okinawa to "forward bases" on Taiwan. Same report charged US had earlier increased jet fighter force on Taiwan, which now training under "combat simulated conditions."

Commenting on UNGA session Ta Kung Pao charged US has compelled UN become tool of its "policy of strength." Paper added UN founded on principle "universal membership" and should be open all countries and that through US "obstruction" 600 million Chinese deprived of "legitimate rights."

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 230

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

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Classification

10083

1955 SEP 23 PM 6 34

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul Geneva 777

For Johnson

Origin

Info:

Chinese departures. In future telegrams this subject code word FEDEP rpt FEDEP will mean cumulative total as of given date of confirmed ~~XXXXXXX~~ departures Chinese nationals destined Far East since July 11. Code word ALDEP rpt ALDEP will refer total for all destinations. Latter figure to continue FYI at your discretion.

As of September 23, FEDEP 378. ALDEP 721.

Dulles

Hoover, Helms

(WPMcC)

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611.93/9-2355

CS/A

611.93/9-2355

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DC/R
Appl 57
Rev
Cal

Drafted by: JPNagoski/jpn FE/CA

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances: Mr. Newton Telegraph Branch (in substance)

S/S-CR
SEP 23 1955 P.M.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (231)

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

~~Department of State~~
UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

CONFIDENTIAL

10089 (324)

1955 SEP 23 PM 6 36

DC/T

SENT TO: ~~XXXXXXXX~~ GENEVA USITO 5

Joint STATE-USIA MESSAGE

FOR Johnson and Garnish

View criticalness Geneva talks, Garnish stories for wireless file will be accepted here as definitive subjected no editing that may distort meaning on understanding clearance Ambassador Johnson obtained all items filed on Talks.

STREIBERT

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☑ Reviewer _____ Date 8/13/82

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611.93/9-2355

611.93/9-2355
Confidential File
OCT 17 1955

Drafted by: ~~XXIOP~~:MJMeiklejohn:mtr 9/23/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: IOP - ~~XXXXX~~ Ralph R. Busick

Clearances: IPS - Mr. Hutchinson
IBS - Mr. Zorthian
IOP - Mr. Stephens
FE/P - Mr. Lindbeck
CA - Mr. McConaughy

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(232)

SECRET

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

RMR

ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

(323) 5585

See Soer

Note change on 1st attachment.

September 23, 1955

TO : The Secretary

FROM : Walter S. Robertson WSR

SUBJECT: Conversations with Senator George and Congressman Richards

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611.93/9-2355

I visited Senator George at his office in Vienna, Georgia, on the 21st and had luncheon with Congressman Richards here in Washington on the 22nd. Memoranda of the conversations are attached.

I briefed them both in detail on the subject of our talks with the Red Chinese in Geneva. I explained [redacted] the positions we had taken up to the present and planned to take in the future. Both gentlemen expressed unqualified approval of the course we were following. Both stated that in their opinion we should not proceed to a discussion of "practical matters" under item 2 until we were satisfied that our jailed citizens in China had been notified of their rights under the agreement of September 10th and further that the British Chargé in Peiping had been allowed personal communication with them.

They both agreed that we should insist that the Communists carry out their agreement for the discussion of "practical matters" at issue at the Ambassadorial level. Both agreed that the renunciation of force was a proper subject for discussion under item 2.

Senator George emphasized that we should not consider a conference between you and Chou En-lai until the Communists had publicly renounced the use of force in the settlement of the Formosa problem. I inferred from Congressman Richards' conversation that he did not consider that a foreign ministers conference was called for under any conditions.

SECRET FILE

FILED

MAR 19 1956

Attachments -
MC - Senator George and Asst.Sec. Robertson
MC - Congressman Richards and Asst. Sec. Robertson

DC/R
Anal 13
Rev
Cat

Bureau of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 28 1955
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

611.93/9-2355

FE:WSRobertson:aow

SECRET

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233

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Reviewer _____ Date 9/9/85

September 23, 1955

SECRET

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

Letter No. 15.

Dear Alex:

The threat of hurricane Ione caused the last courier plane to leave Washington ahead of schedule and knocked out our September 19 pouch. Hence the long interval.

Despite the uncertainty as to when you will get into the substance of Item Two, we are going ahead with work on our two items. Bill Godel and Kelleher of Defense have worked up a draft letter from you to Wang on the 450 missing servicemen which they are to submit to us for our comments today. They say it is a forthright and fairly strong presentation although it carefully avoids alleging that we have evidence that any of the men are presently alive and in Communist hands. Enclosed is a memo on this subject which we received from Defense on the 16th. We understand this was drafted by Godel and it does not accord in every respect with what Col. Monro, the Defense Prisoner Officer, had told us the day before.

On the "renunciation of force", we expect to work up a brief study with the assistance of Mr. Phleger. It will be based on the thinking of the Secretary which has been reflected in a number of his speeches and conversations. It was touched on lightly in his UNGA speech yesterday.

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

Lot 72 D 415

We will follow this line closely but will try to elaborate somewhat on it. The Secretary read the latter half of your letter No. 7, when we briefed him and received new guidance from him at his home on September 18 right after his return from Duck Island. So the Secretary is aware of the general nature of your forebodings about the "no force" issue. In general we attach more weight than you apparently have so far to the commitment we have from the GRC in the Exchange of Notes of Dec. 10 pursuant to the Mutual Defense Treaty. Admittedly this commitment has not prevented and will not prevent minor sea, air and artillery incidents. But these are mere pin pricks which are going to have to be considered as something which must be lived with in the present situation. We must look to the central issue which is major invocation of force for a general offensive purpose. On this we have a commitment from the Nationalists which ties in with our own renunciation. We believe this should give you a somewhat stronger position than you have recognized. But admittedly you would have to develop a tactic for brushing aside the small incidents as trivial and inevitable, as not essentially bearing on the central issue.

Mr. Robertson flew to Georgia to see Senator George on Sept. 21 and had a long luncheon talk with Cong. Richards yesterday. Both talks were extremely satisfactory. They both expressed the very emphatic view that we should not be drawn into any substantive discussions of Item Two until all Americans have been informed of their right to return and given access to the British Charge. Sen. George felt that the position

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on a Foreign Ministers Conference attributed to him in the newspapers on September 12 was inaccurate. He said that he had never unequivocally advocated a meeting at the Foreign Minister level in the present situation. He felt that the talks should be continued at the Ambassadorial level which is appropriate for all the pending questions. He felt that in no event should a high level meeting be considered so long as the PRC has not renounced the use of force.

It will be a great help to us to get Ralph Clough back here. We expect to send his orders as soon as we can line up an able officer from Geneva or nearby post to help you on a part time basis. We would expect him to take the notes at the meeting and help draft the reports afterwards. We may have to rely on some of our friends to help us out in view of the acute personnel shortage at all our Swiss posts.

Army and Defense are working on the Ekvall problem. They are wondering how they can maintain the present basis, much less improving the basis. But we hope to work it out.

Your letter No. 8 of Sept. 15 came on the 21st. Our telegram 745 would seem to answer the points raised in the first paragraph on page two of your letter.

I know of no disposition to change the basic trade policy at this time. Undoubtedly other countries are going to raise the question of multilateral relaxation in the CG and COCOM meetings next month. Admiral Delaney and Bob Barnett are already in London for a preparatory

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discussion. Our position on the multilateral issue has not yet been passed on by the highest level, and there may be a little more flexibility than on the domestic total embargo policy.

Our FE/P are looking into the matter of the objectionable Sept. 12 radio bulletin put out by USIA. I don't know how they got off base on this, but we intend to find out. I am enclosing a study prepared by Jacobson of DRF on "Reactions in Chinese Communities to the Geneva Announcements".

We were interested in the Peking Opera and the New York Philharmonic items. Mr. Robertson read your entire letter with interest.

Regards and good wishes,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Defense Memo on Missing Servicemen.
2. DRF Memo on Reactions in Chinese Communities to Geneva Announcements.

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(234)

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

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17-13
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(328)

Control: 13664
Rec'd: September 26, 1955
12:36 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 775, September 26, 5 p.m.

SENT HONG KONG 7, REPEATED INFORMATION DEPARTMENT 775.

FROM JOHNSON

Nicholson, American Red Cross, would appreciate information from you and/or Tomlin on whether American civilians recently released from prison report having received packages transmitted at Hong Kong through Red Cross channels.

SHILLOCK

VH/ll

611.93/9-2655

PA

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Control: 13676
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 26, 1955
Action Taken
3:27 PM

Action Assigned to DIR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 777, SEPTEMBER 26, 5 PM

Date of Action 9/26
Action Office Symbol CA
Name of Officer WP Mc
Direction to DC/R file

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FROM JOHNSON

1. REFERENCE PARA 8 MYTEL 770 FOLLOWING IS DRAFT OF SUGGESTED STATEMENT TO BE ISSUED HERE BY "US SPOKESMAN" UNDER CIRCUMSTATES SET FORTH THAT PARA. STATEMENT MIGHT, OF COURSE, REQUIRE SOME REVISION IN LIGHT DEVELOPMENTS AT MEETING BUT IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT IT BE ISSUED IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING ANY STATEMENT BY WANG.

2. "THE PRESENT SERIES OF TALKS BETWEEN AMBASSADOR WANG AND AMBASSADOR JOHNSON WERE UNDERTAKEN ON THE INITIATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN THE HOPE THAT THIS MIGHT BRING ABOUT THE RELEASE OF THE AMERICAN STILL DETAINED IN MAINLAND CHINA AND THUS PROVIDE BASIS FOR DISCUSSING AND SETTLING OTHER PRACTICAL MATTERS AT ISSUE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. AFTER MORE THAN FIVE WEEKS OF DISCUSSION, AN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WAS ISSUED ON SEPTEMBER 10, IN WHICH THE PRC PUBLIC ACKNOWLEDGED THAT AMERICANS IN THE PRC WHO DESIRED TO RETURN TO THE US WERE ENTITLED TO DO SO AND COMMITTED ITSELF TO ADOPT 'FURTHER APPROPRIATE MEASURES' SO THAT THESE PERSONS COULD 'EXPEDITIOUSLY EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN'. IN THE SAME ANNOUNCEMENT, THE PRC ALSO SET FORTH CERTAIN FUNCTIONS WHICH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UK IN THE PRC WERE TO UNDERTAKE WITH RESPECT TO THE DEPARTURE OF AMERICANS WHO DESIRED TO RETURN TO THE US.

3. "THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HOPED AND EXPECTED THAT THIS CLEAR COMMITMENT BY THE PRC WOULD BE PROMPTLY AND FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTED AND THAT THE TALKS COULD THEN IMMEDIATELY

PROCEED

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PROCEED TO THE DISCUSSION OF THE OTHER PRACTICAL MATTERS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE STATEMENT OF JULY 25 ISSUED BY THE US GOVERNMENT AND PRC. UNFORTUNATELY, ALTHOUGH NEARLY THREE WEEKS HAVE PASSED SINCE THE ISSUANCE OF THE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, NINETEEN AMERICANS STILL REMAIN IMPRISONED IN THE PRC AND THE PRC HAS REFUSED TO GIVE ANY INDICATION WHEN THEY MAY BE ABLE TO RETURN. THIS RAISES SERIOUS QUESTION AS TO HOW THE PRC INTERPRETS ITS COMMITMENT TO ALLOW THESE PERSONS TO 'EXPEDITIOUSLY EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN.'

4. "THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS ALSO CONCERNED BECAUSE IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE, UP TO THE PRESENT TIME, EVEN TO LEARN WHETHER AND HOW THE PRC IS IMPLEMENTING ITS UNDERTAKING TO ARRANGE FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM TO ASSIST THE RETURN OF AMERICANS. IT WAS NOT UNITL SEPTEMBER 23, OR 13 DAYS AFTER THE ISSUANCE OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT, THE US WAS INFORMED BY THE PRC THAT THE UK HAD BEEN ENABLED TO UNDERTAKE ITS FUNCTIONS IN THE PRC. FURTHERMORE, DESPITE CONTINUED REQUEST, THE PRC STILL DECLINES TO CONFIRM WHETHER ALL JAILED AMERICANS HAVE EVEN BEEN INFORMED OF THE TERMS OF THE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND WHETHER THEY WILL BE GRANTED ACCESS TO THE UK REPRESENTATIVE IN THE PRC. IT IS PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND THIS SITUATION IN THE LIGHT OF MR. CHOU EN-LAI'S STATEMENT JUST PRIOR THE OPENING OF THESE TALKS TO THE EFFECT THAT IT WOULD BE EASY TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM OF AMERICANS IN THE PRC.

5. "THE FACT IS THAT TODAY- MORE THAN 8 WEEKS SINCE THE START OF THE TALKS- ONLY ONE-THIRD OF THE JAILED AMERICANS HAVE BEEN RELEASED.

6. "THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, FOR ITS PART, NOT ONLY REITERATED IN THE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ITS PREVIOUS ASSURANCE THAT CHINESE IN THE US WHO DESIRE TO RETURN TO THE PRC ARE FREE TO DO SO, BUT ALSO PROMPTLY ARRANGED FOR THE GOI TO UNDERTAKE THE FUNCTIONS SET FORTH IN THE ANNOUNCEMENT. THE PRC HAS BEEN KEPT CURRENTLY INFORMED OF ALL STEPS BEING TAKEN BY THE US GOVERNMENT IN THIS REGARD.

7. "THE US

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-3- 777, SEPTEMBER 26, 5 PM, FROM GENEVA

7. "THE US CONTINUES TO HOPE THAT THE PRC WILL, FOR ITS PART, QUICKLY TAKE STEPS TO IMPLEMENT ITS COMMITMENTS SO THAT THESE TALKS MAY PROMPTLY MOVE ON TO THE DISCUSSION OF OTHER PRACTICAL MATTERS".

SHILLOCK

AAL

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1955 SEP 27 AM 6 52
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236

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327

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Info
RMR

Control: 13882
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 26, 1955
10:33 PM

File

FROM: NEW YORK

TO: Secretary of State

NO: DULTE 1, SEPTEMBER 26, 11 PM

PRIORITY

SENT PRIORITY GENEVA 4; REPEATED INFORMATION DEPARTMENT DULTE 1.

FOR JOHNSON.

YOUR 770. FOLLOWING INSTRUCTIONS FOR YOUR SEPTEMBER 28 MEETING HAVE BEEN PERSONALLY CLEARED WITH THE SECRETARY IN NEW YORK.

1. YOU ARE TO CONDUCT DISCUSSIONS SO THAT NO LEGITIMATE BASIS GIVEN FOR OTHER SIDE TO BREAK THEM OFF.

2. YOU SHOULD CONTINUE PRESSING IMPLEMENTATION AGENDA ITEM ONE, POINTING OUT FAILURE TO GIVE INFORMATION TO AMERICANS, ETC., AS DISCLOSED HONG KONG'S 66 TO GENEVA AND LACK ACTION REMAINING DETAINED AMERICANS.

3. WE NOTE WITH SATISFACTION YOUR REFUTATION WANG'S ATTEMPT TO CONTEND THAT IMPRISONED AMERICANS NOT INCLUDED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. ANNOUNCEMENT APPLIES TO ALL (REPEAT ALL) AMERICAN CIVILIANS WITHOUT DISTINCTION AND COMMUNISTS MUST BE HELD ABSOLUTELY TO THIS.

4. AFTER COVERING IMPLEMENTATION ITEM 1 YOU CAN PROCEED TO DISCUSS SUBJECTS FOR LISTING ITEM TWO. YOU SHOULD NOTE AS SUBJECT WE PROPOSE (A) ACCOUNTING FOR US MILITARY PERSONNEL AND (B) RENUNCIATION OF USE OF FORCE IN TAIWAN AREA. CONTINUE MAINTAIN POSITION HIGH LEVEL TALKS OUT OF ORDER ON GROUNDS SET FORTH OUR 745. AFTER DISCUSSION AS TO ITEMS FOR LISTING AGENDA ITEM 2 FURTHER CONSIDERATION SHOULD THEN BE PUT OVER UNTIL NEXT MEETING, SET AS FAR IN FUTURE AS POSSIBLE.

5. BY SEPARATE

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5. BY SEPARATE TELEGRAM WE ARE SENDING YOU SUBSTANCE STATEMENTS ON ACCOUNTING FOR MILITARY PERSONNEL AND RENUNCIATION USE OF FORCE. REQUEST YOUR COMMENTS. THESE DESIGNED FOR USE SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS BUT COULD BE USED ON EMERGENCY BASIS THIS MEETING IF YOU BELIEVE BREAK IMMINENT.

6. WITH RESPECT TO WANG'S ITEM "QUESTION OF EMBARGO", YOU ARE AUTHORIZED TO ACCEPT IT FOR LISTING, PROVIDED HE ACCEPTS OUR ITEMS, AND SUBJECT TO CONDITION THAT ITEM "RENUNCIATION OF FORCE" HAS PRIORITY.

DULLES

AAL

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(237)

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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Control: 14033
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 27, 1955
6:16 A.M.

3331

S B
Action
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Info

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 779, SEPTEMBER 27, 11 A.M.

Action Assigned to D/R
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

NIACT

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FROM JOHNSON

1. GREATLY APPRECIATE INSTRUCTIONS CONTAINED NEW YORK'S 4 REPEATED DEPT DULTE 1.

2. WITH RESPECT SECOND SENTENCE PARA 4 SUGGEST "POSSIBLE PRESENCE IN PRC OF MISSING US MILITARY PERSONNEL" FOR LISTING MISSING US MILITARY PERSONNEL ITEM.

3. THIS WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH FORM PRESENTATION THIS SUBJECT I DISCUSSED WHILE IN WASHINGTON AND WITH HAMMARSKJOLD (MYTEL 257).

4. WHILE I HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED STATEMENTS MENTIONED PARA 5, NEW YORK'S 4, BELIEVE THAT DEMAND FOR "ACCOUNTING" OPEN TO FOLLOWING OBJECTIONS:

A. QUESTION OF "ACCOUNTING" IS PRIMARILY BETWEEN UN AND COMMUNIST COMMANDS IN KOREA AND THUS SUBJECT FOR MAC.

B. RAISING QUESTION AS "ACCOUNTING" GIVES CHICOMS OPPORTUNITY OF REJECTING QUESTION ON FOREGOING GROUNDS AS NOT PROPERLY "PRACTICAL QUESTION" INVOLVING ONLY US AND PRC OR INTRODUCING HERE OUR ACCOUNTING FOR 21,000 CHINESE.

C. OUR RAISING QUESTION AS "ACCOUNTING" IN THESE TALKS TENDS WEAKEN OUR POSITION ON UN CHARACTER COMMAND IN KOREA AND BY MAKING ONE ASPECT KOREAN ARMISTICE IMPLEMENTATION SUBJECT OF US-PRC

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2- 79, SEPTEMBER 27, 11 A.M. FROM GENEVA

US-USSR BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS.

5. IT SEEMS TO ME TYPE OF PRESENTATION I HAVE IN MIND WHICH IS FORECAST BY FORM I PROPOSE FOR LISTING NOT SUBJECT FOREGOING OBJECTIONS.

6. WITH REFERENCE PARA 6 NEW YORK'S 4 IT WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR ME MAINTAIN POSITION PRIORITY FOR BOTH OUR SUBJECTS OVER ONLY ERC SUBJECT WE WILLING ACCEPT. WHILE I WOULD OF COURSE DO SO IN INITIAL PRESENTATION DO NOT SEE HOW I WILL BE ABLE MAINTAIN PRIORITY FOR "RENUNCIATON OF FORCE" OVER "EMBARGO" UNLESS I CONCEDE LOWER POSITION TO "MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL".

7. WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS AND INSTRUCTION PRIOR TO TOMORROW'S MEETING.

SHILLOCK

TLS

OFFICE OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
1955 SEP 27 AM 8 P3

ms/ Wel (FE) notified 9/27/6:55 a. m. EMB (CWO)

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238

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RMR

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 14119
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 27, 1955
8:31 A.M.

334

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 780, SEPTEMBER 27, NOON

FROM JOHNSON

1. NICHOLSON N AMREDCROSS WHO IS HERE FOR LEAGUE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING CALLED ON ME YESTERDAY. HE SAID CHICOMS AS WELL AS SOVIET BLOC DELEGATIONS WERE HERE IN FULL FORCE EXUDING SWEETNESS AND LIGHT. SOVIET DELEGATION WAS ATTEMPTING "TEAM UP" WITH US GROUP AND SUGGESTING CLOSE COOPERATION".

2. HE MENTIONED TO ME POSSIBILITY SOME RESOLUTION ON COMMIE HOLDING PRISONERS AS POLITICAL HOSTAGES. TOLD HIM I COULD NOT SPEAK FOR DEPARTMENT ON GENERAL SUBJECT BUT WITH RESPECT CHICOMS SUGGESTED MOST USEFUL LINE FOR HIM IN AND OUT OF MEETINGS WOULD BE CONCENTRATE ON WELFARE ASPECTS SUCH AS PACKAGES, MAIL ETC., WHERE CHICOM PERFORMANCE VERY UNSATISFACTORY AND MATTER WAS DIRECT AND IMMEDIATE RED CROSS CONCERN. EXPLAINED TO HIM WHY I HAD NOT DONE SO. THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR HIM DO SO BOTH FROM STANDPOINT IMPROVING PLIGHT REMAINING PRISONERS AND OFFSETTING PIOUS EXPRESSIONS BY CHICOM RED CROSS GROUP.

3. ALSO SPOKE TO HIM CONCERNING CZECH ATTITUDE TOWARD US ON DISTRIBUTION FLOOD RELIEF GRAIN LAST YEAR.

4. HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION MY OFFER SEE AND CONSULT WITH HIM AS HE CONSIDERED DESIRABLE.

611.93/9-2755

PA

CONFIDENTIAL FILED

FEB 17 1959

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SHILLOCK

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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1955 SEP 27 AM 11 36

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9/30/55 2:00 p.m. LMS
CORRECTED COPY

24-22
Action
FE

Control: 14339
Rec'd: September 27, 1955
2:33 p.m.

Info
RMR

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 784, September 27, 4 p.m.

SENT DEPARTMENT 784, REPEATED INFORMATION LONDON 558

R
A
FROM JOHNSON
A
S

1. Frederic C. Harnden, Shanghai representative, First National City Bank of New York is as far as I know only remaining foreigner Communist China prevented from leaving at least in part because of unsettled Communist claims against American company.

If Department approves, I believe it might strengthen Harnden's chances of receiving an exit permit if I mentioned his case to Wang during a meeting in near future when atmosphere is reasonably good.

2. I would point out that cases of a number of American businessmen had been settled recently, permitting their departure; that while he was a British subject and therefore not strictly our responsibility, he represented an American bank and we felt a certain obligation to bring his case to the attention of the PRC; and that it was hoped he might be shown the same consideration in speedy handling of his case as others had received in recent weeks. I would add I did not expect that Wang and I should get into a discussion of details of case, but would hope he could simply convey our interest to his government.

3. I have received a second request to take up Harnden's case from Carl Hayden, Vice President of the First National City Bank in London. Suggest Department consult UK before advising me on action it believes I should take.

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Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer

MEB/8

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Office to DC/R

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SECRET
Bureau of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 28 1955
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

Control: 14437
Rec'd: September 27, 1955
5:23 p.m.

FROM: New York

TO: Secretary of State

NO: DULTE 3, September 27, 6 p.m.

NIACT

Regarding Geneva 790 following is proposed as NIACT cable to Johnson:

BEGIN TEXT

FOR JOHNSON

Text statement sent you 790 about request for accounting US Military personnel was drafted by Defense, and has not been cleared by Department. Opening paragraph reciting that Department cleared is in error. Statement will require further consideration and conferences with Defense and draft sent you should not (repeat not) be used. You should propose "accounting for US Military personnel" as one of subjects for listing Agenda item 2 leaving until later meeting more precise formulation regarding which we will further advise you. Request your comments Defense draft.

END TEXT.

DULLES

HMR 11

Note: Advance copy to S/S 5:50 p.m., 9/27/CWO-JRL

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- [ ] Deny)
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- [ ] Review Again
- [x] Reviewer _____ Date 8/17/82

10128 SECRET

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QUICKING TELEGRAM (241)

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

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11227
1955 SEP 27 AM 10 36
DC/T

VERBATIM TEXT

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA NIACT 789

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

New York's 4, paragraph 5. Following is text of statement on renunciation use of force:

"One of the practical matters for discussion between us is that we should reciprocally renounce the use of force to achieve our policies when they conflict. The U. S. and the ~~EFE~~ PRC confront each other with policies which are in certain respects incompatible. This fact need not, however, mean armed conflict, and the most important single thing we can do is first of all to be sure that it will not lead to armed conflict.

Then and only then can other matters causing tension between the parties in the Taiwan area and the Far East be hopefully discussed.

It is not suggested that either of us should renounce any policy objectives which we consider we are legitimately entitled to achieve, but only that we renounce the use of force to implement these policies.

Neither of us wants to negotiate under the threat of force. The free discussion of differences, and their fair and equitable solution, become impossible under the overhanging threat that force may be resorted to when one party does not agree with the other.

The United States as a member of the United Nations has agreed to refrain

10 51

Clearances:	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson
:HPhleger/FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 9/27/55	

Statement revised and approved by The Secretary.

WPMcC SEP 27 1955 A.M.

11028

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Classification

refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force. This has been its policy for many years and is its guiding principle of conduct in the Far East, as throughout the world.

The use of force to achieve national objectives does not accord with accepted standards of conduct under international law.

The Government of the League of Nations, the Kellogg-Briand Treaties, and the Charter of the United Nations reflect the universal view of the civilized community of nations that the use of force as an instrument of national policy violates international law, constitutes a threat to international peace, and prejudices the interests of the entire world community.

There are in the world today many situations which tempt those who have force to use it to achieve what they believe to be legitimate policy objectives. Many countries are abnormally divided or contain what some consider to be abnormal ~~inst~~ intrusions. Nevertheless, the responsible governments of the world have in each of these cases renounced the use of force to achieve what they believe to be legitimate and even urgent goals.

It is an essential foundation and preliminary to the success of the discussions under Item 2 that it first be made clear that the parties to these discussions renounce the use of force to make the policies of either prevail over those of the other. That particularly applies to the Taiwan area.

The acceptance of this principle does not involve third parties, or the justice or injustice of conflicting claims. It only involves recognizing and agreeing to abide by accepted standards of international conduct.

We ask

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11029

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECRET
Classification

We ask, therefore, as a first matter for discussion under Agenda Item 2, assurance that your side will not resort to the use of force in the Taiwan area except defensively. The U. S. would be prepared to give a corresponding assurance. These reciprocal assurances will make it appropriate for us to pass on to the discussion of other matters with a better hope of coming to constructive conclusions."

"HOOVER"

Hoover
ACTING

MSR

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11030

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Classification

OUTGOING TELEGRAM (242)

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

VERBATIM TEXT

1955 SEP 27 PM 12 52

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA NIACT 790
RPT TO: USUN, NEW YORK TEDUL 5 NIACT
LIMIT DISTRIBUTION
FOR JOHNSON

New York's 4, paragraph 5. Following is text of statement which has been cleared with Defense regarding unaccounted for American military personnel:

"On July 16, 1952, the Foreign Minister of the PRC notified the Swiss Government that the Government of the PRC had decided to recognize the Geneva Conventions of 1949 on Treatment of Prisoners of War.

"On July 27, 1953, the responsible leaders of the communist forces in Korea signed the Armistice Agreement which resulted in the cessation of hostilities in Korea and provided clear agreement on the handling of prisoners of war, including the specific requirement of each side to furnish a full and complete accounting on all prisoners of war and deceased combatants of which either side had any knowledge.

"The terms of the Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War and the solemn obligations accruing to the communist forces in Korea under the Armistice Agreement have, in part, been ignored and violated by those forces and by your government during the intervening period.

"September 27, 1955, was the second anniversary of the final date established by the Armistice Agreement for the delivery and accounting of all personnel captured as a result of the Korean War. The UN Command in accordance

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611.93/9-2755 CS/A 611.93

SECRET FILE

Drafted by: Defense:WGodel;FE:CA:DLOsborn/ikb 9/27/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:
Cleared in draft for Defense - Mr. Godel
CA -WPMcConaughy
FE -Mr. Sebald

S/S-CR
SEP 27 1955 P.M.

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Classification

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Classification

accordance with the provisions of the Armistice Agreement and the provisions of the Geneva Conventions on prisoners of war has rendered a full ~~accounting~~ accounting of all prisoners of war and deceased combatants of which it has knowledge. Your Government, however, has continued to hold personnel who were so captured.

"I hand you herewith a list of 450 names comprised exclusively of persons who have spoken over the communist radio, have been referred to in communist broadcasting, have been actually listed by the communist side as being captives, have written letters from communist prison ~~camp~~ camps, have been seen in communist prisons, or have been seen in communist territory, either in China or in North Korea.

"I therefore reiterate the previous demands made upon your government to render an accounting forthwith of American military personnel on this list and of any others known to you."

New York note that any changes which Secretary and Phleger may wish to make should be wired NIACT direct JOHNSON.

Hoover

ACTING

" HOOVER "

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (243)

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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332
11736
1955 SEP 27 PM 9 26
DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA NIACT 797

FOR JOHNSON

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Your 777. Suggested text approved for use in contingency stated with changes noted below:

Change last clause in first sentence, paragraph two to read QUOTE and thus facilitate discussion and settlement of other practical matters at issue between the two sides UNQUOTE.

Change figure in latter part second sentence paragraph 3 to read ~~QUOTE although~~ eighteen instead of nineteen. ~~nearly three weeks have passed since the issuance of the Agreed Announcement the PRC has refused to give any indication of any action looking towards the expeditious return of the 18 imprisoned Americans or the others who have been denied exit permits UNQUOTE.~~

FYI Our records show only eighteen actually in jail following departure all ten named September 10 list.

DC/R
Central 57
Files

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CS/DLS

"HOOVER"

ACTING

611.93/9-2655
SECRET FILE

Drafted by FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/DLOsborn/ikb 9/27/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (244)

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(337) 11735

1955 SEP 27 PM 9 26

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA NIACT 798

RPT INFO: USUN New York TEDUL 7

FOR JOHNSON

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6/11/93

DEPTEL 790.

Statement based on Defense draft about which Department still has some reservations. Statement will require further consideration and conferences with Defense and draft sent you should not repeat not be used. You should propose QUOTE Accounting for U. S. Personnel UNQUOTE as one of subjects for listing Agenda Item 2 leaving until later meeting more precise formulation regarding which we will further advise you. You may concede lower priority on agenda for this topic in your discretion. Request your comments on statement.

VOID SEE CORRECTED COPY ATTACHED

ACTING

HOOVER

611.93/9-2755

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611.93/9-2755

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-Phleger

DC/R
Anal. 22
Rev.
Cat.

11031

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 9/27/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances: S/S - EVMCA

Foregoing based on telephone conversation with Mr. Phleger and Dulte 3.

Correction made by RA/R

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245

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

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16-D
Action

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Info

CONFIDENTIAL

338

Control: 14908
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 28, 1955
11:03 A.M.

Action Assigned to C/D/R

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 790, SEPTEMBER 28, 4 P.M.

1/5

611.93/9-2855

NIACT

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FROM JOHNSON

1. WANG OPENED THIS MORNING'S MEETING WITH LONG PREPARED STATEMENT TO EFFECT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT COMPLETED AGENDA ITEM ONE, WE WERE ENTANGLING AGENDA ITEMS ONE AND TWO, IF OUR INTENT WAS DELAY DISCUSSION AGENDA ITEM TWO UNTIL ALL REMAINING AMERICANS RELEASED "THIS SURE TO FAIL", WILL NOT SUBMIT TO THREATS, ETC., ETC., SUGGESTED IF WE HAD ANY "SPECIFIC OPINION" ON IMPLEMENTATION ANNOUNCEMENT PRC WILLING GIVE CONSIDERATION AND THAT DISCUSSION THEREOF BE REFERRED TO ASSISTANTS. WILL INFORM UK RESULTS OF REVIEWS AS COMPLETED. CRITICISM US IMPLEMENTATION, 76 WHO APPLIED FOR DEPARTURE WHOSE NAMES WE PREVIOUSLY GAVE HIM 42 NOT YET RETURNED, NONE HAS RETURNED WHO LEFT SINCE BEGINNING OF TALKS, KNOWS OF NO ONE WHO HAS LEFT US TO RETURN TO CHINA EXCEPT TSIEN, STUDENTS FEARFUL TO APPLY FOR DEPARTURE, ETC. OUR ATTITUDE WILL "IMPAIR THE IMPROVEMENT OF SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND IS BOUND TO HAVE A BAD EFFECT ON OUR LENIENT WAY OF SOLVING THE PROBLEM REMAINING AMERICANS".

2. I REPLIED WITH LONG STATEMENT STATING NO NEED SPEND MUCH TIME ON THESE SUBJECTS IF HE WOULD GIVE ME STRAIGHTFORWARD ANSWERS TO MY STRAIGHTFORWARD AND SIMPLE QUESTIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION, UNLESS WERE WILLING TO KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED ON IMPLEMENTATION WILL BE DIFFICULT TO MAKE PROGRESS DISCUSSION OTHER MATTERS, IMPLEMENTATION TOO IMPORTANT TO LEAVE TO ASSISTANTS, THEN REFUTED HIS STATEMENTS ON CHINESE

PA

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FILED FEB 1 1959

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STUDENTS IN US, WELCOMED STATEMENT THEY WILLING GIVE CONSIDERATION SUGGESTIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION, POINTED OUT MY REPEATED QUESTIONS THIS REGARD, REPEATED THEM AND ALSO REFRAMED AS SUGGESTIONS ASKING FOR SPECIFIC REPLIES, IN REFERRING STATEMENT ON THREATS SAID I COULD NOT UNDERSTAND HOW MY QUESTIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION COULD BE INTERPRETED AS THREATS, HE COULD BE CERTAIN WE WOULD NOT RESPOND TO THREATS, PRC SHOULD BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR WE NOT WILLING TRADE FATE REMAINING PERSONS FOR POLITICAL CONCESSIONS. THREE WEEKS SINCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND NOT ONE OF 19 YET RELEASED, OUR CONCERN INCREASES WITH PASSAGE OF TIME NO INFORMATION ON THIS VITAL POINT, ONLY PROMPT FULL AND FAITHFUL IMPLEMENTATION ANNOUNCEMENT CAN DISPOSE AGENDA ITEM ONE, ONLY IMPLEMENTATION WORDS OF ANNOUNCEMENT CAN DISPOSE OF PROBLEM RETURN OF AMERICANS, UNTIL THIS ACCOMPLISHED FIRST ITEM OF AGENDA REMAINS FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS, HAVE RETURNED TO IT TODAY AND WILL CONTINUE TO RETURN TO IT AS LONG AS QUESTIONS REMAIN.

3. I THEN TOOK NOTE OF FACT 10 IMPRISONED AMERICANS ARRIVED IN HONG KONG AND SOME OF 12 HAD ALSO ARRIVED AND IN EXPECTATION PRC WILL ACT EXPEDITIOUSLY WITH REMAINING 19 AND FURTHER EFFORT DEMONSTRATE OUR DESIRE TALKS SHOULD PROGRESS, DESIRED DISCUSS WITH HIM TODAY TOPICS WHICH WE SHOULD DISCUSS UNDER AGENDA ITEM TWO. REFERRED MY REJECTION OF HIGHER LEVEL MEETING AND PUT FORWARD TWO SUBJECTS "RENUNCIATION OF USE OF FORCE FOR ACHIEVEMENT NATIONAL OBJECTIVES" AND "ACCOUNTING FOR US PERSONNEL". CONSIDER RENUNCIATION OF FORCE OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE TO DISCUSSION AGENDA ITEM TWO, SHOULD THEREFORE BE DISCUSSED BEFORE ECONOMIC EMBARGO. THEREFORE SUGGESTED SUBJECTS IN ORDER OF (A) ACCOUNTING US PERSONNEL (B) RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AND (C) ECONOMIC EMBARGO.

4. IN REPLY WANG REITERATED PREVIOUS POINTS ON IMPLEMENTATION AND THEN REFERRING MY SUGGESTION RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AS TOPIC READ SHORT PREPARED STATEMENT WHICH WAS LARGELY NON SEQUITUR IN TERMS OF WHAT I HAD SAID BUT REPEATED USUAL COMMUNIST LINE "NOT WANTING WAR WITH US, PRC HAD RENOUNCED FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, TENSION IN FORMOSA STRAITS CAUSED BY PRESENCE US FORCES" ETC. ALL THIS COULD BE RESOLVED

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ONLY BY HIGHER LEVEL MEETING. EXPRESSED PUZZLEMENT BY WHAT I MEANT UNDER SUBJECT "ACCOUNTING FOR US PERSONNEL", SAID THOUGHT THIS TAKEN CARE OF UNDER AGENDA ITEM ONE.

5. IN REPLY I RETURNED TO IMPLEMENTATION REPEATING MY QUESTIONS AND AGAIN ALSO REFRAMING AS SUGGESTIONS ASKING FOR REPLY NEXT MEETING. THEN BRIEFLY DISCUSSED HIGHER LEVEL MEETING REPEATING PREVIOUS POSITION AND ADDING HIS PROPOSAL INDICATED PESSIMISM WHICH I DID NOT SHARE ON WHAT TWO OF US SHOULD BE ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH. POINTED OUT I HAD PRESENTED OUR TWO ITEMS IN AS NEUTRAL TERMS AS POSSIBLE AND WOULD BE PREPARED SUBSEQUENTLY DISCUSS THEM.

6. HE THEN STATED PREPARED TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION NEXT MEETING BUT WANTED TO MAKE CLEAR HAD NOT COMMITTED HIMSELF ON SUBJECTS OR THEIR ORDER. I AGREED AND HE ACCEPTED MY PROPOSAL FOR WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 5 FOR NEXT MEETING.

7. HE TRIED HARD OBTAIN PRESS COMMUNIQUE OMITTING REFERENCE TO DISCUSSION IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BUT WE FINALLY AGREED UPON COMMUNIQUE IDENTICAL WITH THAT OF LAST MEETING. HE SAID WOULD NOT REGARD THIS AS PRECEDENT FOR COMMUNIQUE NEXT MEETING.

GOWEN

BD

NOTE: Advance copy to Mr. McConaughy (CA) 12:30 p.m. 9/28/55 CWO/FED

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(246)

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

ACTION COPY

(339)

16-D
Action
FE
Info

SECRET

9/29/55, 10:45 A.M.
CORRECTED COPY

Control: 14924
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 28, 1955
11:40 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

Action Assigned to EA/DIR

NO: 791, SEPTEMBER 28, 3 P.M.

Action Taken

PRIORITY

Date of Action

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Action Office Symbol

FROM JOHNSON

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

1. TODAY'S MEETING LEFT SITUATION IN VERY SATISFACTORILY CONFUSED STATE WITH RESPECT AGENDA ITEM TWO WHICH SHOULD PROVIDE CONSIDERABLE SCOPE FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION. WANG WAS NOT PREPARED FOR TYPE OF APPROACH I MADE TO SUBJECT AND WAS OBVIOUSLY CONFUSED AS TO WHAT I MEANT BY ITEM ON "ACCOUNTING FOR US PERSONNEL." (PART OF DIFFICULT WAS THERE IS NO SATISFACTORY CHINESE TERM FOR "ACCOUNTING" IN SENSE WE HAVE USED IT HERE.)

2. IN ABSENCE DECISION ON OUR PART CONCERNING FORM OF PRESENTATION THIS SUBJECT I AVOIDED ANY EFFORT ENLIGHTEN HIM WHICH WOULD HAVE REQUIRED MY ENTERING INTO SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS. I SIMPLY SAID IT WAS QUITE DIFFERENT FROM WHAT WE HAD BEEN DISCUSSING UNDER AGENDA ITEM ONE AND HE DID NOT PRESS ME FURTHER. HOWEVER, BY NEXT MEETING HE WILL BE CERTAIN TO HAVE CONNECTED THIS WITH OUR PREVIOUS PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON SUBJECT AND BE PREPARED TO HANDLE.

3. HE WAS PREPARED TO HANDLE STATEMENT FROM ME ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE WHICH INCLUDED AN ATTACK ON CHICOM POLICIES, WAS SOMEWHAT NONPLUSSED THAT I DID NOT MAKE ANY SUCH STATEMENT BUT FELT HE HAD TO SAY SOMETHING.

4. AS SIDELIGHT NCNA CORRESPONDENT TOLD OTHER CORRESPONDENTS WHILE MEETING WAS GOING ON THAT "IF THERE WAS NO PROGRESS" CHICOMS WOULD HAVE PUBLIC STATEMENT AND US WOULD PROBABLY ALSO HAVE ONE. THUS APPEARS THEY WERE FULLY PREPARED FOR PUBLIC DEBATE ALTHOUGH PROBSBLY NOT BREAK AND WERE FORESTALLED BY OUR TACTICS.

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FEB 17 1959

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-2- 791, SEPTEMBER 28, 3 P.M., FROM GENEVA.

5. WILL SUBSQUENTLY SUBMIT RECOMMENDATIONS FOR HANDLING NEXT MEETING.

GOWEN

LMS:BD

NOTE: ADVANCE COPY TO MR. MCCONAUGHY (CA) 12:30 P.M. 9/28/55 CWO/FED.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1955 SEP 29 PM 1 41
BUREAU OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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247

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17-D
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SECRET

Control: 15009 cd/DIR 1/4
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 28, 1955
1:59 P. M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 793, SEPTEMBER 28

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. I AM STRONGLY OPPOSED TO GENERAL APPROACH AS WELL AS ENTIRE TONE OF DRAFT STATEMENT CONTAINED DEPTEL 790. IT MIGHT BE USEFUL AS PUBLIC PROPAGANDA DOCUMENT, I MIGHT WELL USE SOME OF THE MATERIAL IT CONTAINS IN THE GIVE AND TAKE OF DEBATE, BUT AS AN INITIAL APPROACH TO SUBJECT IT CANNOT PRODUCE ANY FAVOARBLE RESULTS. IT COULD ONLY RESULT IN A RETROGRESSION TO PANMUNJOM RHETORIC WHICH I HAVE THUS FAR BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN AVOIDING HERE AND PREJUDICE ATTAINMENT OF OUR OTHER OBJECTIVES IN THESE TALKS.

2. AS SUGGESTED PARA 4 MYTEL ~~778~~ 777 IT SEEMS TO ME THAT TO BASE OUR APPROACH PRIMARILY ON IMPLEMENTATION OF ARMISTICE LOGICALLY LEADS OPENING OTHER ASPECTS OF ARMISTICE AND STARTING US DOWN A ROAD ON WHICH ARMISTICE TENDS BECOME BILATERAL PRC-US MATTER RATHER THAN UN MATTER.

3. SUBJECT IS AT BEST DIFFICULT HANDLE CONSTRUCTIVELY BUT IT SEEMS TO ME THAT TYPE OF APPROACH I HAVE HAD IN MIND LESS SUBJECT TO FOREGOING DIFFICULTIES. WE KNOW SOME OF 450 AS WELL AS OTHERS SUBSEQUENTLY RELEASED AT PANMUNJOM WERE AT ONE TIME IN PRC, WE KNOW DOWNEY AND FECTEAU WERE PRODUCED AFTER LONG MONTHS OF SILENCE, IT IS PERFECTLY NATURAL AND CLEARLY A BILATERAL PRC-US MATTER TO ASK WHETHER ANY OF 450 ARE NOW IN TERRITORY UNDER THEIR CONTROL OR WHETHER THEY KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT THEM.

4. WILL SUBMIT DRAFT FOR DEPARTMENT'S APPROVAL.

GOWEN

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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

ACTION COPY

341

CORRECTED COPY
9/29/55, 6 p.m., MGG

SECRET

24
Action
FE
Info
RMR

Control: 15024
Rec'd: September 28, 1955
2:45 p.m.

Assigned to DIR
Action Taken

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 794, September 28

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

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PRIORITY

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION FROM JOHNSON

1. I feel statement on renunciation of force contained DEPTEL 789 is truly outstanding and if Department agrees would like hand Wang copy when it is made.

2. Presume Department recognizes that in context at moment reference to "other matters" in last sentence will insofar as PRC concerned suggest economic embargo. While we have rejected discussion higher level meeting it may nevertheless carry some implication in this regard as well. Am not suggesting any change but only pointing out implication I believe statement will carry for PRC.

3. Depending on outcome our discussion on order subjects under agenda item two first portion first sentence last paragraph might require slight revision.

4. Although I will subsequently submit suggestions on handling next meeting my present inclination is to take advantage of any opportunity I might have at that meeting to make this statement in context of supporting priority for discussion this subject.

5. For my background only would appreciate being informed whether Department envisions suggested assurances might follow pattern of "agreed announcement."

GOWEN

MGG:JK

copy #6 sent to FE 2/18/54 PA

611.93/9-2855

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SEP 30 AM 7 02

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FEB 17 1959

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342

Control: 15166
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 28, 1955
7:38 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 795, SEPTEMBER 28, 9 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

PRIORITY

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. AT 18TH MEETING LASTING ONE HOUR 20 MINUTES TODAY WANG OPENED WITH LONG, PREPARED STATEMENT. HE SAID THAT AFTER REACHING AGREEMENT ON FIRST ITEM OF AGENDA MORE THAN HALF MONTH HAD PASSED. IN ACCORDANCE WITH SUGGESTION OUR SIDE HE HAD TABLED TWO SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION UNDER AGENDA ITEM TWO: 1) QUESTION OF ~~EMBARGO,~~ 2) PREPARATIONS FOR SINO-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS AT A HIGHER LEVEL. HOWEVER, OUR SIDE WAS STILL "ENTANGLING" TALKS ON AGENDA ITEM ONE. WE HAD FAILED PRESENT OUR POSITION ON HIS POINTS AND ALSO FAILED PRESENT OUR CONCRETE VIEWS ON SUBJECTS TO BE DISCUSSED UNDER "PRACTICAL MATTERS." THIS POSITION OF OURS HE CONSIDERED ENTIRELY UN-SATISFACTORY.

2. HE SAID I HAD MENTIONED AT LAST MEETING PROVISION IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT THAT OUR GOVERNMENTS WOULD "ADOPT APPROPRIATE MEASURES" TO ENABLE PERSONS RETURN THEIR COUNTRIES. I HAD ALSO RAISED QUESTION THOSE AMERICANS WHO HAD VIOLATED LAWS IN CHINA. I HAD EXPRESSED HOPE HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD ACT PROMPTLY TO IMPLEMENT THIS PROVISION SO THAT WE COULD IN OUR TALKS ENTER PROMPTLY UPON DISCUSSION AGENDA ITEM TWO. HAD I HEAT TO IMPLY BY THESE STATEMENTS THAT ONLY WHEN ALL AMERICANS HAD BEEN RELEASED WOULD WE DISCUSS AND SETTLE THE QUESTIONS UNDER ITEM TWO? IF THIS WERE SO, HIS SIDE COULD NOT AGREE TO IT. IN DISCUSSION ON RETURN OF CIVILIANS HE HAD REPEATEDLY STATED THAT CASES AMERICANS MUST BE DEALT WITH INDIVIDUALLY AND IN ACCORDANCE

WITH CHINESE

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WITH CHINESE JURIDICAL PROCESSES TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE INDIVIDUAL OFFENSES. ONLY IN A STATE OF IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES COULD HIS GOVERNMENT MAKE ITS LENIENT POLICY TOWARD THE LAW-BREAKING AMERICANS MORE LENIENT. HE HAD MADE THESE STATEMENTS FORMALLY AND THEY WERE IN THE RECORD OF MEETING AND ONLY AFTER THEY HAD BEEN MADE WAS AGREEMENT REACHED ON AGENDA ITEM ONE. FURTHERMORE, DURING THE DISCUSSION I HAD "DEMANDED" RELEASE OF ALL AMERICANS IN CHINA WITHIN SPECIFIED TIME. HE HAD CATEGORICALLY REJECTED THIS DEMAND AS INFRINGEMENT ON CHINA'S SOVEREIGNTY, THIS HAD BEEN FORMALLY ENTERED IN RECORD OF MEETING, AND ONLY AFTER THAT HAD AGREEMENT BEEN REACHED.

3. HE SAID NOW AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED AND NO USE TO GO BACK OVER THAT DISCUSSION. HIS SIDE WOULD FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENT AGREEMENT. BUT TO USE IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AS EXCUSE TO OBSTRUCT DISCUSSION AND SETTLEMENT OF PRACTICAL MATTERS UNDER AGENDA ITEM TWO WOULD NOT RESULT IN ANY GOOD, BUT RATHER DO HARM. PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA WAS NOT GOING TO BE BROUGHT INTO SUBMISSION BY WHATEVER THREAT WE MIGHT MAKE.

4. AGREEMENT ON ITEM ONE HAD BEEN REACHED AND AT THAT TIME HE HAD PROVIDED SPECIFIC INFORMATION ON AMERICANS WHO WOULD BE PERMITTED TO LEAVE AND ON LAW VIOLATORS WHOSE CASES HAD BEEN REVIEWED. THOSE AMERICANS PERMITTED TO DEPART HAD PERSONAL AFFAIRS TO ATTEND TO AND THEY COULD LEAVE AT THEIR DISCRETION, AS SOME HAD ALREADY LEFT. ALL 10 WHO HAD VIOLATED LAWS AND WERE TO HAVE BEEN SENT OUT OF THE COUNTRY HAD LEFT. SINCE BEGINNING OF TALKS 33 AMERICANS HAD RETURNED OR WERE GOING TO RETURN AS RESULT ACTION HIS SIDE. REMAINING HANDFUL AMERICANS WHO HAD VIOLATED LAWS WOULD HAVE THEIR CASES REVIEWED IN LIGHT OF AGREEMENT AND WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF CHINESE JURIDICAL PROCEDURE. RESULTS OF REVIEW THEIR CASES WOULD BE GIVEN UK.

5. HE CONTINUED

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5. HE CONTINUED THAT THERE WAS NO JUSTIFICAION FOR ENTANGLING TALKS OVER QUESTION CHINESE IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENT. ON CONTRARY OUR SIDE SHOULD MAKE ACTIVE EFFORTS IMPLEMENT AGREEMENT. DURING TALKS I HAD GIVEN HIM NAMES 76 CHINESE WHO HAD APPLIED DEPART US BUT NOT PERMITTED DO SO. 42 OF THESE HAD NOT YET RETURNED. ALTHOUGH OUR SIDE HAD SAID ALL RESTRICTIONS REMOVED, NEVERTHELESS HE KNEW OF NO ONE ELSE WHO HAD LEFT US TO RETURN TO CHINA EXCEPT TSIEN. I HAD SAID BETWEEN JULY 11 AND SEPTEMBER 21, 380 CHINESE LEFT US, BUT I HAD FAILED SUBMIT LIST OF NAMES SO PRC HAD NO MEANS MAKING CHECK. I HAD ADMITTED CHINESE STUDENTS AFRAID APPLY I AND NS FOR PERMISSION LEAVE US BECAUSE FEARED BEING REJECTED. EVIDENTLY MANY CHINESE STILL DO NOT HAVE COURAGE APPLY TO DEPART BECAUSE OF LONG PERIOD THREATS AND INTIMIDATION. PRC HAD GREAT NUMBER OF NATIONALS IN US AND WHETHER THEY COULD EXERCISE RIGHT TO RETURN WOULD BE TEST WHETHER US FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTING AGREEMENT. UP TO NOW PRC HAD NOT SEEN ANY ACTUAL OUTCOME FROM ALL MY STATEMENTS.

6. HE SAID I WAS STILL TRYING ENTANGLE TALKS ON FIRST ITEM AND HAMPER DISCUSSION OF SECOND ITEM. FRANKLY, SUCH AN APPROACH IMPAIRED IMPROVEMENT OF SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND WAS BOUND TO HAVE BAD EFFECT ON LENIENT WAY PRC SOLVING PROBLEM REMAINING AMERICANS.

7. HE SAID I HAD RAISED DETAILED QUESTIONS LAST MEETING ON FUNCTIONS OF THIRD POWERS UNDER AGREEMENT. THESE FUNCTIONS WERE CLEARLY SET FORTH IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, BUT IF I WISHED PUT FORWARD SPECIFIC OPINIONS ON DETAILS OF FUNCTIONS, AND IF OPINIONS REASONABLE, HE WOULD CONSIDER THEM. HE SUGGESTED THAT SUCH SPECIFIC OPINIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BE RESERVED FOR MEETING OF ASSISTANTS SO AS NOT TO INTERFERE WITH DISCUSSION SECOND ITEM IN THESE TALKS. PEOPLE IN ALL COUNTRIES IN WORLD UNANIMOUSLY CALLED FOR DISCUSSION SECOND ITEM AGENDA IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING AGREEMENT ON FIRST THEREBY CONTRIBUTING TO EASING TENSIONS AND IMPROVING RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. HE HAD PUT FORWARD TWO SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION:

LIFTING OF

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LIFTING OF EMBARGO WAS DEMAND VOICED BY MANY COUNTRIES, AND PREPARATION FOR SINO-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS AT HIGER LEVEL WAS DESIRED BY PEOPLE MANY COUNTRIES AS WELL AS BY HIGH OFFICIALS OF US. HE HOPED WE COULD ENTER UPON DISCUSSION THESE PROBLEMS WITHOUT DELAY AND HE WOULD BE GLAD TO HEAR ANY POSITIVE VIEWS I MIGHT PUT FORWARD ON AGENDA ITEM TWO.

8. I REPLIED I PLEASED NOTE HIS STATEMENT HE WOULD CONSIDER ANY SPECIFIC OPINION WE WISHED PUT FORWARD REGARDING IMPLEMENTATION ANNOUNCEMENT. IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS I HAD PUT FORWARD A FEW SIMPLE QUESTIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION WHICH CARRIED WITH THEM CLEAR IMPLICATION OF SUGGESTIONS. I DID NOT WANT ANY IMORE THAN HE DID TO SPEND OUR TIME ON THESE SUBJECTS AND I DID NOT THINK WE NEED DO SO. QUESTIONS I HAD PREVIOULSY ASKED WERE SIMPLE AND STRAIGHTFORWARD AND THEY REQUIRED ONLY SIMPLE AND STRAIGHT-FORWARD ANSWERS. UNLESS WE WERE WILLING TO KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY AND FRANKLY INFORMED ON STEPS OUR GOVERNMENTS HAD TAKEN IT WAS GOING TO BE VERY DIFFICULT TO DISCUSS SUCCESSFULLY OTHER MATTERS. I THOUGHT THESE MATTERS TOO IMPORTANT TO BE REFERRED TO OUR ASSISTANTS, BUT HOPED WE COULD QUICKLY COMPLETE THEIR DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE TWO OF US.

9. I SAID HE HAD MENTIONED CERTAIN MATTERS REGARDING OUR IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT UPON WHICH I WISHED TO COMMENT BRIEFLY. HE SAID I HAD ADMITTED STUDENTS IN US AFRAID MAKE APPLICATION TO DEPART. I COULD NOT IMAGINE WHAT STATEMENT I HAD MADE WHICH COULD BE SO INTERPRETED AND I REJECTED THAT IMPLICATION FROM ANY STATEMENTS I MAY HAVE MADE. HE STATED SOME STUDENTS DID NOT HAVE COURAGE NOW APPLY DEPART BUT I COULD NOT SEE WHAT HE REFFERED TO, BECAUSE IT WAS NOT NECESSARY FOR THEM TO MAKE APPLICATON TO ANY GOVERNMENT AGENCY TO DEPART. IN ADDITION, ARRANGEMENT WITH INDIAN GOVERNMENT IN FULL EFFECT AND ANY STUDENT HAD FULL RIGHT COMMUNICATE WITH EMBASSY GOI IF HE THOUGHT HIS RIGHT DEPART BEING INTERFERED WITH. HE HAD SPOKEN OF LIST I GAVE HIM OF 76 CHINESE AGAINST WHOM RESTRAINING ORDERS HAD BEEN LISTED AND SAID 42 OF 76 NOT YET RETURNED. I DID NOT KNOW OF ANY CHINESE IN US WHO

DESIRED TO

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DESIRED TO RETURN WHO WAS NOW PREVENTED FROM DOING SO. I HAD NO INFORMATION WHETHER ANY OF 42 HAD POSTPONED THEIR DEPARTURE OR HAD CHANGED THEIR MINDS. MAYBE, AS HAD BEEN SAID IN NCNA BROADCAST SEPTEMBER 20, SOME THESE CHINESE WANTED POSTPONE DEPARTURE IN ORDER COMPLETE WORK OR STUDIES IN US. WHATEVER REASON, BASIC FACT WAS CHINESE IN US FREE TO DO WHAT THEY WISHED. IF THERE WERE OTHER ASPECTS OUR IMPLEMENTATION OF ANNOUNCEMENT HE WISHED DISCUSS I WOULD CERTAINLY BE GLAD DISCUSS WITH HIM.

10. I SAID ONE QUESTION I HAD RAISED PREVIOUS MEETING CONCERNED ABILITY AMERICANS IMPRISONED TO LEARN OF TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I HAD UNDERTOOD FROM HIM THERE WERE ARRANGEMENTS FOR READING AND TRANSLATING NEWSPAPERS TO PERSONS IN PRISON AND THAT THEY WOULD THUS LEARN OF TERMS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I ASKED SIMPLY FOR CONFIRMATION THAT THIS HAD BEEN DONE. MY CONCERN THIS REGARD HAD INCREASED BECAUSE LEARNED MOST AMERICANS RECENTLY RELEASED EITHER DID NOT HEAR ABOUT OR RECEIVED ONLY FRAGMENTARY ACCOUNT OF TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. ONE AMERICAN RECENTLY RELEASED WHO HAD HEARD OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WAS REFUSED HIS REQUEST SEE FULL TEXT. THEREFORE, FRAMING MATTER IN TERMS HE HAD SUGGESTED THIS MORNING, I WISHED SUGGEST HIS GOVERNMENT CONFIRM TO ME WHETHER OR NOT IN FACT EACH INDIVIDUAL AMERICAN IN PRISON HAD BEEN FULLY AND SPECIFICALLY INFORMED OF TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

11. I SAID ANOTHER QUESTION I HAD RAISED WAS SIMPLY WHETHER AMERICANS WOULD BE PERMITTED TO COMMUNICATE WITH OR OTHERWISE HAVE ACCESS TO UK CHARGE, AND PARTICULARLY IF HE WOULD BE ABLE INTERVIEW THEM IN ACCORDANCE WITH TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT IF MY GOVERNMENT WANTED FACTS IN CASE INVESTIGATED. AGAIN FRAMING THIS QUESTION AS SPECIFIC SUGGESTION IN ACCORDANCE HIS PROPOSAL, I WANTED SPECIFICALLY ASK THAT THIS BE DONE. I HAD HOPED AT THIS MEETING HE WOULD GIVE ME SPECIFIC ANSWERS TO THESE TWO QUESTIONS WHICH WERE PERFECTLY SIMPLE AND STRAIGHTFORWARD.

12. I SAID

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12. I SAID MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL I WISHED ASK AGAIN WHAT STEPS HIS GOVERNMENT TAKEN TO ENABLE REMAINING 19 IMPRISONED AMERICANS EXPEDITIOUSLY EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT RETURN. HE HAD SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT BE FORCED INTO TAKING ACTION BY MEANS OF THREATS. I DID NOT UNDERSTAND WHY HE INTERPRETED MY STATEMENT ON THIS MATTER AS THREAT. I HAD NOT DURING THESE TALKS EVER MADE ANY THREAT AND I DID NOT INTEND TO DO SO. CERTAIN STATEMENTS HAD BEEN MADE IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND I WAS MERELY ASKING FOR INFORMATION ON HOW THEY WERE BEING IMPLEMENTED. EQUALLY, HE COULD BE CERTAIN THAT I WOULD NOT RESPOND TO THREATS. I HAD MADE CLEAR AND WANTED TO REPEAT, I WAS NOT WILLING TRADE FATE THESE PERSONS IN PRISON FOR POLITICAL CONCESSIONS ON OUR PART. I WANTED MAKE ENTIRELY CLEAR THAT ANY THOUGHT ON PART HIS GOVERNMENT OF DELAYING RELEASE THESE PRISONERS IN ORDER OBTAIN POLITICAL CONCESSIONS WAS DOOMED TO FAILURE.

13. I ADDED THAT I HAD NEVER SAID THAT ONLY WHEN ALL AMERICANS WERE RELEASED WOULD I ENTER INTO DISCUSSION AGENDA ITEM TWO; I MERELY ASKED HOW AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WAS BEING IMPLEMENTED. IT SEEMED TO ME THAT DELAY BY HIS GOVERNMENT IN IMPLEMENTAING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WITH RESPECT RELEASE THESE AMERICANS WAS INEVITABLY ENTANGLING THESE TWO SUBJECTS. THERE CERTAINLY WAS NO INTENT OR DESIRE ON MY PART TO ENTANGLE THEM. NEARLY THREE WEEKS HAD PASSED SINCE ANNOUNCEMENT ISSUED AND NOT ONE OF REMAINING 19 PERSONS HAD BEEN RELEASED. IT WAS PERFECTLY NATURAL MY GOVERNMENT'S CONCERN INCREASED WITH PASSAGE OF TIME AND NO INFORMATION ON THIS VITAL POINT.

14. I SAID ONLY PROMPT, FULL AND FAITHFUL IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT COULD DISPOSE OF AGENDA ITEM ONE. SELF EVIDENT THAT WORDS OF ANNOUNCEMENT IN THEMSELVES DISPOSE OF NOTHING. ONLY IMPLEMENTATION OF WORDS IN ANNOUNCEMENT COULD DISPOSE OF PROBLEM RETURN OF AMERICANS. UNTIL THIS ACCOMPLISHED I HAD TO CONTINUE CONSIDER THAT FIRST ITEM AGENDA REMAINED OUR FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS. I HAD RETURNED TO IT AND WOULD CONTINUE RETURN TO IT AS LONG AS THEIR REMAINED QUESTION

 WITH

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WITH RESPECT IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

15. I SAID I HAD, HOWEVER, TAKEN NOTE OF FACT THAT 10 AMERICANS WHOSE RELEASE HE INFORMED ME OF SEPTEMBER 10 HAD ARRIVED HONG KONG AND THAT SOME OF 12 AMERICANS WHOSE EXIT PERMITS HE HAD PROMISED HAD ALSO DEPARTED. THEREFORE, IN EXPECTATION HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD ACT EXPEDITIOUSLY ON REMAINING 19 AMERICANS AND THUS DISPOSE OF AGENDA ITEM ONE, AND IN FURTHER EFFORT DEMONSTRATE MY GOVERNMENT'S EARNEST DESIRE THESE TALKS SHOULD PROGRESS I DESIRED TODAY TO DISCUSS WITH HIM TOPICS WE SHOULD DISCUSS UNDER AGENDA ITEM TWO.

16. I SAID HE HAD PROPOSED TO SUBJECTS ONE OF WHICH MY GOVERNMENT CONSIDERED PROCEDURAL MATTER WHICH COULD NOT BE CONSIDERED PRACTICAL MATTER AT ISSUE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. MY GOVERNMENT DESIRED PUT FORWARD TWO SUBJECTS: ONE WAS "RENUNCATION OF USE OF FORCE FOR ACHIEVEMENT OF NATIONAL OBJECTIVES" AND OTHER WAS "ACCOUNTING FOR US PERSONNEL."

17. WANG ASKED FOR REPETITION SUBJECT HEADINGS AND THEN ASKED WHAT WE HAD IN MIND UNDER SECOND HEADING.

18. I REPLIED WE WOULD GET TO THAT WHEN WE DISCUSSED THE TOPIC. I THEN CONTINUED BY SAYING MY GOVERNMENT CONSIDERED SUBJECT OF RENUNCIATION FORCE OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE TO OUR DISCUSSIONS UNDER AGENDA ITEM TWO AND THAT THIS SUBJECT SHOULD THEREFORE BE DISCUSSED BEFORE SUBJECT HE TERMED ECONOMIC EMBARGO. I SUGGESTED WE AGREE TO DISCUSS SUBJECTS EACH HAD RAISED IN FOLLOWING ORDER: (A) ACCOUNTING FOR US PERSONNEL, (B) RENUNCIATION USE OF FORCE FOR ACHIEVEMENT NATIONAL OBJECTIVES, AND (C) ECONOMIC EMBARGO.

19. WANG REPLIED HE HAD MADE IT CLEAR MANY TIMES HIS SIDE WILLING IMPLEMENT FAITHFULLY AGREEMENT UNDER AGENDA ITEM ONE AND HIS SIDE CERTAINLY WOULD DO THINGS ACCORDING TO AGREEMENT. IT PROVIDED THAT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SHOULD BE GIVEN WIDE

PUBLICITY,

SECRET

-8- 795, SEPTEMBER 28, 9 PM, FROM GENEVA (SECTION 1 OF 2)

PUBLICITY, OBJECT OF WHICH WAS TO INFORM EVERYONE ABOUT IT, AND PRC WAS GIVING WIDE PUBLICITY IN THIS MANNER. IF I HAD CONCRETE OPINIONS ON AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, PROVIDED THEY WERE REASONABLE, HE SUGGESTED ASSISTANTS BOTH SIDES HOLD MEETING TO DISCUSS THEM. IN PAST US HAD TAKEN STEPS DETAIN AND OBSTRUCT DEPARTURE CHINESE STUDENTS AND THESE MEASURES HAD LEFT DEEP IMPRESSION ON MINDS OF STUDENTS. THERFORE, IN FUTURE NECESSARY US IN FACT FAITHFULY IMPLEMENT PROVISIONS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SO THAT THESE PERSONS COULD IN FACT FREELY RETURN TO HOMELAND.

GOWEN

AAL

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1955 SEP 29 AM 6 57
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(343)

CAD/R

23-L
Action
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Info
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Action Assigned to 9-30-55 11:15 AM
CORRECTED PAGE ONE LMS

Control: 15174
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 28, 1955
8:23 PM

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 795, SEPTEMBER 28, 9 PM (SECTION 2 OF 2)

PRIORITY

20. WANG SAID HE HAD CLEARLY STATED MANY TIMES PRINCIPLES GOVERNING HANDLING BY HIS GOVERNMENT OF CASES 19 AMERICANS WHO HAD COMMITTED CRIMES. IF US GOVERNMENT REFUSED RESPECT CHINESE LAW AND INSISTED ON UNCONDITIONAL RETURN THESE PERSONS THIS IDEA DOOMED FAILURE AND WOULD NEVER SUCCEED.

21. THEN REFERRING FREQUENTLY TO PREPARED STATEMENT WANG SAID TOPIC HE SUGGESTED ON PREPARATIONS FOR HIGHER LEVEL MEETING WAS NOT PROCEDURAL MATTER BUT MOST IMPORTANT MATTER OF SUBSTANCE IN RELATIONS OF TWO COUNTRIES. HE COULD NOT AGREE TO REMOVAL OF SUBJECT FROM AGENDA. REGARDING OUR PROPOSAL ON SO-CALLED RENUNCIATION OF FORCE HE SAID HIS GOVERNMENT FULLY ENDORSED PRINCIPLE NO RECOURSE TO FORCE OR THREAT OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. CHINA DID NOT INTEND TO RESORT TO FORCE AGAINST US OR ANY OTHER STATE. STATE OF TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA WAS NOT AT ALL CAUSED BY CHINESE THREAT US FORCE AGAINST US. TENSION ON CONTRARY WAS CAUSED BY US USE FORCE AGAINST CHINESE TERRITORY OF TAIWAN. THEREFORE, IN LINE WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-RECOURSE TO FORCE THE POINT IN QUESTION WAS NOT ONE TO BE SOLVED BY DECLARATION BY CHINESE NOT TO USE FORCE AGAINST ITS OWN TERRITORY, BUT RATHER BY REMOVAL OF US FORCES FROM CHINESE TERRITORY, CHINA HAD NOT MADE WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN FORCES FROM TAIWAN A PREREQUESITE FOR SINO-AMERICAN CONVERSATIONS ON EASING TENSIONS IN TAIWAN AREA AS THAT WOULD HAVE BLOCKED EFFORTS TO HAVE NEGOTIATIONS;

22. HE SAID HE DID NOT DENY THAT TENSE SITUATION IN TAIWAN AREA MIGHT LEAD TO EXTREMELY GRAVE DANGER OF CONFLICT BETWEEN CHINA AND US. IT WAS PRECISELY FOR THIS REASON HE HAD PROPOSED THAT OUR TALKS SHOULD MAKE PREPARATIONS FOR CONVENING CONFERENCE

AT HIGHER

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AT HIGHER LEVEL. MAJOR PROBLEM OF EASING AND LIMITING TENSION BETWEEN CHINA AND THE US SHOULD BE DISCUSSED AT HIGHER LEVEL. IN THIS CONFERENCE AT HIGHER LEVEL BOTH SIDES SHOULD RAISE QUESTIONS WHICH COULD BE DISCUSSED TO EASE TENSIONS IN TAIWAN AREA.

23. WANG SAID MY SECOND SUBJECT OF "ACCOUNTING FOR US PERSONNEL" HAD BEEN DEALT WITH UNDER AGENDA ITEM ONE AND, THERFORE, THERE WAS NO POINT IN RAISING AGAIN SO-CALLED ACCOUNTING FOR AMERICANS. MOREOVER, THEY HAD AT VERY BEGINING OF TALKS GIVEN FULL LIST OF ALL AMERICANS IN CHINA SO THERE WAS NO POINT AT ALL IN HAVING A CONTINUOUS ACCOUNTING ON AMERICANS IN CHINA.

24. I SAID THAT I HAD PUT FORWARD WHAT HE HAD TERMED CONCRETE OPINIONS REGARDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT. FIRST SUGGESTION I MADE WAS THAT HE SHOULD CONFIRM THAT 19 REMAINING AMERICANS BE GIVEN FULL TEXT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT IN LANGUAGE THEY UNDERSTOOD. SECOND SUGGESTION WAS THAT WE BE ASSURED ARRANGEMENTS ESTABLISHED SO 19 COULD COMMUNICATE OR OTHERWISE HAVE ACCESS TO UK CHARGE. THIRD SUGGESTION WAS THAT, IF IN ACCORDANCE TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT US WANTED FACTS INVESTIGATED, UK CHARGE WOULD BE PERMITTED INTERVIEW THESE AMERICANS WHO DESIRED RETURN. I HOPED AT NEXT MEETING HE COULD GIVE ME DEFINITE ANSWERS ON THESE SUGGESTIONS. I BELIEVED IT COULD BE DONE QUICKLY AND NEED NOT INVOLVE OUR ASSISTANTS. I ADDED IF HE HAD ANY SPECIFIC QUESTIONS OR SUGGESTIONS REGARDING US IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT I CERTAINLY WOULD BE GLAD CONSIDER THEM. I HOPED HIS SUGGESTIONS WOULD BE CONCRETE AND SPECIFIC, AS MINE HAD BEEN.

25. I SAID I FOUND IT DIFFICULT UNDERSTAND HIS POSITION REGARDING DISCUSSION OF HIGHER LEVEL MEETING. I COULD NOT SEE HOW HIGHER LEVEL MEETING IN ITSELF WAS PRACTICAL MATTER BETWEEN OUR GOVERNMENTS. BOTH OUR GOVERNMENTS HAD AGREED TO HAVE THE TWO OF US MET HERE AS REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR

RESPECTIVE

RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS TO DISCUSS "PRACTICAL MATTERS"AS SECOND PART OUR TALKS. IT SEEMED TO ME HIS SUGGESTION MEANT THAT WE HAD DECIDED, EVEN BEFORE WE HAD DISCUSSED THESE QUESTIONS, THAT IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE FOR US TO MAKE PROGRESS AND THEREFORE HIGHER LEVEL MEETING MUST BE CALLED. I DID NOT SEE WHY WE NEEDED TO BE SO PESSIMISTIC. I HAD FAITH AND HOPE WHEN I CAME, AND I HOPED HE HAD SAME, THAT TWO OF US AS AMBASSADORS REPRESENTING OUR GOVERNMENTS WOULD BE ABLE TO MAKE PROGRESS THESE TWO QUESTIONS. I STILL HAD SUCH HOPE AND WOULD EARNESTLY STRIVE BEST MY ABILITY REALIZE THAT HOPE. QEUSTION HIGHER LEVEL MEETING COULD ARISE ONLY AFTER OR TALKS HERE HAD BEEN CONCLUDED. MY GOVERNMENT NOT PREPARED NOW TO DICUSS OR AGREE TO WHAT WOULD HAPPEN AFTER OUR MEETINGS HERE HAD BEEN COMPLETED. THEREFORE WE DID NOT AGREE HIGHER LEVEL METING WAS SUITABLE SUBJECT DISCUSSION ITEM TWO.

26. I SAID I FRANKLY PUZZLED BY HIS STATEMENT ON MY SUGGESTION WE SHOULD INCLUDE RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AS A SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION. I HAD NOT MADE DEMANDS ON HIS GOVERNMENT AND I HAD FRAMED SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION IN JUST AS NEUTRAL TERMS AS I COULD. I SIMPLY WANTED CALL ATTENTION FACT SUBJECT FRAMED IN SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT MANNER THAN HE IMPLIED IN HIS STATEMENT. I SAID I EXPECTED HAVE MORE TO SAY THIS SUBJECT AT NEXT MEETING. SIMILARLY, I HAD TRIED TO FRAME SUBJECT OF ACCOUNTING FOR US PERSONNEL IN AS NEUTRAL A MANNER AS I COULD. WHAT I HAD IN MIND WAS ENTIRELY SEPARATE FROM WHAT WE HAD DISCUSSED UNDER AGENDA ITEM ONE. I WOULD BE PREPARED AT OUR NEXT MEETING TO DISCUSS IT WITH HIM IN DETAIL.

27. WANG SAID HE AGREED TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION THESE SUBJECTS AT NEXT MEETING. HE SAID THIS DID NOT MEAN HE AGREED TO INCLUSION THESE TWO SUBJECTS UNDER AGENDA ITEM TWO AND HE THOUGHT ORDER FOR DISCUSSION OF SUBJECTS STILL OPEN AND NO DEFINITE ARRANGEMENT MADE.

28. I AGREED AND SUGGESTED MEETING WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 5.

29. IN

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29. IN DISCUSSION OVER PRESS RELEASE WANG SUGGESTED STATEMENT ELIMINATING ALL MENTION IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND SAYING SIMPLY WE DISCUSSED AGENDA ITEM TWO. WHEN I SAID IT WOULD BE MORE APPROPRIATE USE SAME ANNOUNCEMENT USED LAST TIME, HE COUNTERED WITH SUGGESTION WE OMIT ALL REFERENCE TO SUBJECTS DISCUSSED AND SIMPLY STATE THAT WE MET AND GIVE DATE NEXT MEETING.

30. I STATED IF WE SAID ANYTHING DIFFERENT AT ALL IT WOULD AROUSE A GREAT DEAL OF PRESS SPECULATON WHICH WE BOTH WANTED TO REDUCE. IF WE USED PREVIOUS STATEMENT, NEWSPAPERS WOULD NOT SPECULATE, AND IT WAS ALSO A FACTUAL STATEMENT.

31. WANG OBJECTED THAT IF WE WENT ON MAKING SAME STATEMANT PUBLIC WOULD THINK WE WERE MAKING NO PROGRESS.

32. I SAID WE HAD MADE IDENTICAL STATEMENT AFTER EACH MEETING FOR 40 DAYS AND PUBLIC SAW EVENTUALLY WE HAD MADE PROGRESS.

33. WANG AGREED TO USE SAME STATEMENT BUT ON CONDITION IT WOULD NOT BE PRECEDENT FOR USING IT AGAIN AFTER NEXT MEETING.

34. I SAID WE COULD DISCUSS THAT AT END OF NEXT MEETING.

GOWEN

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1957 SEP 29 AM 6 57
OFFICE OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

AAL

(#) OMISSION. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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9-29-55 9 a.m.
CORRECTED COPY

Control: 15173
Rec'd: September 28, 1955
8:23 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 796, September 28, 10 p.m.

FROM JOHNSON

Department's unnumbered NIACT September 28 correcting text DEPTEL 798 not received until 5 p.m. Geneva time. As will be seen from report today's meeting (MYTEL 795, paragraph 6) I used phraseology "accounting for US personnel." Although I was bothered by omission of "military", there was no time for confirmation. Believe I was successful in skirting around subject and I can pick up matter at next meeting.

GOWEN

LMS:MEM/1

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Action Assigned to CA/DIR
Action Taken Noted
+ Change made
9/28/55
bol
W/ Mcllaughlin file

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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** 344 ACTION COPY

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9/29/55 6 p.m.
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Control: 15225
Rec'd: September 29, 1955
12:08 a.m.

Action Assigned to 118
Action Taken

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FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 797, September 28, 11 p.m.

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

611.93/9-2855

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FROM JOHNSON

1. Re paragraph 4 my telegram 793. Following is draft of type of presentation I feel should be made on subject missing military personnel.

2. I desire to discuss with you today the question of what I have termed missing US military personnel. With respect to those missing from the Korean War there have been many discussions of the subject in the MAC. I have no desire or intent to repeat or duplicate those discussions with which I assume you are fully familiar but only to discuss with you those aspects which clearly come within the category of a practical question between the two of us.

3. I simply want to point out the fact the responsible leaders of the forces on your side entered into an armistice agreement which clearly provided that full and complete accounting be provided on all prisoners of war and deceased combatants of which they had knowledge. When the prisoner of war exchange was completed there remained many hundreds of US personnel of the United Nations command who it was definitely known or there was solid reason to believe we at one time prisoners of your side but who were not returned or otherwise accounted for. The military authorities of my country have by tremendous effort gradually accumulated information with regard to many of these individuals so that the number unaccounted for has been gradually reduced. In some few cases this information was obtained from your side or determined upon the basis of bodies returned by your side. However, there remain about 450 persons on whom it has not been possible to obtain any firm information whatever concerning their fate or present whereabouts. There is no way that the military authorities of my country can definitely inform the families of these men whether they are dead or alive or what their fate may have been.

4. In many of these cases their names were at one time listed as prisoners

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as prisoners of war in publications in your country, the names of others have in various connections been broadcast over your radio, some were actually identified as having spoken over the radio, some had at one time written letters from prison camps and others were known and seen in prison camps by prisoners who were subsequently returned.

5. However, even more important from the standpoint of my discussion with you, it is quite possible that some of these persons were taken into your country for it is definitely known from prisoners who were subsequently returned that such movements did take place. Furthermore, there have been cases of Americans, not known to my government to be in your country, and later revealed by your government to be held there.

6. My purpose in reviewing all of these facts is not to engage in controversy with you over them but only to point out that the authorities in my country and the families of these men have a sound basis for believing that at least some of these persons have been in territory under your control outside of Korea.

7. I therefore, am giving you a list of the names of these persons with the request that your government conduct a thorough investigation to determine whether any of them are in your country or whether your government is in the possession of any information whatever concerning any of the persons listed.

8. I am not unmindful of the fact that early in these talks you gave me a list of various categories of Americans in your country, but it is possible that some persons on this list may be considered by your authorities to be in a different category or they may otherwise have information with regard to them.

9. I am also giving you a list of the names of the 11 Naval and Coast Guard personnel lost off Swatow whom we discussed last year in the hope that since that time your authorities may have obtained some information with regard to these men.

10. I do not ask that you give me any reply with regard to this matter today but only that in due course you inform me of the results of your government's investigation.

GOWEN

MDM

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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** 345

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Control: 15255 CA/DIR
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 29, 1955
1:29 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 798, SEPTEMBER 28, 11 P.M.

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol 1-4

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/P file

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FROM JOHNSON

1. ONE OF QUESTIONS WE FACE FOR NEXT MEETING IS WHETHER BY THAT TIME THERE HAVE BEEN ANY RELEASES OF REMAINING 19 AMERICANS AND WHAT WE DO IF THERE ARE NOT. LATER EVEN WILL OF COURSE REQUIRE VERY STRONG RENEWAL MY STRESS ON IMPLEMENTATION. IF ONE OR MORE RELEASED BEFORE NEXT MEETING PRESENTATION ON IMPLEMENTATION COULD BE MILDER AND COULD SHOW MORE DISPOSITON MOVE ON TO DISCUSSION TOPICS UNDER TIME TWO.

2. IN ANY EVENT MAJOR SUBJECT WILL UNDOUBTEDLY CONTINUE BE HIS INSISTENCE ON INCLUSION HIGHER LEVEL MEETING. IT WILL OF COURSE STICK TO OUR POSITION BUT WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S SUGGESTIONS ON ANY FURTHER DEBATING POINTS IT FEELS I MIGHT MAKE. CAN WITHOUT DIFFICULTY KEEP DISCUSSION GOING ON THIS SUBJECT FOR AT LEAST NEXT MEETING BUT WE SHOULD BE LOOKING AHEAD TO PROBABILITY DEADLOCK WILL DEVELOP OVER THIS POINT.

3. AS STATED MY TELEGRAM 794 BELIEVE IT MAY BE USEFUL FOR ME MAKE RENUNCIATION OF FORCE STATEMENT AT NEXT MEETING IF OPPORTUNITY DEVELOPS. BELIEVE THIS WOULD ASSIST IN KEEPING SITUATION FLUID WITHOUT GIVING AWAY ANYTHING TO CHICOMS.

4. MY PRESENT PLAN IS NOT TO GO INTO ANY DETAILED PRESENTATION MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL AT NEXT MEETING BUT ONLY TO TOUCH ON IT AS REQUIRED TO SUPPORT ITS INCLUSION AS SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION.

5. HOPE DEPARTMENT WILL ASSURE I PROMPTLY RECEIVE ANY INFORMATION CHICOMS MAY GIVE O'NEILL ON RELEASES OR OTHER ASPECTS IMPLEMENTATION.

GOWEN

WVC

SECRET

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611.93/9-2855

FILED FEB 17 1959

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(253)

Rec'd Oct. 3

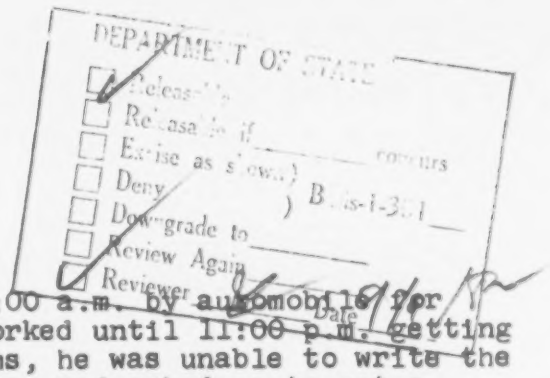
(11) 12

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

September 29, 1955

OFFICIAL -- INFORMAL

SECRET



Letter No. 10

Dear Walter:

Alex took off at 4:00 a.m. by automobile for Prague. Since we had worked until 11:00 p.m. getting off yesterday's telegrams, he was unable to write the usual weekly letter to you and asked me to get a note into the pouch in explanation. He expects to leave Prague for the return trip on Sunday, arriving here late Monday night. He hopes that you will repeat to him in Prague any important telegrams.

Actually, there is nothing on the substance of the talks to be added to yesterday's telegrams. We tried to cover the situation as thoroughly as we could. The discussion is developing very much as anticipated and our principal worry at the moment, as pointed out in the telegrams, is how to prevent a complete deadlock from arising over our refusal to admit the "higher level conference" as a subject for discussion.

I am glad to know that arrangements are underway for bringing me back to Washington. This has been a most interesting and useful experience for me and I am, in some ways, reluctant to leave at this point. However, as we seem to be moving toward a one meeting a week schedule, there really is not enough work here to justify keeping two officers away from CA when you are so short-handed.

Bob Ekvall was glad to know that you were consulting with Defense on trying to improve his position here. At the moment, his orders have expired and he is technically AWOL, so some action will have to be taken rather quickly.

Doug

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

Doug and I have been reading with interest the despatches from Taipei and Hong Kong which you have been sending. We also appreciate the trouble you took in rounding up the collection of documents that we had asked you for. They will be helpful to us as we move further into the next phase of the talks.

Best regards,

Ralph N. Clough

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 254

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

VERBATIM TEXT

1955 SEP 30 PM 3 07

DC/T

SENT TO: Amembassy PRAGUE PRIORITY 86

RPT INFO: Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON PRIORITY 805

611.93/9-2705

FOR ~~THE~~ AMBASSADOR

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

DEPTEL 789. First paragraph draft statement on renunciation use of force, ~~amend~~ amended to read as follows:

"One of the practical matters for discussion between us is that each of us should renounce the use of force to achieve our policies when they conflict. The United States and the PRC confront each other with policies which are in certain respects incompatible. This fact need not, however, mean armed conflict, and the most important single thing we can do is first of all to be sure that it will not lead to armed conflict."

Amend final paragraph to read as follows:

"We ask, therefore, as a first matter for discussion under Item 2, a declaration that your side will not resort to the use of force in the Taiwan area except defensively. The United States would be prepared to make a corresponding declaration. These declarations will make it appropriate for us to pass on to the discussion of other matters with a better hope of coming to constructive conclusions."

DULLES

Dulles

Drafted by: FE:CA:wPMcConaughy/ikb 9/30/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:
FE - Mr. Sebald
L - Mr. Phleger

11033

Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 30 1955
SECRET
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State
Classification

S/S-CR
SEP 30 1955 P.M.

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13358

1955 SEP 30 PM 6 50

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(1)

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 809

RPT INFO: Amembassy PRAGUE FOR AMBASSADOR 89

FOR JOHNSON

Peter Colm of DRF being detailed Geneva to assist Johnson. Arrive about October 11. Clough should return Department as soon as practicable.

Dulles
CWPMcC

DULLES

611 03/9-3055

CS/S

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611 03/9-3055

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DC/R
Anal. 54
Rev.
Cat. 11

Drafted by: FE:CA:wPMcConaughy/ikb 9/30/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:
R - Mr. Furnas
DRF - Mr. Yager - in Draft
FE/EX - Mr. Capella
FE - Mr. Sebald

SIS-CR
SEP 30 1955 P.M.

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(256)

5-37

1.3(a)1

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☐ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☑ Excise as shown) Basis- 1.5(a)4
☐ Deny
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____ Date 9/7/5
☑ Reviewer

September 30, 1955

SECRET

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

Letter No. 16.

Dear Alex:

Your letter No. 9 of September 22 came on the 26th, in the midst of our efforts to get out the instructions for your September 28 meeting. The drafting and clearance of the instructions was a complicated business with the Secretary first in Ottawa, then in New York; and with Herman Phleger also in New York part of the time.

The "renunciation of force" statement started with an excellent Phleger framework which was fleshed out by the Secretary. This morning we are telegraphing you some minor revisions in the first and last paragraphs. The intent of these changes, as you will immediately see, is to get away from any remote implication of a non-aggression pact or indeed any sort of bilateral agreement with the Chinese Communists. Anything which smacks of a pact or executive agreement with the Chinese Communists is of course out of the question. We are thinking in terms of separate unilateral public declarations and not pledges or assurances to each other.

We feel reasonably confident that you are on a good wicket now and that there will be plenty to talk about. It is hard to see how Wang can reject this item out of hand. My guess is that he may try to maneuver in the direction of something resembling the famous "Five Principles"; or try to make a false distinction between "international" and "internal" resort to force in the Taiwan area.

We have had a difficult time with Defense on the confused problem of the unaccounted for military personnel. So far we have not been able to get what we consider a consistent statement of principle or position out of them. In one document they will make sweeping claims and assert that the claims can be supported; in another they will indicate they do not have much basis for any very positive allegations. They blow first hot and then cold. We still do not understand what criteria they have applied in determining what names should go on the list. They seem to have conclusive evidence that some of the people on the list are dead. In some cases the bodies presumably have been recovered. In other cases, the personnel

apparently

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

apparently were never in the custody of the Communist side, having been lost over the high seas. On the other hand, it seems that some of the names which were on the original list of 970 should not have been dropped. A case came to our attention this week where an officer was last seen alive in a prison camp by fellow American officers. His name was dropped from the list merely because he was in bad shape from injuries and gangrene and the Americans thought he could not have lasted much longer. This was a lay opinion, not a medical opinion. Defense did not stop with a presumptive finding of death, in this case, but made a definitive finding of death. It is incomprehensible to us and gives us misgivings about the whole subject. But the casualty determinations are not within our province and there is not much we can appropriately do about it. It is a dilemma. We are trying to arrange a meeting today with Deputy Defense Secretary Robertson, General Arskine and Bill Godel to get Defense clearance of a draft presentation for you to make to Wang on this subject. It represents a considerable departure from the text contained in our 790, which was basically a Defense document, modified slightly but unsatisfactorily by us. The new draft follows more the approach recommended in your 797 but is somewhat firmer in tone. We have to bear in mind U. S. considerations of course, Congressional as well as ~~you suggested.~~ Pentagon + could not go quite as far in the direction of mildness as you suggested.

You handled Wang at the 18th meeting on September 28 with consummate skill. Satisfaction at the adroitness with which you met every situation is expressed on every side. No one is unmindful of the fact it takes two to keep a discussion going and that Wang has it within his power to bring the talks to a close at any time. But we now assume that this is not likely to happen in the immediate future. Peiping would be in a highly vulnerable position if it broke while our renunciation of force statement is up for consideration.

You will not be surprised to learn that the President's illness has given the continuation of these talks added importance in the eyes of the Secretary.

Various prominent newspaper and publishing people are putting redoubled pressure on the Department to give them passports for travel to Communist China. The influence mustered by some of these people makes their demands difficult to resist. No one is thinking in terms of dropping the barriers of course. But it has occurred to the Secretary that it might be useful to intimate publicly that in view of the Agreed Announcement which assures the early departure of all detained Americans we are considering validating the passports of some of the newspaper and publishing fraternity who have applied to travel to mainland China. It would be added that of course no actual travel to mainland China could be approved until all the detained Americans are out, but it is assumed that this is a matter of only a short time in view of the explicit terms of the Agreed Announcement. The thinking

here

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here is that this might be added bait to the Chinese Communists to proceed rapidly with the release of all the remaining Americans. We know that they are very anxious to arrange visits by various newspaper people and authors to the PRC. Of course, we could not introduce travel as an agenda item on our side at Geneva, but a little restrained publicity along this line outside of Geneva might strengthen your hand. Do you have any comments?

We do not much relish the trade embargo item on the Agenda, but since it would come after the renunciation of force, we do not anticipate that we will have to cross that bridge any time soon. If it ever comes up, we can seize the opportunity to present the rationale behind our trade controls.

We are troubled at the conspicuous absence of any release announcements since September 10.

The blunt tie-in by way of further releases with Item 2 progress gives us forebodings, as does the conversation of O'Neill with Chang Han-fu in Peiping a week ago.

We still have no word of any arrangement for British Embassy contact with the detained Americans.

The Indian Embassy here says it is making no arrangements for travel of Chinese to the PRC until it receives assurances of reimbursement from the PRC for travel funds advanced.

You will be glad to know that Hubert Graves is reassigned to the British Embassy here as Minister to handle Far Eastern matters. He is arriving next week. Rob Scott left on Wednesday for Singapore via London.

After a lot of discussion and some confusion we have arranged to send Peter Colm of DRF to assist you thus releasing Ralph Clough to help me in the chronic jam which I confront. Colm is one of the ablest and quickest men in DRF. He has been following all the documents on the talks closely. We will see that he gets something of the thinking of the people who are closest to the talks here before he leaves. We would have preferred to send one of our own CA men - Osborn or Cousins - for the sake of the experience, but in view of the backlog of work here it could not be justified. It would make no sense to largely cancel out the return of Clough.

I hope you have a good interlude at Prague and return refreshed to the fray.

Warmest regards,

Walter P. McConaughy

OUTGOING TELEGRAM (257)

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

00085 (348)

1955 OCT 1 PM 1 41

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 819

Origin

FOR JOHNSON
OIR review Chicom propaganda:

Chicom propaganda on international subjects during week ending September 30 gave only slight attention Geneva talks in contrast to previous weeks. General tone comment on US appeared somewhat more hostile. US denounced for obstructing Chicom admission to UN, violating Geneva spirit, seeking intensify cold war and continuing rely on "policy of strength."

Regarding Geneva talks NCNA September 23 gave brief account of meetings stating that delegations had "exchanged views" regarding item two of agenda. NCNA announced September 24 that PRC had "approved" US invitation to UK.

Taiwan issue given slight attention during past week. Ta Kung Pao, September 25, stated CPR willing to negotiate "international question" of Taiwan, but US "reluctant" to negotiate. NCNA September 25 reiterated familiar charge US policy re Taiwan based on "aggressive principles" and represents interference Chinese internal affairs. Liberation of Taiwan stressed as task for Chinese youth at recent conference of Young Activists in Peiping.

Major attention past week focussed following topics:

1) UN membership. People's Daily editorial September 24 accused US of "obstructing" admission Communist China to UN, in "open violation" of Geneva spirit and asserted admission PRC to UN essential for further easing international

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611.93/10-155

611.93/10-155

Confidential File

Drafted by: OIR/DRF/C:HWJacobson(FDawson); 9-30-55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: OIR/DRF: Joseph A. Yager

IAD CA -- Mr. McConaughy

S/S-CR

OCT 1 1955 P.M.

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Classification

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international tension and solution major international problems.

2) Dulles speech to UN (September 22). NCNA commentary September 25 interpreted speech as indicating continued US reliance on "policy of strength"; accused US of "departing from spirit of Geneva" and seeking intensify cold war. Secretary's comments on Taiwan cited as evidence US policy still based on "principles of aggression." Secretary's account Geneva talks criticized as deliberate effort "distort significance" of Chinese action in releasing 11 Americans.

3) Japan-US relations. People's Daily editorials September 23 and 28 on Shigemitsu visit to US revived familiar theme that US seeking to remilitarize Japan and use Japan as base for "aggression." Shigemitsu policy seen based on "making China a hypothetical enemy of Japan," and on complete subservience of Japan to US. NCNA saw possibility Japanese troops would be sent abroad, to Korea or Taiwan. Also noted possibility of Japanese alliance with Taiwan and ROK commenting such action would be evidence of "intended aggression" against PRC.

4) East-West trade. People's Daily September 28 noted that easing of world tensions had created new prospects for promotion of East-West trade; saw good prospects for development of trade between China and the West. Expressed hope that forthcoming Ministers Conference would adopt specific measures for removal of "artificial barriers" to trade.

Dulles

" DULLES "

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TELEGRAM (258)

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO—

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

00482 (349)

1955 OCT 3 PM 7 15

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY NIACT 823

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

Your 798. Guidance for 19th meeting Oct 5.

1. You are reminded that your basic instruction provides that no legitimate basis be given for Wang break off talks.

2. Failure Communists to implement agreed announcement should be strongly pressed. British report no RPT no word from any imprisoned Americans so far and no RPT no indication of Chinese Communist disposition to give detained Americans access to British Charge. In view conspicuous absence of any Chinese Communist move to carry out terms of Agreed Announcement as regards remaining detained Americans 3½ weeks after Agreed Announcement issued, Communist non-compliance with their obligation under Agreed Announcement should be principal topic next meeting. You should call Wang's attention appropriate portions London's 1212 and 1312 to Dept. Ask for explanation of evident inability imprisoned Americans communicate with O'Neill. Make it clear that in our view Announcement not being implemented by PRC and that Chinese Communist neglect so far to give imprisoned Americans benefit of Agreed Announcement makes it meaningless. Anyone in jail would certainly desire to be repatriated and in fact we know that at least 15 of imprisoned Americans applied for exit permits even before they were seized and imprisoned by the Chinese Communists.

3.

Drafted by: FE:CA:WJMcConaughy/ikb
FE:WJSebald:evc 10/3/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

L-cleared in substance by Mr. Phleger

11034

1955 P.M

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3. You have authority to discuss subjects which might constitute Item Two and order of priority. First priority should be renunciation of force. Accounting for US military personnel should be placed next but may be placed below PRC item on QTE question of embargo UNQTE. If in your judgment it should be done, you are given discretionary authority to make revised presentation which has been telegraphed to you on renunciation of force, although it may be preferable hold off on this until following meeting. We must insure that presentation on military personnel is made at some stage but this can be put over until another meeting if you consider that this may safely be done. (Text revised presentation telegraphed separately.)

Department believes that you have sufficient material spelling out our rejection of Communist subject QTE negotiations at a higher level UNQTE.

4. Next meeting should be as far in advance as reasonably possible.

Dulles
JFDULLES

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (259)

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Department of State

VERBATIM TEXT

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(350)

00484
1955 OCT 3 PM 7 15

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 824

FOR JOHNSON

611.93/9-2855
XR 611.95a241

Deptel 798 and your 797.

Following is text of presentation on "accounting for U.S. military personnel" which Department and Defense have agreed upon:

"Dear Mr. Ambassador:

"My Government has, since the conclusion of the Armistice in Korea undertaken a careful and complete analysis of all of its casualty figures and of the ultimate disposition of all unaccounted-for members of its Armed Forces who served in Korea.

"The American servicemen for whom no accounting has been obtained total 450 persons. Each of these was last seen or last heard of under circumstances indicating that he was either captured or killed in action by forces of the opposing side, and that he or his remains should be in the custody or possession of the opposing side. The names of many of these persons were at one time listed as prisoners of war in publications in your country, the names of others have been broadcast over your radio, some were actually identified as having spoken over the radio, some wrote letters from prison camps and

Origin

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L - Mr. Phleger

Drafted by: FE:CA: WPMcConaughy/DLCsorn:ek 10/3/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

Defense - cleared in draft
FE - Mr. Sebald
L - Mr. Phleger

S/S-CR
OCT 3 1955 P.M.

11036

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and others were known and seen in prison camps by prisoners who were subsequently returned. It is definitely known that some prisoners were taken into your country. Furthermore, there have been cases of Americans not known to my Government to be in your country, and later revealed by your Government to be held there.

"Repeated efforts have been made by my Government, through the United Nations Command and the Military Armistice Commission, to obtain an accounting for these 450 men of the United States Armed Forces. These efforts have elicited no satisfactory response, despite the clear obligation of the side of your Government under the Korean Armistice Agreement to provide a full and complete accounting on all prisoners of war and deceased combatants of which it had knowledge. The failure of your Government to respond to my Government's requests, thus preventing the military authorities of my country from definitely informing the families of the fate of these men, has caused deep concern to the American people, and has thus created a real and grave matter of concern between our two sides.

"Apart from the question of the members of the United States Armed Forces who served in Korea, there remains the question of the fate of the 11 Naval and Coast Guard personnel who disappeared in the crash of two U.S. planes in the sea near the harbor of Swatow in January 1953. The circumstances of this incident would indicate that

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that some of the members of the crew or their bodies may have been recovered. The inability to date of my Government to determine the fate of these men is also a source of deep concern to the American people.

"Accordingly, as this is one of the practical matters at issue between us and in keeping with the purpose of these talks, I am enclosing separate lists of the 450 American servicemen and the 11 Naval and Coast Guard airmen missing off Swatow, to whom I have referred and, on behalf of my Government, I request that you present to the appropriate authorities in your government my Government's demand for an accounting for the fate of each of these men.

"Enclosures:

List of 450 servicemen.

List of 11 Naval and Coast Guardsmen."

END LETTER " DULLES

Dulles
MSR

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Classification

260

5-38

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☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 9/9

October 3, 1955

Letter No. 17

SECRET

Dear Alex:

We are pushing hard to get something out to you today for the October 5 meeting. I feel it is not fair to make you wait until the last day preceding the meeting, expecially since I believe the time spread now is six hours since Washington reverted to Standard Time on September 25. We think the telegrams will give you adequate guidance and sufficient leeway. There will be considerable for you to say on the non-implementation of the Agreed Announcement. The amended statement on the use of force item will undoubtedly lead to extensive comments. The item on unaccounted for U.S. military personnel can be dropped to a spot below the embargo item if this seems advisable to you. We are now thrashing out with Defense a final version of the statement on the unaccounted for personnel. Every word is important and there is quite a bit of give-and-take with Defense on it.

Defense

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

Defense is naturally concerned at the reaction in this country, especially among the relatives and Congress. When we got the corrected copy of your recommended draft (about half of which had been omitted in the original garbled text of your message) we found much in it that was useful and telling. So we worked out a draft which represents a meld of our revised text and what we consider the best of yours. This is being cleared with Defense urgently now and we hope to be able to get it to you by the close of business today unless Defense raises further objections.

The British are doing their best to be helpful on the problem of access and assistance to the imprisoned Americans. They are being brought into the picture increasingly. I am seeing Barbara Salt of the British Embassy (who is handling Far Eastern matters until Hubert Graves gets here) every two or three days. I am giving her a pretty full rundown on your discussions with Wang on the implementation of Item One. The substance of this is being telegraphed to O'Neill in Peiping, who feels that he will be in a better position to determine what tack he should take there if he has this for his confidential background. About September 29 O'Neill had received no letter from or appeal from any American. He has no confirmation of Chang Han-fu's assertion that all remaining American prisoners have been notified of the Agreed Announcement. O'Neill doubts if representations of attempted publicity on his part would be useful at this stage. But he is inclined

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inclined to think that he should make a formal inquiry to the Chinese as to whether the imprisoned Americans will have access to him. He is awaiting our reaction to this problem. We must consider whether a formal inquiry would tend to encourage the Chinese to take a negative position. It is a difficult question for we do need to know definitely what their position on this critical issue will be. O'Neill fears that we are going to have no way of establishing that the Americans wish to return and wish to get in touch with him. He feels that we are at the mercy of the Chinese Communists on this and that we can not prove violation of the Agreed Announcement. He thinks we are dependent on Chinese Communist good faith. O'Neill feels that perhaps you can clear up these issues with Wang better than he can in Peiping. He points out that "you have some bargaining counters at Geneva," while he has none in Peiping. I would like your reaction as to whether we should run the risk of having a show down with them at Peiping on the granting of access to O'Neill.

I have reminded the British that all of the Americans except Redmond, Downey and Feeteau are known to have applied for exit permits before they were arrested. This establishes that they have expressed a desire to return to the U.S. However, it is true that this was done long before the Agreed Announcement. They have had no opportunity to reaffirm their desire since then.

The pouch is closing. Regards and may fortune favor you.

Sincerely yours,

P.S. In my letter No. 16 of September 30, on page 3, line 13, change "by WAY" to read "by Wang".

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261

MING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

352

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18-L

SECRET

Action
FE

Info
RMR

Control: 1271
Rec'd: OCTOBER 4, 1955
7:38 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 804, OCTOBER 4, 11 A.M.

Action Assigned to

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direct Reply

PRIORITY

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. ALTHOUGH FIRST PARA DEPTEL 824 SPEAKS OF "PRESENTATION" TEXT IS DRAFTED IN FORM OF LETTER. UNLESS OTHERWISE INSTRUCTED WILL ASSUME DEPARTMENT CONCURS MY VIEW SHOULD BE ORAL PRESENTATION AND WILL MAKE SLIGHT CHANGES NECESSARY FOR THIS FORM.

2. AGAIN DESIRE CALL ATTENTION TO FACT THAT BY BASING OUR APPROACH ON "ACCOUNTING FOR" RATHER THAN PRESENCE IN TERRITORY UNDER CONTROL PRC AS SUGGESTED DRAFT MYTEL 797 WE PROVIDE BETTER BASIS FOR PRC INTRODUCE DEMAND FOR "ACCOUNTING FOR 21,000".

3. IF THIS FORM APPROACH RETAINED DESIRE TO AMEND FIRST PORTION LAST SENTENCE THIRD PARA OF STATEMENT TO READ "THIS FAILURE OF YOUR SIDE HAS PREVENTED THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES OF MY COUNTRY ETC". SUCH WORDING BROADENS STATEMENT SO THAT "FAILURE" REFERS BOTH TO ARMISTICE OBLIGATIONS AND LACK OF RESPONSE TO REQUESTS THROUGH MAC WHILE ALSO AVOIDING ERRONEOUS IMPLICATION "REQUESTS" HAVE BEEN FROM USG TO PRC GOVERNMENT.

4. WITH RESPECT 11 NAVAL AND COAST GUARD PERSONNEL MUST MAKE SOME REFERENCE TO OUR DISCUSSION SAME SUBJECT LAST YEAR. SUGGEST ADDING "WHICH CASE WE DISCUSSED LAST YEAR" TO FIRST SENTENCE PENULTIMATE PARA STATEMENT AND ADDING SENTENCE TO END SAME PARA "I WOULD HOPE YOU

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WOULD NOW BE ABLE TO GIVE ME SOME INFO WITH RESPECT TO THESE ELEVEN MEN".

GOWEN

CES

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OCT 4 AM 9 30
OF
AFFAIRS

VIA AIR POUCH

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262

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351

FROM : Geneva, Switzerland (Pow)

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Action Assigned to CA/BL

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.

October 4, 1955
DATE

REF :

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
OCT 18 1955
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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ACTION FE-4

INFO RM/R-2 L-2 EHR-5 NEA-4 IO-4 SCS-2

REC'D 10-11

OTHER CIA-7

Date of Action 10/24

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

SUBJECT: Dispute over Interpretation of Word "Invite" in Paragraph 2 of "Agreed Announcement"

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In view of the fact that the Chinese Communists chose to make an issue, both in the meetings in Geneva and in their propaganda, of the interpretation of Paragraph (2) of the Agreed Announcement of September 10, 1955, and the possibility that the point may have some importance in the future, I have thought it advisable to review the negotiations and subsequent developments related to the wording of that paragraph.

The point in question was the interpretation of the first sentence in Paragraph 2 of the Agreed Announcement, which reads as follows:

(U.S. Section)

"2. The Government of the Republic of India will be invited to assist in the return to the People's Republic of China of those Chinese who desire to do so as follows:"

(PRC Section)

"2. The Government of the United Kingdom will be invited to assist in the return to the United States of those Americans who desire to do so as follows:"

Enclosure No. 1 shows the wording of this sentence proposed by each side during the course of the negotiations.

It is readily apparent from a perusal of these successive proposals that each side clung consistently to its point of view throughout the negotiations, at least up to the time that the final wording was agreed upon. The Chinese side sought a wording which either stated or implied that the PRC would entrust India with the function of assisting the return of Chinese from the United States, to which the United States would agree. In like manner, the United States would entrust to the U.K. the function of assisting the return of Americans from China, to which the PRC would agree. We consistently opposed this wording, proposing instead a statement to the effect that

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the United States would authorize India to act in the United States, while the PRC would authorize the U.K. to act there. Nothing was said in the United States texts or in my statements to Wang concerning the action to be taken by the PRC with respect to India or the U.S. with respect to the U.K.

These apparently irreconcilable positions were held to tenaciously by both sides until the crucial 12th meeting of August 31. It was at this meeting that the compromise wording was agreed on, whereby we agreed to drop the word authorize as well as the specific mention that the action would be taken by the U.S. and the PRC and Wang agreed to drop the words entrusted and agrees. The compromise word agreed on was invited -- "India (or the U.K.) will be invited...", without specifying except by implication who was to do the inviting. Wang retained in his Chinese text the word wei t'o, which he had formerly translated entrust, but which, he explained, also meant to invite.

It seemed to me and to my advisers at the time that this was an agreement on wording rather than a full meeting of minds on substance. Each side could interpret the new, somewhat ambiguous wording in its own way and neither was compelled to retreat from its basic position. Each side was left free to approach both the U.K. and India and describe these actions in terms appropriate to its own interpretation of Paragraph 2.

I feel sure that in accepting the compromise wording, Wang was not under any illusion that we had abandoned our position. The fact that he chose to retain a Chinese word in his text which means entrust and only very imperfectly translates the English word invite clearly suggests that he had accepted the idea that each side would interpret Paragraph 2 in its own way.

Thus, it appeared, following the August 31 meeting, that once the Agreed Announcement was issued each party would take the action it considered necessary to enable the third countries to assume their functions. It would not be necessary to debate, either in the meetings or publicly, who was inviting whom.

The first indication that Wang was going to make an issue of the interpretation of Paragraph 2 came in the 15th meeting on September 14, the first one following the issuance of the Agreed Announcement. At that meeting I informed Wang that the United States had invited the Government of India to undertake the functions set forth in the Agreed Announcement and asked him what action his government had taken with respect to the United Kingdom. He was apparently caught unprepared by our prompt action with respect to India, as he did not say that the PRC had extended an invitation to India. The best he could do was to propose that the U.S. and the PRC deliver to the U.K. and the GOI, respectively, official texts of the Agreed Announcement, which would "complete the official

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procedures regarding invitation of third powers". He also complained that some press accounts were distorting the meaning of the Announcement by alleging that the U.S. was to invite the GOI and the PRC the U.K.

Before the next meeting (the 16th on September 20) it became obvious that the PRC was prepared to argue vigorously for its interpretation of Paragraph 2. A commentary, entitled "Forbid the Misinterpretation of an Agreement" appeared in the Jen Min Jih Pao on September 16, which alleged that the USIS was distorting the Agreed Announcement by stating that it was the U.S. which should invite India and the PRC which should invite the U.K. The commentary rejected this interpretation, declaring that the "attempt" by the USIS to "juggle the facts to hoodwink world opinion" was "not a very smart trick".

On the same day, September 16, Wang, acting under instructions from his government, sent me a letter (my despatch No. 5, September 21, 1955) in which he referred to my statement on September 14 that the U.S. had formally invited India and declared that this statement would be interpreted and understood by the PRC as meaning that the U.S. agreed to India's assuming the functions entrusted to it by the PRC. At the same time he asked me to inform him whether the U.S. had formally "entrusted the United Kingdom", adding that when this had been done, the PRC would notify the U.K. of its agreement.

At the 16th meeting, on September 20, Wang sought persistently, but unsuccessfully, to get me to agree to his interpretation. Finally, he accepted my statement that the U.S. had requested the U.K. to assume the functions set forth in the Agreed Announcement choosing to interpret it as a formal invitation and said that the PRC would notify the U.K. of its agreement. He also stated at this meeting, for the first time, that the PRC had formally invited the GOI. Although it must have been clear to Wang after this meeting that the difference of interpretation of Paragraph 2 remained as sharp as ever, he and his government apparently decided to make the best of it, for the issue has not been raised again.

A possible explanation of the PRC's decision to make an issue of the interpretation of Paragraph 2 is that both Wang and his government thought the U.S. was interested only in getting a satisfactory wording in the published Announcement and would tacitly accede in the execution of the Announcement to the position maintained by the PRC. Some support is lent this hypothesis by the following statement in Wang's letter:

> "It must be pointed out that our side has taken into account the difficult position in diplomatic relations in which the U.S. Government finds /itself,/ and has acceded to your proposed text on the entrusting of third powers in its present form in the Agreed Announcement. However, on the concrete

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content with regard to the Chinese Government's entrusting the Indian Government and the U.S. Government entrusting the U.K. Government, both sides cannot have any other interpretation."

If Wang and his government did actually believe that the U.S. was interested primarily in words rather than substance, it would have been natural for the PRC to react with surprise and indignation when it discovered its belief ill-founded.

It is hard to believe that Wang himself, at least, held any such opinion. He had listened at length to our reasons for insisting that the U.S. Government authorize the GOI to act in the U.S. In agreeing on the somewhat ambiguous wording of Paragraph 2 using the word invited we were careful to give Wang no cause to infer that we had yielded to his view of what actually should be done with respect to the third countries.

The most likely explanation of what happened, in my opinion, is that Wang, possibly not appreciating the clear implication of the English text, failed to inform his government accurately of the situation. The fact that he had retained in the Chinese text the word wei t'o (to entrust) as a translation of the verb to invite may have misled Peiping into believing that we had, in substance, accepted their position. Wang may have failed to take sufficiently into account the fact that the Chinese text would be read only in China, while the rest of the world would interpret the Agreed Announcement according to the English text. In the meeting on September 20 Wang certainly gave every appearance of a man who had been caught off base and was trying desperately to retrieve his error.

Possibly the key to the incident lies in the timing of the actions taken by the two sides. It happened that I was able to inform Wang on September 14 that we had invited the GOI to assume its functions in the U.S., but was unable to tell him at that time what we had done with respect to the U.K. The PRC Government may have assumed that we were attempting to force it to invite the U.K. for the purpose either of compelling it to accept our interpretation of Paragraph 2 or as a pretext to delay going on to Item 2 of the Agenda.

The Jen Min Jih Pao commentary suggests that something of this sort was in the minds of responsible persons in Peiping, for it alleges that the USIS interpretation "gives the impression that the U.S. Government is unwilling to act according to the agreement by commissioning a third country [i.e., the U.K.] to assist, but would like to make China responsible for this matter". The same commentary goes on to warn that "should the U.S. fail to commission the Government of the U.K., the execution of the agreement would be hampered".

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It may be that had I been able on September 14 to inform Wang of our action regarding the U.K., the issue would never have attained the proportions that it did, for that would have removed from their minds the unfounded suspicion that we did not propose to act at all with respect to the U.K.

Whatever may be the true reason for the Chinese acting the way they did, one thing is certain -- in accepting our compromise wording for Paragraph 2 of the Agreed Announcement Wang burned his fingers, and he will be much more cautious in the future.

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

Enclosure:

"Invitation" to Third Country
Comparison of Successive Texts

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"Invitation" to Third Country -- Comparison of Successive Texts

August 2 Wang proposed that China and U.S. each entrust third country of own choice to take charge of affairs of nationals of each country, first of all their return.

August 11 Chinese draft -- "The People's Republic of China and the United States of America will each entrust the Republic of India and the United Kingdom respectively with the charge of the affairs of the return of civilians of the respective countries residing in the other."

August 16 U.S. draft -- "The Embassy of the Republic of India in the United States will be authorized to assist the return to the China mainland of those Chinese nationals who desire to do so."

(same wording, mutatis mutandis, in Chinese section)

August 18 Chinese draft -- "The People's Republic of China agrees that the Office of the Charge d'Affaires of the United Kingdom in the People's Republic of China will be authorized to assist the return to the United States of those American nationals who desire to do so."

(same wording, mutatis mutandis, in U.S. section)

August 23 U.S. draft -- "The United States will authorize the Government of the Republic of India to assist the return to the People's Republic of China of those Chinese who desire to do so."

(same wording, mutatis mutandis, in Chinese section)

August 25 Chinese draft -- "The People's Republic of China agrees that the Government of the United Kingdom will be entrusted to assist in the return to the United States of America of those Americans who desire to do so."

(same wording, mutatis mutandis, in U.S. section)

August 31 U.S. draft -- "The United States will authorize the Government of the Republic of India to assist the return to the People's Republic of China of those Chinese who desire to do so."

(same wording, mutatis mutandis, in Chinese section)

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September 6 U.S. draft -- "The Government of the Republic of India will be invited to assist in the return to the People's Republic of China of those Chinese who desire to do so."

(same wording, mutatis mutandis, in Chinese section)

September 10 Agreed Announcement -- same as above

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 811, OCTOBER 5, 4 P.M.

Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Action to DC/R

NIACT

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FROM JOHNSON

1. TWO AND ONE-HALF HOUR MEETING THIS MORNING. AT OPENING I REFERRED TO QUESTIONS AND/OR SUGGESTIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION I HAD RAISED LAST MEETING AND HOPED WANG HAD REPLIES THIS MORNING. HE LAUNCHED INTO LONG PREPARED STATEMENT TERMING DISCUSSION OF ITEM TWO "THUS FAR UNSATISFACTORY", WERE SPENDING TIME ON "DETAILS" CONCERNING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND I WAS RAISING QUESTIONS IN THIS REGARD TO "PREVENT DISCUSSION SUBSTANCE ITEM TWO". RENEWED SUGGESTIONS BE DISCUSSED BY ASSISTANTS OR THROUGH UK CHARGE PEKING.

2. THEN REFERRING TO MY SUGGESTION ON SUBJECTS WE DISCUSS UNDER ITEM TWO STATED "EACH SIDE MAY RAISE SUBJECTS IT CONSIDERS SHOULD BE DISCUSSED AND NOT NECESSARY TO LIMIT SUBJECTS OR TO FIX THEIR ORDER". THERE IS NO NECESSITY CARRY ON ANY PROLONGED ARGUMENT ON SUBJECTS TO BE DISCUSSED, "WILL NOT AGREE REMOVAL ANY SUBJECTS", THEN WENT ON WITH LONG JUSTIFICATION FOR DISCUSSION HIGHER LEVEL MEETING LARGELY REPEATING PREVIOUS LINE. HE THEN REFERRED MY TWO SUBJECTS STATING HE HAD ALREADY GIVEN ME LIST ALL AMERICANS IN CHINA INCLUDING MILITARY PERSONNEL, IF BY RAISING SUBJECT I INTENDED IMPLY MORE AMERICANS IN CHINA "THIS WAS SHEER FABRICATION", WE HAVE NOT GIVEN THEM LIST OF CHINESE IN US, IF THERE IS TO BE ANY ACCOUNTING OF PERSONNEL UP TO US TO DO ACCOUNTING.

3. THEN TURNED TO RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. SHOULD DISTINGUISH BETWEEN CIVIL CONFLICTS WHICH OUTSIDE SCOPE OF THESE TALKS

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AND INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES. "EVEN IN CIVIL CONFLICTS CHINA HAD STRIVEN FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS WHEN CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT." "CHIANG CLIQUE UNDER WINGS OF FOREIGN FORCES HAS REFUSED PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND CARRIES ON HARASSING ACTIVITIES;" CHINA HAS CONSISTENTLY UPHELD PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES, CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTED PRINCIPLES UN CHARTER ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES, REFERENCES TO BANDUNG, FIVE PRINCIPLES, ETC. "CHINESE DO NOT WANT TO FIGHT WITH US" AND DULLES SAID NO FIGHTING IN TAIWAN AREA BETWEEN AMERICANS AND CHINESE. THEREFORE NO QUESTION CEASE-FIRE BETWEEN CHINA AND US. US IS ONE USING FORCE ACHIEVE NATIONAL OBJECTIVES, TAIWAN IS CHINESE TERRITORY, WAS RESTORED TO CHINA WORLD WAR II AND YET US ENCROACHES ON AND OCCUPIES AND HAS SAID IT WILL USE FORCE PREVENT LIBERATION. PRC WISHES DISCUSS WITHDRAWAL ALL US FORCES FROM TAIWAN AND COASTAL ISLANDS. IF I FULLY EMPOWERED DISCUSS AND SETTLE THIS QUESTION HE READY TO DO LIKEWISE. IN CLOSING REFERRED MY STATEMENT PREVIOUS MEETING I HAD FAITH AND HOPE AND SAID HE SHARED BUT "WE WOULD HAVE TO STRIVE HARDER AND PROVE OUR DESIRES BY DEEDS".

4. I SAID I FIRST WANTED TO DEAL WITH IMPLEMENTATION. I DID NOT WANT TO SPEND TIME ON DETAILS, DID NOT SEE WHY IT WAS NECESSARY. ALL THAT WAS REQUIRED WERE SIMPLE ANSWERS TO MY SIMPLE QUESTIONS, COULD BE DISPOSED OF IN FEW MINUTES. IN REPLY HIS SUGGESTION ON UK TAKING UP QUESTIONS PEIPING, POINTED OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT HAD TWO ASPECTS: ONE, ACTIONS TO BE TAKEN BY OUR GOVERNMENTS WHICH WERE INTERGOVERNMENTAL MATTERS BETWEEN US, AND TWO, FUNCTIONS THIRD POWERS. WORDS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT RESOLVED NOTHING, ONLY IMPLEMENTATION RESOLVED QUESTIONS. SOME OF QUESTIONS I HAD RAISED ALSO TAKEN UP BY UK IN PEIPING BUT NO SATISFACTORY REPLIES. REPEATED IN FULL THREE QUESTIONS ON WHETHER AMERICANS IN JAIL INFORMED OF TEXT ANNOUNCEMENT, THEIR ACCESS TO UK CHARGE, AND AUTHORITY UK CHARGE INTERVIEW THEM. SAID SIMPLE AFFIRMATIVE ANSWERS WOULD IMMEDIATELY DISPOSE OF THESE QUESTIONS HERE. DIFFICULT UNDERSTAND WHY HE COULDN'T GIVE ME SIMPLE ANSWERS, POINTING OUT HIS FAILURE TO DO SO WAS WHAT WAS DELAYING TALKS. THEN

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MADE DETAILED STATEMENT POINTING OUT NONE OF REMAINING 19 YET RELEASED, COULD NOT CONSIDER THIS FAITHFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF ANNOUNCEMENT, PRC FAILURE GIVE BENEFIT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO IMPRISONED AMERICANS MAKES IT MEANINGLESS AS FAR AS AMERICANS IN PRC DESIRING RETURN ARE CONCERNED. IN VIEW OF CONTINUED DELAY BECOMING MORE CONCERNED OVER HIS STATEMENT SEPTEMBER 23 MEETING IMPLYING PERSONS IN JAIL NOT COVERED BY PROVISIONS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, COULD NOT ACCEPT ANY SUCH CONSTRUCTION AND ASKED FOR CONFIRMATION ALL AMERICAN CIVILIANS WHETHER OR NOT IN JAIL COVERED BY ANNOUNCEMENT. COULD NOT AGREE TO HIS IMPLIED INTERPRETATION OUR NOT INSISTING ON DEFINITE TIME LIMIT FOR RELEASE CONSTITUTED AGREEMENT TO INDEFINITE DELAY IN RELEASE. MUST INSIST IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT PROVISIONS FOR EXPEDITIOUS DEPARTURE ALL AMERICANS WHO DESIRE TO RETURN INCLUDING THOSE STILL IMPRISONED. HIS CONTINUED REFERENCE TO IMPROVED RELATIONS AS FACTOR IN RELEASE COULD NOT BUT BE INTERPRETED AS INTENT DISREGARD EXPLICIT TERMS OF ANNOUNCEMENT AND "TO HOLD THESE HUMAN BEINGS AS HOSTAGES FOR POLITICAL ADVANTAGE". MY GOVERNMENT HAD PROMPTLY IMPLEMENTED ANNOUNCEMENT AND HAD NOT AND WOULD NOT ATTACH POLITICAL CONDITIONS TO CARRYING IT OUT. CHINESE HAVE BEEN AND STILL WERE FREE TO LEAVE. FAILURE HIS GOVERNMENT MATCH OUR PROMPTNESS IN IMPLEMENTATION WAS WHAT WAS SLOWING PROGRESS TALKS. REFERRING HIS PREVIOUS STATEMENTS ON PRESSURE, DID NOT SEE WHY IT WAS SUBMISSION TO PRESSURE FOR PRC "TO DO WHAT IT PUBLICLY DECLARED IN OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT IT WAS GOING TO DO".

5. HE OBJECTED ALL MY REMARKS AS FALLING INTO ITEM ONE AND AGAIN RAISING MATTERS WHICH ALREAEY DISCUSSED AND SETTLED. PRC WOULD "FAITHFULLY CARRY OUT AGREEMENT BUT WOULD NOT ALLOW ANY DISTORTED INTERPRETATION" OF ANNOUNCEMENT. WILL CONTINUE REVIEW CASES BUT ACTION MUST BE ACCORDANCE CHINESE LAW, CASES WILL BE REVIEWED "IN LIGHT OF THE AGREEMENT, DEGREE OF THE OFFENSE, CONDUCT AND IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS. THERE WAS THEN MUCH GIVE AND TAKE UNTIL HE CLARIFIED AND CORRECTED INTERPRETATION OF PREVIOUS STATEMENT BY SAYING CASES AMERICANS BEING REVIEWED "ACCORDANCE" AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND, IN LIGHT OF DISCUSSION, I INTERPRET AS BEING SATISFACTORY STATEMENT

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THAT ALL AMERICANS INCLUDING THOSE IN PRISON INCLUDED WITHIN ANNOUNCEMENT. I ALSO PRESSED HIM HARD ON OTHER THREE QUESTIONS AND ALTHOUGH HIS ANSWER VAGUE AND UNSATISFACTORY WITH RESPECT TO SPECIFIC ASSURANCE EACH AMERICAN IN PRISON HAD BEEN INFORMED OF ANNOUNCEMENT, REITERATED PREVIOUS ASSURANCES WIDE PUBLICITY INCLUDED MEASURES TO ASSURE EVERY AMERICAN INFORMED. IN SPITE CONTINUAL PRESSURE HE FLATLY REFUSED ANSWER OTHER TWO QUESTIONS SAYING THIS NOT THE PLACE FOR DISCUSSION. AFTER LONG AND UNSECCESSFUL PRODDING I EXPRESSED HOPE HE WOULD ASSURE ME UK CHARGE WOULD PROMPTLY BE GIVEN REPLIES. HE KEPT REPEATING HE HAD NOTHING MORE TO SAY.

6. I THEN REFERRED TO REMAINDER HIS STATEMENT AND SAID I WISHED TO STUDY AND GIVE DETAILED REPLY LATER. HOWEVER I POINTED OUT MY SUGGETION ON ORDER OF DISCUSSION OF SUBJECTS WAS DESIGNED TO CONTRIBUTE TO ORDERLY PROGRESS. I DEFINED WHAT I MEANT BY US PERSONNEL BY STATING THIS CONCERNED AMERICAN MILITARY PERSONNEL STILL MISSING FROM KOREAN HOSTILITIES CONCERNING WHOM THERE WAS REASON TO BELIEVE HIS AUTHORITIES HAD INFORMATION. THEN SAID CONSIDERED RENUNCIATION OF FORCE MOST IMPORTANT, THERFORE PROBABLY SHOULD BE DISCUSSED FIRST, AND I WOULD BE PREPARED SAY MORE ON SUBJECT NEXT MEETING. THEN REPEATED ARGUMENTS AGAINST HIGHER LEVEL MEETING STATING NOTHING HE HAD SAID THIS MORNING HAD CHANGED MY MIND.

7. HE REPLIED STATING QUESTION US MILITARY PERSONNEL HAD BEEN FULLY COVERED AT PANMUNJOM, NO REASON FOR RAISING IT HERE, AND IF WE DID SO HE RESERVED RIGHT RAISE QUESTION OF US ACCOUNTING FOR PERSONNEL DETAINED IN KOREAN WAR. REPEATED HIS ARGUMENTS ON HIGHER LEVEL MEETING AS WELL AS STATEMENT THAT IF I HAD FULL AUTHORITY DEAL WITH "IMPORTANT AND OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS ARISING IN THE TAIWAN AREA" HE WAS READY TO DISCUSS.

8. I AGREED HIS PROPOSAL NEXT MEETING SATURDAY, OCTOBER 8. THERE WAS THEN CONSIDERABLE ARGUMENT ON PRESS COMMUNIQUE, HE INSISTING COMMUNIQUE BE CONFINED TO STATEMENT WE HAD CONTINUED DISCUSS AGENDA ITEM TWO, AND I INSISTING ON PREVIOUS

COMMUNIQUE WE FINALLY AGREED ON SIMPLY STATING WE HAD MET AND GIVE TIME NEXT MEETING.

GOWEN

CES

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17-B
Action
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Info
RMR

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 815, October 5, 4 p.m.

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. In spite of his efforts at today's meeting to avoid being drawn into discussion of implementation Wang could not refrain from some replies and thus again let himself be trapped into such discussion. In fact outside of his opening statement probably 85 per cent of today's discussion was devoted to implementation. However towards end he realized what he had done and is going to be much more cautious and difficult this regard at next meeting.

2. However, he has neatly avoided being drawn into any discussion of "agenda" under Item 2. They have divided our purpose this regard and it is difficult to argue with his position which is substantially that either of us can bring up any subject within agenda Item 2 he wishes any time he wishes. We find ourselves on the other side of our usual controversy in this regard when dealing with Communists.

3. Felt it was in our best interest to agree to Saturday meeting. Neither of us has thus far opposed other's proposal for date of meeting. While we have tacitly alternated on suggest- date for next meeting I had in fact made suggestion at both of last two preceding meetings and he well realized it was past his "turn" at today's meeting. Also I felt that as I was successful in getting through today's meeting without use any of additional material Department has authorized under Item 2 I was in relatively good position for Saturday meeting.

4. With respect implementation feel that I was successful today in obtaining full retreat by Wang from his previous implication announcement did not apply imprisoned Americans. Feel I pressed other questions at today's meeting give O'Neill excellent

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-2- 815, October 5, 4 p.m., from Geneva.

excellent basis for formal approach on unanswered questions affecting UK functions and I hope he will promptly follow up.

GOWEN

AB:RPL/14

NOTE: Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 10/5/55 3:36 p.m. EMB (CWO)

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10/6/55, 9:35 a.m.
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Control: 2168
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1:32 p.m.

Action Assigned to
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Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 817, OCTOBER 5, 5 P.M.

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. TWO OF PROBLEMS I FACE WITH RESPECT TO NEXT MEETING ARE WANG'S PROBABLE REFUSAL BE DRAWN INTO ANY DISCUSSION IMPLEMENTATION AND HIS ALREADY EXPRESSED REFUSAL BE DRAWN INTO DISCUSSION OF AN "AGENDA" UNDER ITEM TWO. HAVE MANAGED MAINTAIN PRESENT LINE FOR ALMOST ONE MONTH WITH NEGATIVE RESULTS THUS FAR ON RETURN ADDITIONAL AMERICANS. WITHIN NARROW FRAME OF OBTAINING RETURN AMERICANS I WOULD BE INCLINED TO CONTINUE ON AND HARDEN OUR PRESENT LINE UP TO POINT OF THREATENING TAKE ISSUE TO PUBLIC AND FACING BREAK IF NECESSARY. HOWEVER WITHIN LARGE FRAME OF REFERENCE THIS IS NOT PRACTICAL.

2. THEREFORE, MY INCLINATION FOR NEXT MEETING OR TWO IS TRY OUT TACTIC OF WHAT MIGHT BE TERMED SOFTENING OUR LINE BY OMITTING ALL REFERENCE TO IMPLEMENTATION AND CONCENTRATING ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. I DO NOT SEE WE LOSE ANYTHING BY THIS AND HOPE WE MIGHT GAIN SOMETHING WITH RESPECT RELEASE AMERICANS. I HAVE IN EVERY POSSIBLE WAY EXPRESSED OUR DISSATISFACTION WITH IMPLEMENTATION AND HAVE THOROUGHLY PRESERVED MY ABILITY RETURN TO IT AT ANY TIME. IF THIS TACTIC PRODUCES NO FAVORABLE RESULTS ON RELEASE AMERICANS DURING COURSE NEXT MEETING OR TWO I AM IN A POSITION TO RETURN TO IMPLEMENTATION IN STRONGER TERMS THAN EVER.

3. RENUNCIATION OF FORCE IS NOTHING THEY DESIRE DISCUSS AND IT GIVES THEM NOTHING. MY THOUGHT WOULD BE TO OPEN NEXT MEETING WITH PREPARED STATEMENT, GIVING WANG A COPY, AND

copy b. 8.1.10
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page 2

FEB 2 1959

611.93/10-555

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-2- 817, OCTOBER 5, 5 P.M., FROM GENEVA

SEE WHERE THIS LEADS. IT IS ALSO AN EXCELLENT REPLY TO HIS STATEMENT AT TODAY'S MEETING TO WHICH I WOULD ATTEMPT NO DIRECT REPLY AT THIS TIME.

4. WITH RESPECT TO FUTURE OFFER FOR CONSIDERATION THOUGHT THAT I MIGHT AT SOME TIME SUGGEST EITHER OF US COULD AT END THESE TALKS BRING UP ANY PROCEDURAL MATTERS WE CONSIDERED APPROPRIATE AND ANY DISCUSSION HIGHER LEVEL MEETING SHOULD BE DEFERRED UNTIL THAT TIME. THIS WOULD BE CONSISTENT OUR PRESENT POSITION AND STILL KEEP POT OF GOLD DANGLING. UNLESS WE DO SOMETHING THIS NATURE SEEMS TO ME IN SPITE OUR BEST EFFORTS GOING TO BECOME INCREASINGLY CLEAR TO CHICOMS THAT THERE IS NOTHING FOR THEM IN ITEM TWO. WE MUST POSTPONE AS LONG AS POSSIBLE THEIR COMING TO THIS CONCLUSION, AND THIS IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT.

GOWEN

CES

#AS RECEIVED. WILL BE SERVICED UPON REQUEST

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OCT 13 1955

266

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Action Assigned to C1/2u 356

28-B

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Action Taken

Action FE

Control: 2210
Rec'd: October 5, 1955
2:27 p.m.

Info RMR SS

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 818, October 5, 6 p.m.

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

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FROM JOHNSON

NCNA correspondent here has today apparently dropped line imprisoned Americans not covered by agreed announcement. Is now feeding line cases being reviewed and "pressure" on CHICOMs release raises problem of face, making action difficult.

GOWEN

LFS/10

Note; Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 10/5/55 3:39 p.m. EMB (CWO)

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23-B
Action
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Info
RMR

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Control: 2358
Rec'd: OCTOBER 5, 1955
7:31 PM

Action Assigned to CA/DIR
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 819, OCTOBER 5, 10 PM (SECTION ONE OF SIX)

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. AT 19TH MEETING OCTOBER 5, I ASKED WANG IF HE HAD SOME REPLIES TO QUESTIONS I HAD ASKED HIM LAST MEETING.

2. WANG READ FROM LONG PREPARED STATEMENT. HE SAID HE BELIEVED BOTH OF US RECOGNIZED OUR DISCUSSION AGENDA ITEM TWO THUS FAR HAD BEEN UNSATISFACTORY. IT HAD BEEN NEARLY A MONTH SINCE AGREEMENT ON RETURN OF CIVILIANS FROM BOTH SIDES CONCLUDED, BUT WE WERE STILL SPENDING TIME ON DETAILS OF IMPLEMENTATION THUS PREVENTING US FROM PROCEEDING TO DISCUSSION AGENDA ITEM TWO. AT LAST MEETING I HAD RAISED QUESTIONS WHICH WENT INTO DETAILS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENT. SUCH QUESTIONS MIGHT WELL BE PUT TO CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH TERMS OF AGREEMENT BY THIRD STATE ENTRUSTED WITH FUNCTIONS. IN OUR CASE IT WOULD BE UNITED KINGDOM. SINCE BOTH SIDES HAD ENTRUSTED RESPECTIVE THIRD STATES PERFORM FUNCTIONS, WE SHOULD TRUST EMBASSY OR OFFICE OF CHARGE OF THIRD STATES TO HANDLE DETAILED QUESTIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENT INSTEAD OF INTERFERING WITH OUR TALKS HERE.

3. WANG SAID HE COULD NOT AGREE WITH WAY QUESTIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION BEING USED BY ME TO PREVENT DISCUSSION SUBSTANCE OF ITEM TWO. HE HAD SUGGESTED AT LAST MEETING THAT OUR ASSISTANTS GET TOGETHER TO DISCUSS DETAILS OF IMPLEMENTATION AND CONSIDER ANY REASONABLE SUGGESTIONS I MIGHT WISH MAKE. I HAD TURNED DOWN PROPOSAL, HOWEVER, SO UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES HE THOUGHT QUESTIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO CHINESE GOVERNMENT THROUGH UK CHARGE.

4. HE

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4. HE SAID I HAD ALSO PUT FORWARD TWO SUBJECTS UNDER AGENDA ITEM TWO AND HAD RAISED QUESTION OF ORDER OF SUBJECTS. HE HAD INDICATED HE COULD NOT AGREE TO REMOVAL ANY OF HIS SUBJECTS NOR TO ANY FIXED ORDER FOR DISCUSSION. THERE WAS NO NECESSITY FOR CARRYING ON PROLONGED ARGUMENT ON SUCH PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS. UN AGENDA ITEM TWO "OTHER PRACTICAL MATTERS" WE HAD AGREED EACH SIDE COULD RAISE ANY QUESTION IT THOUGHT SHOULD BE DISCUSSED SO THAT THERE WOULD BE FREE EXPRESSION OF OPINIONS. THEREFORE, IT WAS OT NECESSARY LIMIT SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION NOR TO FIX ORDER. BOTH SIDES COULD EXPRESS OPINIONS ON ALL SUBJECTS RAISED AND PROCEED TAKE ACTION FIRST ON POINTS ON WHICH WE ABLE REACH ACCORD. THUS WE WOULD KEEP FROM FALLING INTO CONTROVERSY OVER PROCEDURAL MATTERS AND NOT HINDER TALKS FROM MAKING FURTHER PROGRESS.

5. HE SAID ON SEPTEMBER 14 HE HAD PUT FORWARD TWO SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION UNDER AGENDA TIME TWO: "QUESTION OF EMBARGO" AND "PREPARATIONS FOR SINO-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS AT A HIGHER LEVEL." HE HAD EXPLAINED WHAT HE MEANT BY TWO SUBJECTS. HE COULD NOT AGREE THAT HIGHER LEVEL MEETING WAS NOT A "PRACTICAL ATTER." I HAD SAID AT LAST MEETING HIS SUGGESTITN APPEARED TO IMPLY A DECISION EVEN BEFORE DISCUSSION AT THIS LEVEL THAT IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR US SETTLE PRACTICAL MATTERS IN THESE TALKS. HIS SUGGESTIONS, ON CONTRARY, DID NOT CONTAIN THIS IMPLICATION AT ALL. HIS PROPOSAL THAT EACH SIDE COULD RAISE ANY SUBJECT IT WISHED DISCUSS SHOULD HAVE REMOVED ANY MISUNDERSTANDING THIS SCORE. OPINION HIS SIDE IT MORE PRACTICAL TO NEGOTIATE AT A HIGHER LEVEL SUCH MAJOR QUESTIONS AS EASING AND ELIMINATING TENSION BETWEEN CHINA AND US IN TAIWAN AREA. IT WAS DEFINITELY PRACTICAL MATTER AND FIT SUBJECT FOR THESE TALKS TO ARRANGE SUCH PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE CHANNELS AS MIGHT BE NEEDED TO SETTLE ISSUES OF OUTSTANDING IMPORTANCE BETWEN CHINA AND US.

6. WANG CONTINUED BY SAYING I HAD MAINTAINED A HIGHER LEVEL MEETING COULD ONLY BE HELD AFTER THESE TALKS. HIS SIDE HAD ALSO ENVISAGED THAT THE HIGHER LEVEL MEETING SHOULD COME AFTER THESE TALKS WERE COMPLETED. THAT WAS NO REASON WE SHOULD NOT

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NOT ARRANGE FOR CONVENING HIGHER LEVEL CONFERENCE HERE. IF WE FAIL TO MAKE ARRANGEMENT HERE IT WOULD MAKE CONVENING HIGHER LEVEL CONFERENCE MORE DIFFICULT.

7. HE SAID HE ALSO WANTED TO KNOW MY OPINION ON QUESTION OF EMBARGO. I HAD STATED LAST MEETING I HAD TWO SUBJECTS: ACCOUNTING FOR US PERSONNEL AND RENUNCIATION OF USE OF FORCE. HOWEVER, I HAD NOT GIVEN ANY EXPLA ATION OF THESE TWO SUBJECTS. HE FOUND IT HARD TO UNDERSTAND WHY SUBJECT "SO-CALLED ACCOUNTING" HAD BEEN RAISED. AT OUTSET OF TALKS ON AGENDA ITEM ONE HE HAD GIVEN LIST 87 AMERICANS WHICH REPRESENTED ALL AMERICANS IN CHINA. IT INCLUDED ALL AMERICANS BOTH CIVILIAN AND MILITARY. IF BY RAISING SUBJECT I HAD INTENDED IMPLY THERE WERE STILL MORE AMERICANS IN CHINA THIS WAS SHEER FABRICATION WHICH HIS SIDE NOT ABLE ACCEPT. UP TO NOW OUR SIDE HAD NOT SUBMITTED TO HIS SIDE LIST OF ALL CHINESE IN US. IF THERE WAS TO BE ANY ACCOUNTING AT ALL IT WAS UP TO OUR SIDE GIVE HIM COMPLETE LIST CHINESE.

GOWEN

MDM

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1955 OCT 6 AM 6 58

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23-21 CONFIDENTIAL

Action FE

Control: 2364
Rec'd: OCTOBER 5, 1955 7:53 PM

Action Assigned to ____
Action Taken ____ 1
Date of Action ____
Action Office Symbol ____
Name of Officer ____
Direction to DC/R ____

Info RMR SS G SP C L

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 819, OCTOBER 5, 10 PM (SECTION TWO OF SIX)

PRIORITY

8. WANG SAID WITH RESPECT TO QUESTION RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. WE SHOULD DISTINGUISH BETWEEN CIVIL WAR (INTERNAL CONFLICTS) AND INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES. CIVIL CONFLICTS CLEARLY WOULD FALL OUTSIDE TERMS OF REFERENCE THESE TALKS. BUT EVEN WITH RESPECT TO CIVIL CONFLICTS CHINA HAD STRIVEN FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS WHEN CIRCUMSTANCES PERMITTED. FACT WAS THAT CHIANG CLIQUE UNDER WINGS OF FOREIGN FORCES HAD REFUSED PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND CARRIED ON HARASSING ACTIVITIES. WANG'S SIDE COULD NOT STAND BY AND DO NOTHING.

9. HE SIAD THAT WITH RESPECT TO INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES. THEY HAD ALWAYS UPHELD THEIR SETTLEMENT BY NEGOTIATION. CHINA IN ASSOCIATION WITH OTHER COUNRIES HAD INITIATED THE FIVE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. THEY HAD CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTED THE PROVISIONS OF CHARTER OF UNITED NATIONS CONCERNING SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND CALLING FOR NO RECOURSE TO FORCE. DURING ASIAN AFRICAN CONFERENCE IN BANDUNG CHINA HAD EXPLICITLY STATED ITS POSITION THIS REGARD AND JOINED WITH OTHERS IN ISSUING STATEMENTS. WITH RESPECT SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS CHOU EN-LAI HAD REPEATEDLY AND EXPLICITLY STATED THAT THERE WAS NO WAR BETWEEN CHINA AND UNITED STATES, THAT CHINESE PEOPLE DID NOT WANT TO FIGHT WITH AMERICA, AND WE SHOULD SIT DOWN AND NEGOTIATE. SECRETARY OF STATE DULLES HAD ALSO SAID THAT NO FIGHTING GOING ON IN TAIWAN AREA BETWEEN CHINESE AND AMERICANS. THEREFORE, THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF ARRANGING CEASE-FIRE BETWEEN CHINA AND AMERICA.

10. HE SAID IF WE WERE TO DISCUSS RENUNCIATION OF FORCE THAT IT WAS PRECISELY US WHICH WAS USING FORCE TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL

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NATIONAL OBJECTIVES. TAIWAN WAS CHINESE TERRITORY. IT WAS RESTORED TO CHINA AFTER WORLD WAR II. AND YET US HAD ENCROACHED UPON IT, AND OCCUPIED IT AND WOULD USE FORCE TO PREVENT LIBERATION OF TAIWAN AND ISLANDS OFF COAST CHINA. IF WE DISCUSSED QUESTION THEN WE WOULD HAVE TO DISCUSS WITHDRAWAL ALL US FORCES FROM TAIWAN AND ISLANDS. THEY HAD RECOGNNIZED THAT IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO SETTLE THIS QUESTION IN THESE TALKS SO THEY DID NOT RAISE IT. HOWEVER, IF WE WISHED TO DISCUSS IT HERE AND I HAD FULL AUTHORITY TO DISCUSS AND SETTLE THIS PROBLEM HE WAS READY TO DISCUSS IT WITH ME.

11. HE CONCLUDED SAYING THAT IN PREVIOUS MEETING I HAD SAID I HAD FAITH AND HOPE THAT TWO OF US WOULD MAKE PROGRES ON PRACTICAL MATTERS AND WOULD STRIVE TO DO SO. HE WARMLY WELCOMED THIS STATEMENT AND ASSURED ME HE WOU.D STRIVE TO BEST HIS ABILITY REALIZE THAT HOPE. MEANWHILE, HE WANTED POINT OUT IN ALL FRANKNESS THAT IF WE WERE TO REALIZE HOPE OF BOTH OF US WE WOULD HAVE TO STRIVE HARDER THAN BEFORE, AND BOTH SHOULD PROVE DESIRE WE HAD EXPRESSED BY OUR ACTUAL DEEDS.

12. IN REPLY I SAID HE HAD MADE A LONG STATEMENT AND I WANTED TO CAREFULLY STUDY AND CONSIDER IT. BUT FIRST I WANTED TO DEAL WITH QUESTION OF IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. HE HAD EXPRESSED DESIRE NOT TO SPEND TOO MUCH TIME ON DETAILS AND I CERTAINLY AGRED AS I HAD TOLD HIM AT LAST MEETING. FURTHERMORE, I DID NOT SEE WHY IT SHOULD BE NECESSARY FOR US TO DO SO. HE HAD SUGGESTED THAT THESE BE DEALT WITH THROUGH UK CHARGE OR INDIAN EMBASSY. I WANTED POINT OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT PROVIDED FOR CERTAIN ACTIONS TO BE TAKEN BY OUR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS AND PROVIDED FOR OTHER FUNCTIONS TO BE PERFORMED BY OTHER COUNTRIES. THOSE MATTERS WHICH ACCORDING TO AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNED ACTIONS BY OUR GOVERNMENTS WERE AN INTERGOVERNMENTAL MATTER BETWEEN US. WORDS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT RESOLVED NOTHING, BUT ONLY IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE WORDS WOULD RESOLVE PROBLEM WITH WHICH WE WERE CONCERNED UNDER AGENDA ITEM ONE. SOME OF QUESTIONS I HAD RAISED HAD ALSO BEEN RAISED BY UK CHARGE IN PEKING BUT SATISFACTORY REPLIES HAD NOT BEEN RECEIVED BY HIM.

13. IN ADDITION TO QUESTION OF 19 AMERICANS IN JAIL, I HAD RAISED

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RAISED THREE SIMPLE QUESTIONS AT SEVERAL MEETINGS. IN ACCORDANCE WITH HIS SUGGESTION I HAD REPHRASED THESE QUESTIONS IN THE FORM OF SUGGESTIONS WHICH HE HAD SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD BE WILLING TO CONSIDER. THESE THREE SUGGESTIONS WERE SIMPLY: (1) I ASKED WHETHER OR NOT HE COULD CONFIRM THAT AMERICANS IN JAIL HAD BEEN GIVEN TEXT OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT IN LANGUAGE THEY COULD UNDERSTAND. WE HAD RECEIVED NO INFORMATION FROM UK CHARGE CONFIRMING THIS DONE. IT SEEMED VERY SIMPLE MATTER AND HE COULD SIMPLY ANSWER WITH YES WHICH WOULD DISPOSE OF THIS QUESTION. (2) I ASKED WHETHER OR NOT THOSE PERSONS IN JAIL COULD FREELY COMMUNICATE WITH OR OTHERWISE HAVE ACCESS TO UK CHARGE IN ACCORDANCE WITH TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. AGAIN VERY SIMPLY AFFIRMATIVE ANSWER COULD DISPOSE OF THIS QUESTION HERE. (3) I ASKED WHETHER OR NOT UK CHARGE WOULD BE PERMITTED INTERVIEW PERSONS WHO DESIRED RETURN IF UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT US WANTED FACTS IN ANY SUCH CASE INVESTIGATED. AGAIN SIMPLY AFFIRMATIVE ANSWER WOULD DISPOSE THIS QUESTION HERE.

GOWEN

MDM

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CORRECTED PAGE 1 &1/2
10/7/55, 1:47 PM

Control: 2371
Rec'd: OCTOBER 5, 1955
8:28 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 819, OCTOBER 5, 10 PM (SECTION 3 OF 6)

PRIORITY

14. I CONSIDERED THESE MATTERS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF ANNOUNCEMENT ONES WHICH CONCERNED BOTH OUR GOVERNMENTS. THESE QUESTIONS HAD ALSO BEEN RAISED BY UK CHARGE AND REPLIES SATISFACTORY TO US HAD NOT BEEN RECEIVED THROUGH HIM. I FOUND IT DIFFICULT UNDERSTAND WHY I COULD NOT HAVE ANSWERS TO THESE SIMPLE QUESTIONS. DIFFICULT UNDERSTAND WHY HIS GOVERNMENT APPEARED BE MOVING SO SLOWLY IN IMPLEMENTING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND THUS DELAYING OUR TALKS HERE. BEST WAY MAKE PROGRESS WOULD BE FOR HIS GOVERNMENT IMPLEMENT ANNOUNCEMENT AND FOR HIM FRANKLY INFORM ME HERE IN THIS REGARD. AT LAST MEETING HE HAD ASSURED ME THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD FAITHFULLY CARRY OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. HE TOLD ME THAT CASES OF REMAINING 19 AMERICANS WERE BEING REVIEWED INDIVIDUALLY AND THAT BRITISH CHARGE WOULD BE NOTIFIED OF RESULTS OF THESE REVIEWS. YET, UP TO PRESENT TIME, I DID NOT KNOW OF A SINGLE SUCH CASE WHICH HAS BEEN REPORTED TO BRITISH CHARGE, DESPITE FACT A MONTH HAD PASSED SINCE ISSUANCE OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I FOUND DIFFICULT SEE HOW THIS WAS "FAITHFUL IMPLEMENTATION" OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT. APPARENT FAILURE HIS GOVERNMENT, UP TO THE PRESENT, TO GIVE BENEFIT OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO IMPRISONED AMERICANS MADE IT MEANINGLESS AS FAR AS AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY WERE CONCERNED.

15. I SAID IN VIEW OF HIS GOVERNMENT'S CONTINUED DELAY IN PERMITTING ANY OF 19 AMERICANS TO RETURN, I WAS BECOMING MORE CONCERNED OVER A STATEMENT WHICH HE MADE AT OUR 17TH MEETING ON SEPTEMBER 23. HE HAD SAID THAT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNED CIVILIANS, AND NOT THOSE HE TERMED CRIMINALS OR PERSONS WHO HAD VIOLATED LAWS. HE IMPLIED THAT PERSONS IN JAIL WERE NOT "CIVILIANS" AND THEREFORE NOT COVERED BY PROVISIONS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. HE DID NOT MENTION NOR EVEN HINT AT SUCH AN INTERPRETATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT DURING COURSE OF OUR DISCUSSIONS PRIOR TO SEPTEMBER 10 AND I WANTED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT I COULD NOT

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NOT ACCEPT ANY SUCH CONSTRUCTION OF ANNOUNCEMENT. I ASKED HIM TO CONFIRM TO ME THAT AGREED

ANNOUNCEMENT

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1

Date of Action

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RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

Action Office Symbol

SS
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SP
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L

NO: 819, OCTOBER 5, 10 P.M. (SECTION 3 OF 6)

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

PRIORITY

14. I CONSIDERED THESE MATTERS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF ANNOUNCEMENT ONES WHICH CONCERNED BOTH OUR GOVERNMENTS. THESE QUESTIONS HAD ALSO BEEN RAISED BY UK CHARGE AND REPLIES SATISFACTORY TO US HAD NOT BEEN RECEIVED THROUGH HIM. I FOUND IT DIFFICULT UNDERSTAND WHY I COULD NOT HAVE ANSWERS TO THESE SIMPLE QUESTIONS. DIFFICULT UNDERSTAND WHY HIS GOVERNMENT APPEARED BE MOVING SO SLOWLY IN IMPLEMENTING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND THUS DELAYING OUR TALKS HERE. BEST WAY MAKE PROGRESS WOULD BE FOR HIS GOVERNMENT IMPLEMENT ANNOUCEMENT AND FOR HIM FRANKLY INFORM ME HERE IN THIS REGARD. AT LAST MEETING HE HAD ASSURED ME THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD FAITHFULLY CARRY OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. HE TOLD ME THAT CASES OF REMAINING 19 AMERICANS WERE BEING REVIEWED INDIVIDUALLY AND THAT BRITISH CHARGE WOULD BE NOTIFIED OF RESULTS OF THESE REVIEWS. YET, UP TO PRESENT TIME, I DID NOT KNOW OF A SINGLE SUCH CASE WHICH HAS BEEN REPORTED TO BRITISH CHARGE, DESPITE FACT A MONTH HAD PASSED SINCE ISSUANCE OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I FOUND DIFFICULT SEE HOW THIS WAS "FAITHFUL IMPLEMENTATION" OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT. APPARENT FAILURE HIS GOVERNMENT, UP TO THE PRESENT, TO GIVE BENEFIT OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO IMPRISONED AMERICANS MADE IT MEANINGLESS AS FAR (#) PERMITTING ANY OF 19 AMERICANS TO RETURN, I WAS BECOMING MORE CONCERNED OVER A STATEMENT WHICH HE MADE AT OUR 17TH MEETING ON SEPTEMBER 23. HE HAD SAID THAT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNED CIVILIANS, AND NOT THOSE HE TERMED CRIMINALS OR PERSONS WHO HAD VIOLATED LAWS. HE IMPLIED THAT PERSONS IN JAIL WERE NOT "CIVILAINS" AND THEREFORE NOT COVERED BY PROVISIONS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. HE DID NOT MENTION NOR EVEN HINT AT SUCH AN INTERPRETATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT DURING COURSE OF OUR DISCUSSIONS PRIOR TO SEPTEMBER 10 AND I WANTED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT I COULD NOT ACCEPT ANY SUCH CONSTRUCTION OF ANNOUNCEMENT. I ASKED HIM TO CONFIRM TO ME THAT AGREED

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ANNOUNCEMENT APPLIED TO ALL AMERICAN CIVILIANS WHETHER OR NOT THEY WERE IN HIS JAILS.

16. I SAID THAT AT OUR LAST MEETING ALSO HE HAD REFERRED TO MY PROPOSAL, MADE DURING COURSE OF OUR DISCUSSIONS, THAT HE SPECIFY A DEFINITE PERIOD OF TIME WITHIN WHICH ALL AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY WOULD BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE. AS HE HAD POINTED OUT, HE REFUSED TO SPECIFY ANY LENGTH OF TIME. I HAD EXPRESSED TO HIM A NUMBER OF TIMES MY GOVERNMENT'S DISSATISFACTION WITH HIS GOVERNMENT'S REFUSAL TO ACCEDE TO THIS REASONABLE PROPOSAL. NEVERTHELESS, IN INTEREST OF ADVANCING THESE TALKS AND ON BASIS OF HIS ASSURANCES THAT IMPRISONED AMERICANS WOULD BE RELEASED EXPEDITIOSLY, MY GOVERNMENT DID CONSENT TO ISSUANCE OF THE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, EVEN IN ABSENCE OF A SPECIFIC TIME LIMIT FOR RELEASE OF AMERICANS. HIS REMARKS AT LAST MEETING MADE IT APPEAR HE INTERPRETED MY GOVERNMENT'S CONCESSION IN NOT INSISING ON A DEFINITE TIME LIMIT AS CONSTITUTING AGREEMENT TO INDEFINITE DELAY BY HIS GOVERNMENT IN RELEASING AMERICANS. I EMPHATICALLY REJECTED ANY SUCH INTERPRETATION AND STATED CLEARLY AND UNEQUIVOCALLY THAT MY GOVERNMENT CONSIDERED THAT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT PROVIDED FOR EXPEDITIOUS DEPARTURE FROM HIS COUNTRY OF ALL AMERICANS WHO DESIRED TO RETURN TO UNITED STATES, INCLUDING THOSE AMERICANS STILL IMPRISONED.

17. I SAID HE HAD ALSO REPEATED SEVERAL TIMES AT OUR LAST MEETING THAT ONLY IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES COULD ENABLE HIS GOVERNMENT TO TAKE "MORE LENIENT" ATTITUDE TOWARD AMERICANS IN PRISON. IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR US NOT TO INTERPRET THIS AS AN INTENT BY HIS GOVERNMENT TO DISREGARD EXPLICIT TERMS OF OUR ANNOUNCEMENT AND TO HOLD THESE HUMAN BEINGS AS HOSTAGES FOR POLITICAL ADVANTAGE.

18. I SAID MY GOVERNMENT HAD ISSUED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT IN GOOD FAITH, PROMPTLY AND ENERGENTICALLY BEGAN TO IMPLEMENT IT AND FULLY EXPECTED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD DO SAME. MY GOVERNMENT ATTACHED NO POLITICAL CONDITIONS TO ITS CARRYING OUT OF TERMS ANNOUNCEMENT AND DOES NOT INTEND TO DO SO. CHINESE WERE PERMITTED TO LEAVE UNITED STATES FREELY EVEN BEFORE ISSUANCE OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND SINCE THAT TIME HAVE CONTINUED TO DEPART FREELY. FROM JULY 11 TO OCTOBER 3, 402 CHINESE LEFT UNITED STATES FOR FAR EAST.

19. I SAID

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19. I SAID HE HAD ACCUSED MY GOVERNMENT OF INTENTIONALLY STALLING IN ORDER NOT TO BEGIN DISCUSSION OF SUBJECTS INTRODUCED UNDER AGENDA ITEM TWO. I DID NOT SEE ANY BASIS FOR SUCH AN ACCUSATION. MY GOVERNMENT ACTED WITH GREAT PROMPTNESS TO IMPLEMENT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND THUS CLEARED WAY FOR PROMPTLY GOING ON TO ITEM TWO. ITWAS ONLY FAILURE OF HIS GOVERNMENT TO ACT WITH EQUAL PROMPTNES WHICH HAD RESULTED IN SLOWING PROGRESS OF TALKS. IF STALLING WAS INVOLVED, IT SHOULD BE OBVIOUS THAT THAT WAS WHERE FAITT LAY.

GOWEN

WVC

(#) OMMISSION, CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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1958 OCT 6 AM 6 58

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Control: 2372
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8:28 P.M.
Date of Action

Info
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

SS
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NO: 819, OCTOBER 5, 10 P.M. (SECTION 4 OF 6)

PRIORITY

20. I SAID HE HAD ALSO IMPLIED THAT IF HIS GOVERNMENT WERE TO RELEASE ALL AMERICANS PROMPTLY, THIS WOULD BE SUBMITTING TO PRESURE. I DID NOT SEE HOW CARRYING OUT PROMPTLY AN OBLIGATION WHICH A GOVERNMENT HAD FREELY AND PUBLICLY ACCEPTED COULD BE REGARDED AS SUBMITTING TO PRESSURE. MY GOVERNMENT CERTAINLY DID NOT CONSIDER IT WAS SUBMITTING TO PRESSURE IN SETTING UP ARRANGEMENTS FOR INDIA TO ASSIST DEPARTURE OF CHINESE FROM THE US AND TAKING OTHER ACTION IT HAD TAKEN WITH REPSECT TO CHINESE IN THE US. WHY SHOULD IT BE CONSIDERED ANY MORE SUBMISSION TO PRESSURE FOR HIS GOVERNMENT TO DO WHAT IT PUBLICLY DECLARED IN OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT IT WAS GOING TO DO?

21. I SAID I WOULD COMMENT LATER ON SOME OTHER POINTS RAISED IN REMAINDER HIS STATEMENT.

22. WANG REPLIED HE CONSIDERED ALL REMARKS I HAD JUST MADE BELONGED IN FIELD AGENDA ITEM ONE WHICH WE HAD ALREADY COVERED IN OUR DISCUSSION AND TO WHICH HIS SIDE HAD ALREADY REPLIED. REGARDING IMPLEMENTATION AGREEMENT HE HAD REPEATEDLY SAID HIS SIDE WOULD CARRY OUT AGREEMENT FAITHFULLY. HOWEVER HE WOULD NOT ALLOW ANY DISTORTED INTERPRETATION OF AGREEMENT QUESTION RETURN OF AMERICANS IN PRISON HAD TO BE DEALT WITH ACCORDING CHINESE LAW. HIS SIDE WOULD CONTINUE REVIEW CASES THESE PEOPLE BUT ACTION ON PART HIS GOVERNMENT COULD ONLY BE CARREID OUT IN LIGHT OF CONDITIONS WHICH HE HAD TOLD ME. THAT IS THEIR CASES WOULD BE REVIEWED BY TAKING INTO ACCOUNT DEGREE OF THEIR OFFENSES, THEIR CONDUCT, AND IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES IN LIGHT OF AGREEMENT WE HAD REACHED. ONLY UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE HIS GOVERNMENT ADOPT MEASURES MORE LENIENT THAN PRESENT VERY LENIENT

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LENIENT MEASURES BEING TAKEN. HE COULD NOT AGGREE TO CHANGING LEGAL PROCEDURES OF CHINA AND CONDITIONS HE HAD INFORMED ME OF AND DEMAND THAT CHINESE GOVERNMENT DO CERTAIN THINGS UNCONDITIONALLY.

23. WANG SAID WITH RESPECT QUESTION DETAILS IMPLEMENTATION AGREEMENT HE HAD SUGGESTED ASSISTANTS BOTH SIDES HOLD MEETINGS AT WHICH OUR SIDE COULD PUT FORWARD ANY REASONABLE SUGGESTION IT WISHED. AS HE HAD SAID IN STATEMENT THIS MORNING THESE QUESTIONS MIGHT ALSO BE RAISED BY UK CHARGE WITH HIS GOVERNMENT. IN HIS VIEW IF WE CONTINUED ENTANGLE TALKS IN SUCH DETAILS IT WOULD NOT CONTRIBUTE TO PROGRESS IN OUR TALKS. FAULT FOR STALLING TALKS WHICH PREVENTED A FULL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON AGENDA ITEM TWO WAS NOT THEIRS AND THEY WERE NOT SATISFIED WITH STATE OF THINGS.

24. I SAID I WAS NOT SATISFIED EITHER. I HAD ASKED HIM AGAIN IN THIS MEETING QUESTIONS WHICH I HAD ASKED IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS. INSTEAD OF DISCUSSING WHERE THESE QUESTIONS SHOULD BE DISCUSSED, REFERRING THEM TO THIRD COUNTRY OR REFERRING THEM TO OUR ASSISTANTS, THESE QUESTIONS COULD BE DISPOSED OF IN A FEW MINUTES BETWEEN US. HE HAD SPOKEN OF MY DISTORTING THE INTERPRETATION OF ANNOUNCEMENT. IF I HAD DISTORTED IT IN ANY WAY THAT WAS WHAT I WANTED TO KNOW. I HAD ASKED HIM TO CONFIRM TO ME WHETHER HIS GOVERNMENT INTERPRETED ANNOUNCEMENT TO APPLY TO ALL CIVILIANS WHETHER OR NOT THEY WERE IN PRISON. THIS WAS VITAL MATTER BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS AND NOT ONE WHICH COULD BE DEALT WITH BY ASSISTANTS OR THIRD POWERS. OTHER THREE QUESTIONS I HAD ASKED HIM HAD ALSO BEEN RAISED BY UK CHARGE IN PEIPING AND HE HAD NOT RECEIVED ANY SATISFACTORY REPLIES TO THEM. CERTAINLY WANG COULD SIMPLY SAY YES, AMERICANS IN PRISON HAD BEEN GIVEN TEXT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT IN LANGUAGE WHICH THEY UNDERSTOOD. CERAINLY HE COULD SAY YES THOSE AMERICANS HAVE BEEN GIVEN FREEDOM COMMUNICATE WITH UK CHARGE. CERTAINLY HE COULD SAY YES UK CHARGE WOULD BE PERMITTED INTERVIEW THESE PERSONS WHO DESIRED RETURN IF MY GOVERNMENT WANTED FACTS IN THEIR CASES TO BE INVESTIGATED. I DID NOT SEE WHY WE SPENT SO MUCH TIME ON THIS MATTER EITHER BUT I DID NOT SEE WHY DIRECT REPLIES SHOULD BE AVOIDED. I NEVER SUGGESTED THAT ACTION HIS GOVERNMENT TOOK TO IMPLEMENT

ANNOUNCEMENT

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-3- 819, OCTOBER 5, 10 P.M. (SECTION 4 OF 6) FROM GENEVA

ANNOUNCEMENT SHOULD DISREGARD CHINESE LEGAL PROCESSES AND IT WAS ASSUMED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD TAKEN THIS INTO CONSIDERATION WHEN HE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. AGAIN I WISHED TO SAY I HAD MADE NO DEMANDS. I WAS MERELY ASKING HOW ANNOUNCEMENT WAS BEING IMPLEMENTED.

25. WANG SAID HE HAD ALREADY ANSWERED SOME OF QUESTIONS I HAD RAISED PREVIOUSLY AND THIS WAS NOT PLACE FOR DISCUSSING OTHER QUESTIONS. IF WE CONTINUED TO PUT FORWARD ALL QUESTIONS DEALT WITH IN OUR MEETINGS IN PAST HE WOULD HAVE TO SAY THESE QUESTIONS WERE BEING USED TO STALL PROGRESS OF MEETINGS. IF WE DISCUSS QUESTIONS WHICH SHOULD NOT BELONG WITHIN FIELD OF DISCUSSION IN THIS MEETING THEN THEIR DISCUSSION FOR EVEN ONE MINUTE WAS A WASTE OF TIME. HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY WE REPEAT WORK WHICH COULD BE DONE BY THE THIRD STATES AFTER WE HAD ENTRUSTED THESE THIRD STATES IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. IF WE HAD ANY REASONABLE SUGGESTIONS THESE COULD BE RAISED IN A MEETING OF ASSISTANTS INSTEAD OF CONTINUING DISCUSSION HERE AND THUS PREVENTING PROGRESS. NO NECESSITY DISCUSS THESE QUESTIONS AT THIS MEETING BECAUSE IF I FELT I HAD REASONABLE SUGGESTIONS TO MAKE WE MIGHT AS WELL ARARANGE SPECIAL MEETING OF ASSISTANTS TO CONSIDER ANY REASONABLE SUGGESTIONS.

GOWEN

WVC

1955 OCT 6 AM 6 58

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Control: 2374
Rec'd: OCTOBER 5, 1955
8:46 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 819, OCTOBER 5, 10 P.M. (SECTION 5 OF 6)

PRIORITY.

26. WANG SAID SINCE 15TH MEETING WE HAD HELD FOR SESSIONS AND DISCUSSION AGENDA ITEM TWO WAS STILL IN BEGINNING STAGE SO EASY SEE WHY HE WAS DISSATISFIED WITH PROGRESS OF TALKS. HE HOPED AT MEETING OF AMBASSADORS WHEN WE HAD LIMITED TIME AT OUR DISPOSAL WE WOULD NOT BRING UP OVER AND OVER AGAIN THOSE QUESTIONS WE HAD DEALT WITH IN PAST. IF WE WENT ON THIS WAY IT WOULD PREVENT DISCUSSION OF MAJOR ISSUES WE CAME HERE TO DISCUSS. POINTS I HAVE RAISED HAD BEEN DEALT WITH BY HIS SIDE MANY TIMES. REMAINING AMERICANS WHO HAD VIOLATED LAWS WERE ONLY HANDFUL AND THEY WOULD BE DEALT WITH IN LIGHT OF AGREEMENT REACHED, IN ACCORDANCE WITH CHINESE LEGAL PROCEDURES, AND CONSIDERING THE SERIOUSNESS OF THEIR CRIMES AND THEIR CONDUCT. INDIVIDUAL REVIEWS OF THEIR CASES WOULD BE MADE AND WHEN COMPLETED HIS SIDE WOULD INFORM UK WHICH WAS THIRD COUNTRY ENTRUSTED BY OUR SIDE. IT NOT NECESSARY FOR US TO DISCUSS AT THIS MEETING QUESTIONS OF THIS NATURE.

27. I ASKED IF IT WAS CORRECT THAT HIS GOVERNMENT DID CINSIDER TERMS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT APPLIED TO ALL AMERICAN CIVILIANS INCLUDING PRISONERS.

28. WANG SAID HE HAD ALREADY REPLIED TO HIS QUESTION AND HE COULD NOT MAKE ANY INTERPRETATION BEYOND HIS STATEMENT.

29. I SAID IT WAS VERY SIMPLE QUESTION BUT I HAD DIFFICULTY INTERPRETING HIS REPLY. ALL I HAD ASKED FOR WAS CLARIFICATON.

30. WANG ASKED IF I WAS NOT CLEAR ABOUT ANSWERS HE HAD GIVEN ME.

31. I SAID

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31. I SAID NO, I WAS NOT.

32. WANG READ AGAIN FROM PREPARED TEXT WHICH HE SAID WAS ONLY REPLY HE COULD GIVE BECAUSE IT WAS IN CONFORMITY WITH AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

33. I ASKED WHEHTER PHRASE "IN LIGHT OF AGREEMENT" COULD BE TRANSLATED AS "IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREEMENT." AT THAT POINT THERE WAS SOME DISCUSSION BETWEEN INTERPRETERS DURING WHICH IT APPEARED "IN LIGHT OF" SHOULD FROM BEGINNING HAVE BEEN TRANSLATED "IN ACCORDANCE WITH."

34. I SAID I HAD NO INTENTION OF BELABORING POINT BUT HE HAD SAID HE HAD ALSO ANSWERED MY OTHER QUESTIONS. IF HE HAD DONE SO IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS I MAY HAVE MISSED HIS ANSWERS. I ASKED IF HE FELT HE HAD ANSWERED MY OTHER QUESTIONS,

35. WANG REPLIED HE HAD ANSWERED SOME OF THEM.

36. I SAID I COULD NOT RECALL WHEN.

37. WANG SAID I MIGHT REFER TO RECORD OF MEETINGS.

38. I SAID I HAD DONE SO AND I COULD NOT FIND HIS ANSWERS. I HAD NO INTENTION OF BELABORING POINT, BUT I WANTED TO KNOW IF EACH AMERICAN HAD RECEIVED TEXT OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT IN ENGLISH.

39. WANG SAID THIS QUESTION HAD BEEN ANSWERED IN PAST.

40. WAS ANSWER "YES"?

41. HE SAID, "YES, OF COURSE." IT WAS PROVIDED THAT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BE GIVEN WIDE PUBLICITY.

42. I SAID MAY BE SOME DID NOT SEE ANNOUNCEMENT AND THERE WAS SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY ON PART HIS GOVERNMENT TO SEE THAT

THOSE IN

THOSE IN PRISON HAD BEEN GIVEN COPIES OF ANNOUNCEMENT. I SIMPLY WANTED TO KNOW IF THAT HAD BEEN DONE.

43. WANG SAID HE HAD TOLD ME THAT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT PROVIDED FOR WIDE PUBLICITY WHICH MEANT THAT EVERYONE SHOULD KNOW ABOUT IT. HE HAD TOLD ME HIS SIDE WAS FAITHFULLY CARRYING OUT AGREEMENT. THIS QUESTION WAS ONE OF THOSE WHICH AROSE OUT OF IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENT. DIDN'T I TRUST THEM TO FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENT AGREEMENT?

44. I SAID I WAS NOT RAISING QUESTION OF TRUST AND ACCEPTED HIS STATEMENT. I NATURALLY HAD A QUESTION BECAUSE SOME OF THOSE AMERICANS RELEASED FROM PRISON HAD NOT HEARD OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I MERELY WANTED HIM TO ASSURE ME THAT THE APPROPRIATE AUTHORITIES IN HIS COUNTRY HAD MADE SURE THE TEXT OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WAS GIVEN TO PRISONERS. I WAS WILLING ACCEPT HIS ASSURANCES THIS HAD BEEN DONE.

45. WANG SAID HIS SIDE WOULD IMPLEMENT FULLY ANYTHING REQUIRED OF THEM BY AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. HE DID NOT BELIEVE INFORMATION ON WHICH I HAD BASED MY STATEMENT WAS ACCURATE.

46. I REPLIED I HAD MERELY PASSED ON TO HIM INFORMATION WHICH THOSE WHO HAD BEEN RELEASED HAD GIVEN TO US. I HOPED HE WOULD ASSURE HIMSELF THAT OTHERS HAD BEEN INFORMED. I HOPED I COULD ACCEPT HIS STATEMENT REGARDING IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AS INDICATING PERSONS IN JAIL WOULD HAVE FREEDOM TO COMMUNICATE WITH UK CHARGE AND THAT HE WOULD BE PERMITTED TO INTERVIEW THEM. UK CHARGE HAD RECEIVED NO COMMUNICATION FROM ANY OF INDIVIDUALS CONCERNED ALTHOUGH ALMOST ONE MONTH HAD NOW PASSED SINCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ISSUED. THIS WAS DIFFICULT FOR US TO UNDERSTAND.

47. FOLLOWING LONG PAUSE WANG SAID HE HAD NOTHING TO SAY IN THIS REGARD. HE ASKED IF I HAD ANYTHING TO SAY ON POINTS HE HAD RAISED.

48. I ASKED

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48. I ASKED IFHE WERE UNABLE TO GIVE ME AN ANSWER TO THESE TWO QUESTIONS. I DID NOT WANT TO DISCUSS THEM AT LENGTH.

49. WANG SAID HE DID NOT CONSIDER IT NECESSARY TO ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS HERE. AS HE HAD SUGGESTED, THEY COULD BE HANDLED IN A MEETING OF ASSISTANTS OR THROUGH THIRD POWERS.

50. I SAID THESE QUESTIONS HAD ALREADY BEEN RAISED BY UK CHARGE AND NO REPLIES RECIEVED. I HOPED HE COULD ASSURE ME THAT REPLIES WOULD BE RECEIVED BY UK CHARGE PROMPTLY. IF HE RECEIVED REPLIES IT WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY RAISE QUESTIONS HERE.

51. WANG SAID HE HAD NOTHING TO SAY.

52. I SAID THIS WAS VERY DISAPPOINTING TO ME. REGARDING REMAINDER OF HIS STATEMENT I WISHED TO STUDY IT CAREFULLY BECAUSE IT WAS LONG AND I WOULD REPLY IN DETAIL AT NEXT MEDTING. I WOULD HOPE AT NEXT MEETING QUESTION IMPLEMENTATION WOULD BE SATISFACTORILY RESOLVED SO NOT NECESSARY TO SPEND TIME ON THAT.

GOWEN

WW

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10-7-55, 2:17 P.M.
CORRECTED PAGE 1 AND 2

3
Action
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Control: 2376
Rec'd: OCTOBER 5, 1955
8:59 P.M.

Info
RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

SS
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SP
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L

NO: 819, OCTOBER 5, 10 P.M., (SECTION 6 OF 6)

PRIORITY

53. I SAID I HAD MADE SUGGESTION LAST MEETING REGARDING SUBJECTS WE MIGHT DISCUSS AND ORDER IN WHICH WE MIGHT DISCUSS THEM. IT SEEMED ME IT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO ORDERLY PROGRESS OUR DISCUSSION IF WE HAD SOME UNDERSTANDING REGARDING ORDER WE WOULD DISCUSS QUESTIONS. REGARDING ITEM ON ACCOUNTING FOR US PERSONNEL I HAD IN MIND QUESTION OF MILITARY PERSONNEL STILL MISSING FROM KOREAN HOSTILITIES CONCERNING WHOM MY GOVERNMENT HAD REASON BELIEVE AUTHORITIES IN HIS COUNTRY MIGHT HAVE SOME INFORMATION. HOWEVER I CONSIDERED PROBLEM OF RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AS MOST IMPORTANT AND MOST FUNDAMENTAL SUBJECT WITH WHICH WE HAD TO DEAL. THEREFORE, I CONSIDERED WE SHOULD DISCUSS THAT FIRST AND WE WOULD BE PREPARED AT NEXT MEETING TO GO INTO THAT SUBJECT.

54. I SAID I WELCOMED HIS STATEMENT THAT HE SHARED MY HOPE WE COULD MAKE PROGRESS IN DEALING WITH SOME OF THESE PROBLEMS HERE. I BELIEVED WE COULD. IT SEEMED TO ME, ONLY AFTER WE SAW WHAT PROGRESS WE WERE ABLE TO MAKE HERE, THAT QUESTION OF WHAT WOULD HAPPEN AFTER THESE MEETINGS WOULD ARISE. I HAD GIVEN MY THOUGHTS REGARDING DISCUSSION OF MEETING AT HIGHER LEVEL AND WHAT HE HAD SAID IN THAT RAGARD DID NOT CHANGE MY VIEW PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED THAT THIS WAS PROCEDURAL MATTER. I HONESTLY DID NOT SEE HOW QUESTION OF WHERE OR IN WHAT FORUM WE DISCUSSED THESE ISSUES BETWEEN US WAS AN ISSUE IN ITSELF. THESE WERE TWO DIFFERENT MATTERS. FIRST WAS PRACTICAL QUESTIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. ENTIRELY APART FROM THESE WAS WHERE THEY SHOULD BE DISCUSSED AND BY WHOM. MY GOVERNMENT HAD AGREED TO OUR DISCUSSING THESE PRACTICAL QUESTIONS HERE. I COULD NOT SEE HOW PROPOSAL OF ANOTHER PLACE TO DISCUSS THESE QUESTIONS WAS IN ITSELF A PRACTICAL MATTER, AND

NOTHING HE

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NOTHING HE HAD SAID HAD SERVED TO CHANGE MY MIND ON THIS. I DESIRED TO MAKE A CAREFUL REPLY TO REST OF HIS STATEMENT AT NEXT MEETING.

55. WANG SAID BY ITEM "ACCOUNTING FOR PERSONNEL" HAD I IN MIND PERSONNEL IN KOREA CONFLICT?

56. I SAID AMERICAN PERSONNEL.

57. WANG SAID HE THOUGHT THERE WAS NO REASON FOR RAISING THIS QUESTION WHICH HAD ALREADY BECOME FAMOUS BECAUSE OF DISCUSSIONS REGARDING IT AT KAESONG AND PANMUNJOM. HE FELT IT REGRETTABLE THAT QUESTION OF KOREAN WAR WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN DISCUSSED WERE BEING PUT FORWARD AT THIS MEETING. IF THERE WAS TO BE ANY TALK ABOUT ACCOUNTING FOR PERSONNEL IT WAS FOR UNITED STATES TO ACCOUNT FOR PERSONNEL IT DETAINED IN KOREAN WAR. IF I WANTED TO RAISE THIS QUESTION HE WOULD ALSO RESERVE RIGHT RAISE SIMILAR QUESTION OF THIS NATURE.

58. WANG SAID HE COULD NOT ACCEPT OUR CONTENTION THAT DISCUSSION PREPARATIONS FOR HIGHER LEVEL MEETING WAS MERELY PROCEDURAL MATTER. HE HAD IN MIND THAT ISSUES OUTSTANDING IMPORTANCE BETWEEN CHINA AND US WOULD BE MORE PRACTICALLY DISCUSSED BETWEEN TWO GOVERNMENTS AT HIGHER LEVEL. THIS DID NOT MEAN THAT HIGHER LEVEL CONFERENCE WOULD REPLACE OUR TALKS, BUT SIMPLY THAT THERE WERE NUMBER OF QUESTIONS WHICH COULD BE MORE APPROPRIATELY DISCUSSED IN CERTAIN FORUMS AT CERTAIN PLACES. HE SAID AN ILLUSTRATION WAS FACT THAT BEFORE OUR TALKS STARTED HERE, CONTACTS WERE MADE BETWEEN OUR CONSULAR REPRESENTATIVES. THE AMERICAN SIDE HAD PROPOSED THESE CONTACTS BE RAISED TO AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL BECAUSE IT WAS FOUND THAT THERE WERE SOME QUESTIONS WHICH COULD NOT BE SETTLED BY CONSULAR REPRESENTATIVES AND WHICH COULD BE RESOLVED IN A CONFERENCE AT AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL. HIS SIDE CONSIDERED THERE WERE STILL OTHER QUESTIONS WHICH COULD BE MORE PRACTICALLY RESOLVED IN HIGHER LEVEL

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Action Assigned to ____
Action Taken ____
Date of Action ____
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Direction to DC/R ____

Action
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Control: 2376
Rec'd: OCTOBER 5, 1955
8:59 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 819, OCTOBER 5, 10 P.M., (SECTION 6 OF 6)

PRIORITY.

53. I SAID I HAD MADE SUGGESTION LAST MEETING REGARDING SUBJECTS WE MIGHT DISCUSS AND ORDER IN WHICH WE MIGHT DISCUSS THEM. IT SEEMED ME IT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO ORDERLY PROGRESS OUR DISCUSSION IF WE HAD SOME UNDERSTANDING REGARDING ORDER WE WOULD DISCUSS QUESTIONS. REGARDING ITEM ON ACCOUNTING FOR US PERSONNEL I HAD IN MIND QUESTION OF MILITARY PERSONNEL STILL MISSING FROM KOREAN HOSTILITIES CONCERNING OM MY# GOVERNMENT HAD REASON BELIEVE AUTHORITIES IN HIS COUNTRY MIGHT HAVE SOME INFORMATION. HOWEVER I CONSIDERED PROBLEM OF RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AS MOST IMPORTANT AND MOST FUNDAMENTAL SUBJECT WITH WHICH WE HAD TO DEAL. THEREFORE, I CONSIDERED WE SHOULD DISCUSS THAT FIRST AND WE WOULD BE PREPARED AT NEXT MEETING TO GO INTO THAT SUBJECT.

54. I SAID I WELCOMED HIS STATEMENT THAT HE SHARED MY HOPE WE COULD MAKE PROGRESS IN DEALING WITH SOME OF THESE PROLEMS HERE. I BELIEVED WE COULD. IT SEEMED TO ME, ONLY AFTER WE SAW WHAT PROGRESS WE WERE ABLE TO MAKE HERE, THAT QUESTION OF WHAT WOULD HAPPEN AFTER THESE MEETINGS WOULD ARISE. I HAD GIVEN MY THOUGHTS REGARDING DISCUSSION OF MEETING AT HIGHER LEVEL AND WHAT HE HAD SAID IN THAT REGARD DID NOT CHANGE MY VIEW PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED THAT THIS WAS PROCEDURAL MATTER. I HONESTLY DID NOT SEE HOW QUESTION OF WHERE OR IN WHAT FORUM WE DISCUSSED THESE ISSUES BETWEEN US WAS AN ISSUE IN ITSELF. THESE WERE TWO DIFFERENT MATTERS. FIRST WAS PRACTICAL QUESTIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. ENTIRELY APART FROM THESE WAS WHERE THEY SHOULD BE DISCUSSED AND BY WHOM. MY GOVERNMENT HAD AGREED TO OUR DISCUSSING THESE PRACTICAL QUESTIONS HERE. I COULD NOT SEE HOW PROPOSAL OF ANOTHER PLACE TO DISCUSS THESE QUESTIONS WAS IN ITESELF A PRACTICAL MATTER, AND NOTHING HE

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NOTHING HE HAD SAID HAD SERVED TO CHANGE MY MIND ON THIS. I DESIRED TO MAKE A CAREFUL REPLY TO REST OF HIS STATEMENT AT NEXT MEETING.

55. WANG SAID BY ITEM "ACCOUNTING FOR PERSONNEL" HAD IN MIND PERSONNEL IN KOREA CONFLICT?

56. WANG SAID HE THOUGHT THERE WAS NO REASON FOR RAISING THIS QUESTION WHICH HAD ALREADY BECOME FAMOUS BECAUSE OF DISCUSSIONS REGARDING IT AT KAESONG AND PANMUNJOM. HE FELT IT REGRETTABLE THAT QUESTION OF KOREAN WAR WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN DISCUSSED WERE BEING PUT FORWARD AT THIS MEETING. IF THERE WAS TO BE ANY TALK ABOUT ACCOUNTING FOR PERSONNEL IT WAS FOR UNITED STATES TO ACCOUNT FOR PERSONNEL IT DETAINED IN KOREAN WAR. IF I WANTED TO RAISE THIS QUESTION HE WOULD ALSO RESERVE RIGHT RAISE SIMILAR QUESTION OF THIS NATURE.

57. #

58. WANG SAID HE COULD NOT ACCEPT OUR CONTENTION THAT DISCUSSION PREPARATIONS FOR HIGHER LEVEL MEETING WAS MERELY PROCEDURAL MATER. HE HAD IN MIND THAT ISSUES OUTSTANDING IMPORTANCE BETWEEN CHINA AND US WOULD BE MORE PRACTICALLY DISCUSSED BETWEEN TWO GOVERNMTS AT HIGHER LEVEL. THIS DID NOT MEAN THAT HIGHER LEVEL CONFERENCE WOULD REPLACE OUR TALKS, BUT SIMPLY THAT THERE WERE NUMBER OF QUESTIONS WHICH COULD BE MORE APPROPRIATEY DISCUSSED IN CERTAIN FORUMS AT CERTAIN PLACES. HE SAID AN ILLUSTRATION WAS FACT THAT BEFORE OUR TALKS STARTED HERE, CONTACTS WERE MADE BETWEEN OUR CONSULAR REPRESENTATIVES. THE AMERICN SIDE HAD PROPOSED THESE CONTACTS BE RAISED TO AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL BECAUSE IT WAS FOUND THAT THERE WERE SOME QUESTIONS WHICH COULD NOT BE SETTLED BY CONSULAR REPRESENTATIVES AND WHICH COULD BE RESOLVED IN A CONFERENCE AT AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL. HIS SIDE CONSIDERED THERE WERE STILL OTHER QUESTIONS WHCH COULD BE MORE PRACTICALLY RESOLVED IN HIGHER LEVEL

CONFERENCE.

CONFERENCE. IF I HAD FULL AUTHORITY TO RELOVE IMPORTANT AND OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS ARISING IN TAIWAN AREA, THEN HE WAS READY DISCUSS THESE QUESTIONS WITH ME. AT NEXT MEETING WHEN I MADE MORE DETAILED REPLY HE WOULD COMMENT FURTHER.

59. I SAID I HAD NOTHING MORE.

60. WANG PROPOSED WE MEET AGAIN OCTOBER 8 AND I AGREED.

61. I SAID I WOULD LIKE TO ISSUE THE SAME PRESS STATEMENT WE HAD MADE AFTER LAST MEETING.

62. WANG SAID HE HAD INDICATED HE WOULD NOT AGREE TO ISSUE ANY MORE STATEMENTS SIMILAR TO ONE AFTER LAST MEETING. HE SUGGESTED A STATEMENT SAYING WE CONTINUED DISCUSSION ON SECOND ITEM OF AGENDA AND OMITTING ANY REFERENCE TO AGENDA ITEM ONE. HE ADDED THIS FORM WAS EXACTLY SIMILAR TO PRESS RELEASES DRING DISCUSS ON AGENDA ITEM ONE AND SUGGESTED WE MIGHT USE IT FOR ENTIRE PERIOD OF DISCUSSION AGENDA ITEM WO.

63. I SAID I DID NOT WANT TO GO BACK OVER OUR SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION, THIS RELEASE WAS NOT ENTIRELY FACTUAL BECAUSE WE HAD ALSO DISCUSSED IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

64. WANG SAID IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WAS SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION AND NOT MAIN ISSUE. FURTHERMORE IMPLEMENTATION WAS NOT LISTED ON AGENDA, THEREFORE, NO JUSTIFICATION FOR INCLUDING STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION ITEM ONE.

65. I SAID I DISAGREED BDCAUSE I CONSIDERED IMPLEMETATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AS MAJOR ITEM AND WHETHER OR NOT HE AGREED IN THIS POSITION, IT WAS ONE I HAD TAKEN AT MEETING. I WAS UNABLE AGREE WITH HIS SUGGESTION AND IF HE WAS UNABLE ACCEPT MINE MAY BE BEST FOLLOW HIS SUGGESTION LAST MEETING WE SAY NOTHING ABOUT SUBJECTS DISCUSSED.

66. HE

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-4- 819, OCTOBER 5, 10 P.M., FROM GENEVA (SECTION 6 OF 6)

66. HE AGREED TO RELEASE: "THE AMBASSADORS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA HELD THEIR 19TH MEETING TODAY. THE NEXT MEETING WILL BE HELD AT 10 AM SATURDAY, OCTOBER 8."

GOWEN

WW

NOTE: # AS RECEIVED. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW. BEING SERVICED FOR MISSING PARAGRAPH 57.

1955 OCT 6 AM 6 58
AFFAIRS

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 268

INDICATE COLLECT CHARGE

Department of State

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1955 OCT 6 PM 5 35

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 834

Origin

Info

FOR JOHNSON

Penultimate paragraph Department's 826.

611.93/10-655
XR 611.75a251
211.9311

Father McGuire of NCWC advises Belgian priest's report not based on recent contact with Walsh. Walsh's superior sent him telegram September 23 instructing him leave Red China and report travel plans soonest. Although no word yet from Walsh, McGuire assures us Walsh will comply these instructions.

Dulles
(Wrong)

DULLES

DC/R

611.93/10-655

CS/A

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611.93/10-655

Drafted by: FE:CA:JPNagoski:apt 10/6/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances

S/S-CR

OCT - 6 1955 P.M.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 269

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

02263 357

1955 OCT 6 PM 7 16

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 838

Origin

Info:

FOR JOHNSON

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION 611.93/10-555

Your 817. Guidance for 20th Meeting Oct. 8.

1. Omission of any reference at next meeting to serious Chinese Communist dereliction in implementation Agreed Announcement would result in failure to reflect our continuous concern at absence any evidence Chinese Communist good faith in last four weeks. It would be inappropriate to conceal our preoccupation with this all-important issue at any meeting while Chinese Communist compliance remains incomplete. We wish keep box score on detained Americans constantly before Wang until all released.

2. However, we recognize that repetitive debate on this question at next meeting might be counterproductive. You are authorized to confine your remarks on this subject to a short but emphatic recall of total Chinese Communism non-performance since September 10. Remind Wang that British Charge d'Affaire so far has been entirely unable to perform any functions envisaged for him under the Agreed Announcement; register our profound dissatisfaction and concern; state that there has been no announcement of release any Americans in last four weeks although QUOTE expeditious UNQUOTE release pledged; and end with observation that we shall continually scrutinize the record

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611.93/10-555

SECRET FILE

Drafted by: FE;CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 10/6/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances: L -Mr. Phleger (cleared in draft) FE - Mr. Sebald

11040

S/S-CR SECRET
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OCT 6 1955 P.M.

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SECRET
Classification

record of Chinese Communist performance or non-performance most closely.

3. After making this brief statement and without insisting on further discussion, you may then proceed with renunciation of force item. Presentation of statement approved. Material for your use in later discussions now being prepared.

4. It is not essential to fix a rigid order of all agenda items under Point Two at next meeting although this may serve as subject for discussion.

5. We have requested Foreign Office to instruct O'Neill to put your three unanswered questions to Chinese Communist Foreign Office through formal approach. Text of our memorandum to British being sent you separately.

6. Meetings only three or four days apart are too frequent. FYI Other demands on Secretary and senior officers Department are so heavy that Geneva developments cannot be appraised and new instructions approved at such short intervals. In future endeavor arrange minimum one week interval.

Dulles

" DULLES "

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Classification

270

Pleased to

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
OCT 11 1955
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

October 6, 1955

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 11/15

OFFICIAL -- INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 11

Dear Walter:

I have received both your letters No. 16 and No. 17 and found them very interesting and helpful. I know the time these take from your hectic day, but want you to know that from my standpoint it is well worth while.

I was sorry to miss writing you last week, but just could not make it and felt I had thoroughly covered the situation in my telegrams. At the last minute I decided to drive to Prague in the new Oldsmobile I had delivered to me here. Left at 5 a.m. and got to Prague at 9 p.m. clocking exactly 635 miles on the speedometer. I drove back on Monday the same way, but do not think I will repeat as it is pretty strenuous. However, I was very glad I went. Harold Vedeler has just arrived up there as Counselor and we had a good chance to talk things over. Also made a lot of calls including the Acting Foreign Minister, picked up much information, and made arrangements with the Czechs for Vedeler to start on the extensive economic negotiations which I had been hoping to carry out but which could not wait any longer. Also made arrangements for me to keep track of the negotiations here. There will come a time when I should probably go up there for about a week to help out. Found to my surprise the Czech press and radio are reporting my movements in considerable detail.

While I think of it, would you ask Newt to send to me here the FE and UN tear sheets from the Daily Summary that he has been sending to Prague. I will find them very useful here.

As I

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State.

SECRET

36

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Lot 72 D 415

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As I indicated in my telegram, I felt the renunciation of force statement to be a masterpiece and am anxious to use it. I was sorely tempted to do so at yesterday's meeting but as I got along all right without it decided to hold off in pursuance of the objective of stringing things out.

As I have also indicated I am still far from happy with the missing military personnel statement although it is an enormous improvement over the first draft you sent me. I hope that I did not ruffle too many feelings in my comments on it, but I wanted to make it absolutely clear that I had no doubt it was just the wrong way to go about things. Frankly, I do not see why we have to let Defense have such a big voice in exactly how I handle the matter here. It does not seem to me that is their business. They should give us the problem and the information and then it should primarily be our decision on how it is handled. It seems to me that too much attention is being paid to the public aspects of my presentation. After all the meetings are closed, there should not be any occasion to make the details of what I say on the subject public, and when publicity is given to the matter it can be handled in way we and Defense desire. It still does not seem to me that a sterile rehash of the Panmunjom approach is the way to go about the matter in this forum. I was, therefore, seeking for some new approach in a maximum effort to achieve some results rather than approaching the matter from the standpoint of building up a public record that looks good on paper to the "give them hell" school of thought. I am sorry, but I wanted to get this off my chest, and having said it will go ahead and do what I am told. It probably does not make too much difference as we are not likely to get anything in any event. Perhaps it might have the good effect of goading them into raising the subject of the 21,000 and this could furnish material for much discussion.

Incidentally, I fully share your concern over the detailed material I have available to support my position on the 450 and hope I am never forced into details.

There is another subject I have never raised in my telegrams on which I would appreciate some word in a telegram if you do not agree with my understanding. It has not yet arisen in our meetings but may well do so. Even accepting our present position on a list of subjects for discussion under item two, I do not interpret this as precluding the raising of other subjects by either side during the course of the talks. We, of course, do not in any way commit ourselves in advance to discuss any subject,

but it

but it seems to me that either side can raise any subject it might desire. We might change our mind about old subjects, or something entirely new might come up which it would be desired I raise here. In any event it seems to me consistent with our position that we not close the door to the raising of new subjects.

I believe that the suggestion with regard to giving some restrained publicity to the possibility of travel to the PRC when detained Americans are out to be excellent. You will recall that in my dinner conversations with Wang he showed considerable interest in this and believe that it is a very definite bait for them. I would think it well that anything that is said not be in too black and white terms; i.e., not to say that never will any passport be issued until all Americans are out, but rather somewhat blandly to assume that implementation of the Agreed Announcement will shortly be completed and then passports could in appropriate cases be validated.

Incidentally, I thought the Secretary's press conference statement on Tuesday was excellent and very helpful. Just as a small note I have got some ribbing from the correspondents here that after all my explanations of the difference between an "Agreed Announcement" and an "Agreement", the Secretary uses "Agreement" in his statement although I feel his usage was entirely unexceptional.

I am also sorry about all the confusion with the CAS man and Colm. He was a very nice fellow and I hope that CAS does not feel I was ungracious, as it certainly was kind of them to offer to help. As I told you, he stoutly said CAS had no desire to keep him here to gather background although I made it entirely clear to him that he was entirely welcome to do so and I would give him full cooperation.

I do appreciate your successful efforts to get my instructions to me at least the day before the meeting although I know the problem this represents at times. For a time I was receiving them on the morning of the meeting and this makes things pretty tight for me. One of the difficulties with this is the danger that because of decoding difficulties I would miss something. One morning I had to go to a meeting with the knowledge that there was a NIACT for me which they had not yet been able to unscramble as it required servicing by the Department. Fortunately,

it did

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it did not turn out to be anything of great importance for that particular meeting but it gave me a very uneasy feeling for the time being.

I am very glad that you have established direct contact with the UK Embassy in Washington so as to keep them fully informed on matters of direct concern to them. It seems to me very important that O'Neill and I know very promptly and fully what the other is doing. Give Hubert Graves my very best. It is a comfort to know that he is back.

I think I have rather fully covered the major questions in my telegrams and will not repeat them here. I hope shortly to receive the Department's study on renunciation of force. The prepared statement gives me an excellent opening but am anxious to have the full background of our thinking.

If and when we ever get around to "embargo", I wonder whether a simple explanation of the rationale behind our trade controls is going to be the best approach. It seems to me we have a choice between a presentation that assumes they are never in our minds going to qualify for any relaxation, or that there are certain standards which if they met we would consider relaxation. We have also got to be clear as to when we are talking about our total embargo, the CHINCOM level and the Soviet level.

As you know I never did feel that we were going to obtain any quick or mass release of the remaining Americans, and still feel it is going to be a long slow process. If there were no compulsion to keep the talks going, there would be many things we could do which might or might not be successful. However, I do not see how I can go much farther than I have and still keep them going. There is no doubt their asking price for the release of all of the remainder is something on the embargo, but most important of all the Foreign Ministers' meeting. It is a dirty business on their part, but that is the way they are playing the game. How much less they would settle for remains to be seen. If we are going to keep the talks going, I do not see much choice but to keep postponing as long as possible any final conclusion on their part they are going to get nothing out of them. I think Americans will begin shortly to trickle out but doubt that we are going to get them all any time soon. Perhaps the Secretary can use Molotov during the Foreign Ministers' Conference here quietly to bring some pressure on them. However, the

difficulty

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difficulty is what we are able impliedly to promise or threaten. I do not see we have much ammunition in the way of threats, neither do I see we are able to say much in the way of implied promises. The only real weapon we have is using the pressure of foreign opinion on their performance under the Agreed Announcement and I think the time is approaching that we should do so. I do not think public opinion is too much of a factor. I think we might consider rather fully briefing our Ambassadors in such countries as India, Indonesia, Burma, Moscow, etc. so that they could at suitable opportunities point out to the government leaders there how the CHICOMS are failing to live up to their pledged word and this would filter back to Peiping.

I wonder how we will organize things when the Secretary is here for the Foreign Ministers' Conference. It will be important that things not operate so as to tend to cut you and Walter out, and hope that you will discuss it with the Secretary before he leaves.

Your praise of my handling of things is most generous and heartening, but I hope you will be equally frank in passing on any criticisms that you feel should be considered. I know that there are many opinions on how to handle something like this and it is only by my sifting out as many of them as possible that I can reach what I hope are sound conclusions.

All the best.

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

P.S. I would appreciate your continuing to pass on anything you pick up on what is happening with respect to the Indian arrangement. I suppose they will get a certain number of approaches from persons hoping to get a free ride home.

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TELEGRAM 271

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[ ] CHARGE TO

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02082 360

1955 OCT 7 PM 1 24

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA XXXXXXXXXX 841

FOR JOHNSON 9-3055

Deptel 809. 9.4-DPF

Telegraph Clough's departure date. In absence special considerations not known to Department, request he endeavor depart immediately after reports completed October 8 meeting.

Origin

Info:

611.93/10-755

DC/R Central Files

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Drafted by: WPMcC
FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:ch 10/7/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: WPMcC
Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

FE/EX - Mr. Cheella

FE - Mr. Sebald

S/S-CR
OCT - 7 1955 P.M.

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272

Department of State

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02824
1955 OCT 7 PM 6 48
DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 847

Origin — FOR JOHNSON

Info:

Chicom attention to Geneva talks and Taiwan issue during past week slightly increased over previous week, but still relatively small in proportion total propaganda output. General tone Peiping propaganda continues to be rather hostile to US. US accused of delaying talks and having "negative attitude" at Geneva. US also again accused of causing tension in Taiwan area. However, Peiping reiterates need for "peaceful international environment," and willingness hold direct talks on Taiwan issue with US.

Main commentary on Geneva talks given by Observer, PEOPLE'S DAILY, October 3, alleged US does "not want fast progress in discussions." Concerning Americans still held on mainland, observer stated that "all cases of Americans who have committed crimes in China must be dealt with individually according to Chinese legal procedures." This asserted to be "inviolable sovereign right" of China. Peiping will inform US through UK as to "results of investigations." Turning to question of Chinese nationals in US, observer commented there were still many in US who did not dare apply for return China due to "long years of intimidation and persecution." US willingness permit return would be test of US "sincerity."

Major commentaries

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DS/R
Anal 57
Rev

Drafted by: OIR/DRF/C: HWJackson 10/7/55
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: OIR:DRF:Joseph A. Yager
Clearances:

CA IAD

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Major commentaries on Taiwan issue given in speeches celebrating National Day October 1. Order of Day from Min of Defense P'eng Te-huai ordered troops "be prepared for combat duty at all times," and stressed need for continued vigilance against "traitorous Chiang clique on Taiwan ... plotting to stage a counterrevolutionary return" to mainland; Emphasized progress made in strengthening armed forces; Stated that China needed "peaceful international environment for long period," in order build socialism; Outlined basic aims of Chicom foreign policy as establishment normal relations all countries, easing of tensions, attainment peaceful coexistence; Reaffirmed Chicom willingness strengthen Geneva spirit and hold direct talks US on Taiwan issue . and reiterated Peiping's determination liberate Taiwan.

Chou En-lai speech Sept. 29 at National Day celebration banquet noted growing world demand for relaxation tension and peaceful coexistence and stated Chinese people need peaceful environment to build their nation. Chi Ambassador Moscow Liu Hsiao in PRAVDA article October 1 stated Peiping "consistently defends need to solve all international questions by peaceful means."

Article by Louis Saillant, WFTU Secty Gen, appearing Peiping DAILY WORKER Oct. 3, stressed importance Summit conference as landmark in easing tensions, and as factor causing "retreat" of those advocating positions of strength. But added that many unsettled problems remain, including Taiwan, Korea, and Indochina, and this no time for complacent optimism.

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1955 OCT 7 PM 8 34

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611.93/10-555

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 852

FOR JOHNSON 111.93/10-555

Origin

Info:

Your 819, para 13 cites 19 still in jail. Your despatch No. 1 of August 3 lists 25 in jail. Seven of these since released, making balance still in jail 18. Comment.

DULLES

Dulles

(CIH)

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55

Drafted by: FE:CA:JPNagoski/eh 10/7/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Charles L. Hodge

Charles L. Hodge

Clearances:

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OCT 7 1955 P.M.

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(274)

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19-L
Action
FE

Info
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Control: 3922
Rec'd: OCTOBER 8, 1955
8:02 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 833, OCTOBER 8, MIDNIGHT.

Date of Action
Action Officer Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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NIACT

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FROM JOHNSON

1. THIS MORNING'S MEETING ONE HOUR TWENTY MINUTES. I LED OFF WITH RELATIVELY BRIEF BUT POINTED STATEMENT ON DISSATISFACTION WITH IMPLEMENTATION, THEN MADE STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE GIVING WANG A COPY.

2. WANG THEN MADE VERY LONG PREPARED STATEMENT REPLYING MY CHARGES AT LAST MEETING ON IMPLEMENTATION, SAYING NOTHING NEW AND REHASHING OLD STATEMENTS ON ITEM TWO. ALLEGED I HAD VIOLATED SECRECY OF TALKS BY INFORMING PRESS I HAD RAISED SUBJECT MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL.

3. IN REPLY MY BRIEF REFUTTAL POINTING OUT BEST MY KNOWLEDGE UK CHARGE HAD NO ANSWERS QUESTIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION, REPLIED SO FAR AS HE KNEW NO "FORMAL" APPRACH FROM UK CHARGE.

4. HE MADE BRIEF AD LIB REPLY OUR RENUNCIATION OF FORCE STATEMENT USING SAME ARGUMENTS AS PREVIOS MEETINGS.

5. I REPLIED BRIEFLY EMPHASIZING IMPORTANCE AND CAREFULLY CONSIDERED CHARACTER OUR STATEMENT, MADE NO CHARGES AGAINST PRC, DID NOT PROPOSE HIS GOVERNMENT SAY ANYTHING MY GOVERNMENT NOT PREPARED TO SAY, WAS MADE IN MOST EAREST DESIRE CONTRIBUTE PROGRESS THESE TALKS, AND WAS PUT FORWARD AS EARNEST, CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT DEAL WITH PROBLEMS HE AND I CALLED UPON DEAL WITH HERE. ASKED FOR CAREFUL STUDY AND CONSIDERED REPLY BY HIS GOVERNMENT.

7. HE ASKED

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6. HE ASKED I BE PREPARED NEXT MEETING DISCUSS EMBARGO. I POINTED OUT MY STATEMENT TODAY DEALT WITH TIMING DISCUSSION THIS SUBJECT. IN REPLY HE AGAIN REJECTED ANY CONCEPT OF FIXED ORDER OF DISCUSSION. I POINTED OUT TODAY'S STATEMENT DEALT WITH MATTER FROM IMPORTANT SUBSTANTIVE ASPECT RATHER THAN PROCEDURAL.

7. WITH RESPECT ALLEGATION ON LEAKS TO PRESS REPLIED BOTH HE AND I KNEW REPORTS WERE NOT ACCURATE, THERFORE CLEARLY DID NOT ORIGINATE WITH ME BUT WERE PROBABLY ASSUMPTIONS BASED ON EARLIER PUBLIC STATEMENTS MADE IN US EVEN BEFORE BEGINNING THESE TALKS. HE DID NOT PURSUE SUBJECT.

8. NEXT MEETING FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14.

GOWEN

HER

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OCT 31

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Control: 4038
Rec'd: October 8, 1955
12:53 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 835, October 8, 5 p.m.

FROM JOHNSON

DEPTEL 852.

Communists list 19 Americans "who have committed crimes". All in jail except Mrs. Bradshaw who apparently removed from jail due deterioration her health, but still held under some sort bond or guarantee arrangement and is therefore under restraint. Wang has never corrected me on use this figure and has in fact used it himself. (My telegram 795, paragraph 20). Her situation with respect to departure is therefore exactly same as 18 others; that is, she cannot depart until favorable review of her "criminal" case. I cannot of course accept Wang's terminology and my use of "Americans in jail" is I believe reasonably accurate and also seems acceptable to him.

For purposes of any public statement it would be best speak of 18 in jail and one accused of crime and under house arrest.

GOWEN

TT/3

Note: Copy to Mr. Carwell (FE:DO) 2:50 p.m., 10/7/CWO-JRL

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INCOMING TELEGRAM (276) Department of State ACTION COPY (366)

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19-L
Action
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Info
RMR
SS
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Control: 4937
Rec'd: OCTOBER 8, 1955
12:55 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 836, OCTOBER 8, 5 P.M.

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. TODAY'S MEETING HELD NO SURPRISES EXCEPT AT AMOUNT OF TIME WANG DEVOTED TO ANSWERING MY CHARGES ON IMPLEMENTATION. CONTRARY TO MY EXPECTATION HE WAS PREPARED FOR VIOLENT DEBATE WITH ME ON THIS. HOWEVER I BELIEVE OUR TACTICS WORKED OUT WELL. THEY THREW HIM OFF BALANCE AND AT THE SAME TIME PERMITTED US MAKE OUR POINT WITHOUT BECOMING INVOLVED IN POSSIBLY COUNTERPRODUCTIVE DISCUSSION.

2. SHOULD HAVE NOTED IN MYTEL 833 THAT DURING COURSE OF COMPLAINTS OUR IMPLEMENTATION TO EFFECT WE HAVE NOT GIVEN HIM NAMES OF CHINESE DEPARTING FROM US FOR FAR EAST HE STATED THEY WERE GOING TO ASK INDIANS INVESTIGATE MATTER. PRESUMPTION WAS WERE GOING REQUEST INDIANS OBTAIN FROM US NAMES OF CHINESE DEPARTING FOR FAR EAST "SO THAT THEY COULD CHECK." I DID NOT PICK UP THIS OBVIOUS EFFORT ENLARGE INDIAN FUNCTIONS BEYOND SCOPE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AS I THOUGHT IT PREFERABLE TO SEE WHETHER GOI ATTEMPTS TO ACT ON REQUEST. IF GOI ACTS BELIEVE WE SHOULD BE PREPARED IMMEDIATELY AND CATEGORICALLY POINT OUT TO GOI REQUEST FOR SUCH INFO BEYOND AGREED SCOPE GOI FUNCTIONS. IF FEASIBLE WOULD BELIEVE IT PREFEREABLE INFORMALLY INTIMATE THIS TO GOI BEFORE ANY REQUEST RECEIVED AND ATTEMPT ENCOURAGE GOI TURN DOWN REQUEST ON OWN RESPONSIBILITY

3. AS FAR AS NEXT MEETING IS CONCERNED BELIEVE MY TACTIC MUST BE TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE KEEP ISSUE FOCUSED ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AS FIRST AND ESSENTIAL QUESTION. IF HIS REPLY TO MY STATEMENT TODAY SHOWS ANY FLICKER OF

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CONSTRUCTIVE RESPONSE I WOULD ENDEAVOR PIN DOWN AND CLARIFY BY QUESTIONS BUT AVOID ANY SUBSTANTIVE REPLY. IF HE REPEATS OLD LINE ON TAIWAN I WOULD PROPOSE POINT TO TODAY'S STATEMENT THAT RENUNCIATION OF FORCE ESSENTIAL FOUNDATION AND PRELIMINARY TO SUCCESS DISCUSSION THIS OR ANY OTHER HIS MATTERS UNDER ITEM TWO.

4. HANDLING OF IMPLEMENTATION WILL DEPEND ON WHAT IF ANYTHING HAS DEVELOPED IN PEIPING BY TIME NEXT MEETING.

5. I DO NOT FOR TIME BEING PROPOSE USE STATEMENT ON MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL BUT WILL BE ALERT IMMEDIATELY DO SO IF IT APPEARS COULD NOT SAFELY BE FURTHER POSTPONED.

GOWEN

MEB

Note: Copy to Mr. Carwell (FE:DO) 2:50 p.m., 10/7/CWO-JRL

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Control: 4064
Rec'd: OCTOBER 8, 1955
2:12 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 837, OCTOBER 8, 7 P.M. (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. I OPENED 20TH MEETING TODAY WITH A PREPARED STATEMENT SAYING I WAS ANXIOUS FOR OUR DISCUSSIONS TO MOVE AHEAD. I REGRETTED AS MUCH AS HE DID THAT AT EVERY MEETING I HAD TO DEVOTE TIME TO DISCUSSION OF IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I HAD TO REMIND HIM AGAIN THAT IT WAS ONLY HIS GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO ACT PROMPTLY TO IMPLEMENT AGREED ANNOUCEMENT WHICH MADE THIS NECESSARY.

2. IN FOUR WEEKS SINCE SEPTEMBER 10 HIS GOVERNMENT HAD FAILED TO RELEASE SINGLE ONE OF 19 AMERICANS WHOSE CASES, HE ASSURED ME, WERE TO BE "EXPEDITIOUSLY" REVIEWED. UNITED KINGDON CHARGE HAD SO FAR BEEN ENTIRELY UNABLE PERFORM ANY OF FUNCTIONS ENVISAGED FOR HIM IN AGREED ANNOUCEMENT. NEITHER HAD WANG BEEN WILLING TO ASSURE ME HERE WHETHER CHARGE WOULD IN FACT BE ENABLED BY WANG'S GOVERNMENT PERFORM THESE FUNCTIONS.

3. I SAID MY GOVERNMENT WAS PROFOUNDLY DISSATISFIED WITH HIS GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. WE COULD NOT BUT CONCLUDE THAT ANNOUCNEMENT HAD THUS FAR BEEN MEANINGLESS WITH RESPECT TO THESE 19 AMERICANS. IT WAS VERY DISAPPOINTING THAT FOUR WEEKKS HAD PASSED WITHOUT ANY IMPROVEMENT WHATSOEVER IN THIS UNSATISFACTORY SITUATION. I WANTED ASSURE HIM THAT MY GOVERNMENT WOULD CONTINUE TO BE CONCERNED SO LONG AS AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY WERE NOT ALLOWED EXPEDITIOUSLY TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN, AS PROVIDED IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, AND WOULD SCRUTINIZE MOST CLOSELY HIS GOVERNMENT'S PERFORMANCE THIS REGARD.

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4. I HAD BROUGHT UP THIS MATTER OF IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BEFORE ANY OTHER SUBJECT THIS MORNING AGAIN TO INDICATE HOW IMPORTANT IT WAS FOR PROGRESS OF OUR TALKS HERE. I WANTED HIM TO KNOW THAT THESE QUESTIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION MUST CONTINUE TO BE UPPERMOST IN MY MIND AND THAT I COULD NOT DEVOTE MY FULL ATTENTION TO OTHER MATTERS BEFORE US SO LONG AS AMERICANS WERE DENIED THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN.

5. I POINTED OUT THAT AT OUR LAST MEETING WANG HAD MADE SOME REMARKS WITH RESPECT TO MY PROPOSAL THAT UNDER OUR SECOND AGENDA ITEM WE FIRST DISCUSS QUESTION OF RENUNCIATION OF FORCE FOR ACHIEVEMENT OF NATIONAL OBJECTIVES. SAID FROM HIS REMARKS I BELIEVED HE MIGHT NOT HAVE HAD CLEAR IDEA OF WHAT I HAD IN MIND THIS REGARD. IN ACCORDANCE WITH WHAT I HAD TOLD HIM AT LAST MEETING, I WAS PREPARED TODAY TO AMPLIFY AND MORE FULLY EXPLAIN THIS PROPOSAL.

6. I THEN READ FULL TEXT STATEMENT RENUNCIATION OF FORCE (DEPTELS 789 AND 805) AND HANDED WANG COPY.

7. WANG THEN READ FROM LONG PREPARED STATEMENT. HE SAID I HAD ALLEGED HIS GOVERNMENT HAD NOT ACTED PROMPTLY ON IMPLEMENTATION AGREEMENT AND THUS DELAYED OUR TALKS. HE COULD NOT ACCEPT THIS ALLEGATION. ALREADY FIVE MEETINGS HAD BEEN HELD SINCE AGREEMENT REACHED ON RETURN OF CIVILIANS OF BOTH SIDES. AT FIRST MEETING FOLLOWING AGREEMENT HIS SIDE INTRODUCED TWO SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION IN ACORDANCE WITH AGREED AGENDA AND OUR SIDE HAD COMPLAINED THAT IT WAS PREMATURE DISCUSS THESE BEOFORE CARRYING OUT OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. AT TWO SUCCEEDING MEETINGS I HAD NOT ONLY FAILED PRESENT POSITIVE VIEWS REGARDING HIS SUGGESTIONS BUT ALSO FAILED PUT FORWARD SUBJECTS I THOUGHT SHOULD BE DISCUSSED. I HAD NOT PUT FORWARD MY SUBJECTS UNTIL SEPTEMBER 28 BUT EVEN THEN I HAD NOT GIVEN EXPLANATION OF THEM. AT MEETING OCTOBER 5 I HAD REFUSED ENTER INTO SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION ON SUBJECTS PUT FORWARD.

8. HE SAID OUR SIDE HAD IN THESE FIVE MEETINGS ALSO REPEATEDLY RAISED QUESTIONS WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN RAISED BY

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THIRD POWERS AND THUS HAD PREVENTED TALKS FROM MAKING FURTHER PROGRESS. THIS I HAD DONE IN SPITE OF SPECIFIC PROVISIONS REGARDING FUNCTIONS THIRD POWERS IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND IN SPITE FACT US HAD ASKED UK TO ASSIST IN RETURN OF AMERICANS IN CHINA TO WHICH HIS SIDE HAD AGREED. NEVERTHELESS, IN INTEREST FORESTALLING FURTHER HINDRANCES, HIS SIDE HAD SUGGESTED OUR QUESTIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION AGREEMENT MIGHT BE TAKEN UP BY ASSISTANTS. HOWEVER, I HAD ALSO TURNED DOWN THIS REASONABLE SUGGESTION. NOW IT WAS VERY CLEAR AND PERMITTED OF NO DISTORTION WHERE RESPONSABLITY FOR DELAY OF TALKS LAY.

9. HE SAID THAT ALL ALLEGATIONS HIS GOVERNMENT HAD NOT ACTED PROMPTLY ON IMPLEMENTATION AGREEMENT WERE WITHOUT FACTUAL BASIS. UPON REACHING AGREEMENT HE HAD INFORMED ME OF RESULTS REVIEWS CASES AMERICANS WHO HAD VIOLATED LAWS. CHINESE GOVERNMENT TOOK APPROPRIATE MEASURES IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREEMENT AND IN LINE WITH CHINESE LEGAL PROCEDURES AND HAD ADVANCED RELEASE OF 10 AMERICANS WHO HAD SINCE LEFT COUNTRY. WITH RESPECT REMAINING AMERICANS WHO HAD VIOLATED LAWS IN CHINA HIS SIDE WOULD ADHERE PROMISE REVIEW INDIVIDUAL CASES IN ACCORDANCE CHINESE LEGAL PROCEDURE AND REPORT RESULTS TO US THROUGH UK. BUT CASES THESE AMERICANS MUST BE DEALT WITH IN ACCORDANCE CHINESE LEGAL PROCEDURE. ANY DEMAND RELEASE THEM WITHIN SPECIFIED PERIOD TIME OR UNDER SOME OTHER CLOAK WOULD BE CATEGORICALLY REJECTED BY HIS SIDE AND THEY WOULD STEADFASTLY REFUSE COMPLY IN ANY WAY WITH SUCH DEMANDS WHICH VIOLATED AGREEMENT.

10. HE SAID, DURING PERIOD FROM BEGINNING OF CONSULAR TALKS TO ISSUANCE AGREEMENT, HIS SIDE HAD GIVEN CONCRETE INFORMATION ON DEPARTURE 27 AMERICANS WHO HAD RETURNED TO US. FURTHERMORE, SINCE AMBASSADORIAL TALKS BEGAN HE HAD GIVEN ME INFORMATION ON 33 AMERICANS WHO "SHOULD OR MAY" LEAVE CHINA, AND BULK THESE HAD ALREADY LEFT. THESE FACTS PROVED HIS SIDE WOULD MAKE GOOD WHATEVER THEY SAID. AS FOR AMERICANS WHO HAD NOT YET DEPARTED, IT WAS LEFT TO THEIR OWN DISCRETION WHEN THEY WOULD DEPART. IF I HAD ANY FURTHER QUESTIONS, I COULD COMMUNICATE THEM TO UK CHARGE. AT OUTSET THESE TALKS HIS SIDE HAD MADE AVAILABLE TO ME LIST OF ALL AMERICANS IN CHINA, BUT I HAD FAILED MAKE AVAILABLE TO HIM INFORMATION CONCERNING ALL CHINESE IN US.

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11. WANG SAID DURING CONTACTS PAST YEAR AND IN PRESENT TALKS MY SIDE HAD GIVEN HIM NAMES 103 CHINESE WHO HAD APPLIED LEAVE UNITED STATES BUT WERE PREVENTED FROM DOING SO BY US GOVERNMENT. HOWVER, UP TO PRESENT 47 OF THESE HAD NOT LEFT UNITED STATES AND THIS SHOWED MY SIDE HAD FAILED IMPLEMENT AGREEMENT. I HAD SAID 402 CHINESE LEFT BETWEEN JULY 11 AND OCTOBER 3, BUT I HAD FAILED PROVIDE NAMES SO THEY HAD NO MEANS CHECK UP ON THESE PERSONS. HIS SIDE WAS GOING TO REQUEST GOI AS THIRD POWER ENTRUSTED UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO MAKE INVESTIGATION THIS REGARD.

12. WANG SAID INSPITE HIS DISSATISFACTION ON RETURN CHINESE HE HAD NOT OBSTRUCTED PROGRESS OF TALKS FOR THAT REASON. ON OTHER HAND, I CONTINUED ENTANGLE TALKS WITH QUESTION IMPLEMENTATION AND HE BOUND TO ASK IF MY SIDE WAS UNWILLING DISCUSS SECOND ITEM AGENDA.

GOWEN

GEM

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CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 4074
Rec'd: OCTOBER 8, 1955
2:27 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 837, OCTOBER 8, 7 P.M. (SECTION TWO OF TWO)

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

13. REGARDING HIS TWO SUBJECTS WANG SAID MY SIDE HAD NOT EXPRESSED SPECIFIC OPINION ON QUESTION OF EMBARGO. AMERICAN POLICY OF EMBARGO HAD BEEN MAJOR FACTOR IN LEADING TO TENSION BETWEEN CHINA AND US AND IN PREVENTING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRADE OF MANY COUNTRIES. HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY I NOT ABLE EXPRESS OPINION ON THIS QUESTION.

14. WANG ASKED HOW I COULD CONSIDER HIS SUBJECT OF PREPARATIONS FOR HIGHER LEVEL NEGOTIATIONS WAS ANYTHING BUT PRACTICAL MATTER. IT WAS CERTAINLY PRACTICAL MATTER WHICH SHOULD BE SETTLED. ARRANGING PRACTICAL AND PHYSICAL CHANNEL FOR SETTLEMENT AND EASING OF TENSION BETWEEN CHINA AND US IN TAIWAN AREA WAS CERTAINLY PRACTICAL MATTER. I HAD SAID ONLY AFTER WE HAD SEEN WHAT PROGRESS WE COULD MAKE HERE COULD WE THEN TALK ABOUT WHAT TO DO NEXT. DID I MEAN TO IMPOSE A PREREQUISITE ON HOLDING OF HIGHER LEVEL NEGOTIATIONS?

15. HE SAID THAT ON QUESTION MISSING US MILITARY PERSONNEL HE HAD REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT HIS SIDE HAD ACCOUNTED FOR ALL AMERICANS IN CHINA INCLUDING MILITARY PERSONNEL MY SIDE. NO JUSTIFICAION WHATSOEVER AND FABRICATION WITHOUT BASIS FOR ME TO DEMAND HIS SIDE ACCOUNT FOR US MILITARY PERSONNEL MISSING IN KOREA. I MUST BE AWARE REPLY THIS QUESTION ALREADY GIVEN IN APPROPRIATE ORGAN IN KOREA.

16. WANG SAID HE BOUND POINT OUT AFTER LAST MEETING I HAD VIOLATED AGREEMENT ON PRIVACY THESE TALKS BY DISCUSSING WITH

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NEWSPAPER MEN WHAT OUR SIDE HAD INTRODUCED AS FIRST ITEM OF AGENDA, NAMELY MISSING PERSONNEL. THIS ACTION WOULD COMPEL HIM CONSIDER MAKING PUBLIC STATEMENT ON THIS QUESTION.

17. WANG THEN COMMENTED EXTEMPORANEOUSLY ON MY STATEMENT REGARDING RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. HE SAID HE HAD GIVEN SPECIFIC OPINION ON THIS QUESTION WHEN HEPUT FORWARD HIS TWO SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION AND AGAIN IN SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS. SINCE FOUNDATION HIS GOVERNMENT ITS FOREIGN POLICY HAD ALWAYS BEEN PEACEFUL POLICY. IT WAS WELL KNOWN HIS GOVERNMENT TOGETHER WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS HAD INITIATED FIVE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. THEYWERE RESOLTUELY OPPOSED SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BY FORCE AND ALWAYS UPHELD PRINCIPLE PEACEFUL NEGOTIATION FOR SETTLEMENT INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES. IN SAME MANNER THEY UPHELD PRINCIPLE OF NEGOTIATION FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BETWEEN CHINA AND UNITED STATES. COOPERATION BETWEEN THESE TWO COUNTRIES WOULD NOT ONLY BENEFIT PEOPLES OF TWO COUNTRIES BUT ALSO SERVE CAUSE WORLD PEACE. CHINESE PEOPLE WERE FRIENDLY TO AMERICANS AND THEY DID NOT WANT WAR WITH AMERPCAN PEOPLE.

18. HE SAID IF RENUNCIATION OF FORCE WAS TO BE SUBJECT DISCUSSION IT WAS CLEARLY KNOWN CHINESE NEVER APPLIED ANY FORCE TO AMERICAN TERRITORY. CHINA HAD NEVER SENT ARMED FORCES TO HONOLULU OR SAN FRANCISCO. ON CONTRARY AMERICANS HAD SENT ARMED FORCES TO TAIWAN WHICH WAS CHINESE TERRITORY.

I HAD SAID US AS MEMBER OF UN ADHERED TO PRINCIPLES OF CHARTER AND I HAD ALSO LISTED A NUMBER OF OTHER INTERNATIONAL TREATIES. CHINA HAD ALWAYS FULLY SUPPORTED PRINCIPLES OF UN CHARTER DESPITE FACT CHINA STILL OBSTRUCTED FROM BEING RESTORED TO HER RIGHTFUL PLACE IN UN. HOWEVER, THERE WAS NO PROVISION IN CHARTER OF UN OR IN INTERNATIONAL LAW FOR ONE STATE TO INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES OR TO USE FORCE TO OCCUPY TERRITORY OF OTHER STAES.

19. HE SAID THERE WAS A DISTINCTION BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES AND CIVIL CONFLICTS. TAIWAN WAS CHINESE TERRITORY AND LIBERATION OF TAIWAN WAS AN EXERCISE OF SOVEREIGN AND TERRITORIAL RIGHTS. ALL ACTIONS WHICH INVOLVED FORCEFUL OCCUPATION OF TAIWAN AND USED FORCE TO INTERFERE WITH LIBERATION

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OF TAIWAN BY CHINESE PEOPLE VIOLATED PRINCIPLES OF UN AND INTERNATIONAL LAW. CHINESE PEOPLE WOULD CONTINUE OPPOSE ANY SUCH ACTION. HE CONCLUDED SAYING HE WOULD COMMENT ON REMAINDER MY STATEMENT LATER.

20. I SAID WITH RESPECT TO IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT I HAD TODAY AGAIN SET FORTH MY GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS AND WOULD NOT TAKE TIME TO REPEAT THEM. I SIMPLY WANTED TO SAY THAT MATTER COULD HAVE BEEN DISPOSED OF IN FEW MINUTES IF I COULD HAVE RECIEVED ANSWERS TO FEW SIMPLE QUESTIONS I HAD ASKED. TO BEST MY KNOWLEDGE UK CHARGE IN PEKING HAD ALSO RECEIVED NO ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS.

21. I SAID HE HAD ASKED WHETHER OR NOT I WAS WILLING TO DISCUSS SUBJECTS UNDER AGENDA ITEM TWO. THE ANSWER WAS CERTAINLY YES. I HAD GIVEN HIM AT SOME LENGTH AND SEVERAL TIMES MY OPINION ON ONE OF HIS SUBJECTS. I HAD INDICATED MY WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS HIS OTHER POINT AS WELL. THIS MORNING I HAD GIVEN HIM A VERY CAREFULLY PREPARED AND VERY CAREFULLY CONSIDERED STATEMENT WITH RESPECT OUR POINT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. I WANTED TO EMPHASIZE THIS WAS VERY IMPORTANT STATEMENT. IT WAS MADE IN MOST EARNEST DESIRE THAT IT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO PROGRESS OUR DISCUSSIONS HERE. I WANTED POINT OUT MY STATEMENT HAD MADE NO CHARGES AGAINST HIS GOVERNMENT, ALSO IT DID NOT PROPOSE HIS GOVERNMENT SHOULD SAY ANYTHING WHICH MY GOVERNMENT WAS NOT PREPARED TO SAY. IT WAS PUT FORWARD AS CONSTRUCTIVE AND EARNEST EFFORT TO DEAL WITH PROBLEMS WE WERE CALLED UPON TO DEAL WITH HERE. I HOPED HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD GIVE THOUGHT TO STATEMENT BEFORE OUR NEXT MEETING AND HOPED AT THAT TIME I COULD HAVE HIS VERY CONSIDERED VIEWS ON STATEMENT.

22. HE HAD RAISED QUESTION OF PRESS STATEMENT. I ASSURED HIM I DID NOT GIVE ANY INFORMATION TO PRESS REGARDING OUR LAST MEETING. IT SHOULD BE QUITE APPARENT FROM NEWSPAPER STORIES THEMSELVES THAT INFORMATION THEY PUBLISHED WAS NOT ACCURATE. NEWSPAPER ARTICLES WHICH I SAW HAD SAID I PRESENTED AND DISCUSSED IN DETAIL THE QUESTION OF MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL. WE BOTH KNEW THAT WAS NOT CORRECT. I COULD ONLY ASSUME THAT IN LIGHT PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND DISCUSSION THIS SUBJECT, WHICH HAD TAKEN PLACE IN UNITED STATES EVEN BEFORE THESE TALKS, THAT NEWSPAPER

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MEN ASSUMED THAT WAS WHAT WE HAD DISCUSSED. I CERTAINLY GAVE THEM NO INFORMATION WHATSOEVER.

23. WANG SAID I HAD STATED UK CHARGE IN PEKING NOT ABLE PERFORM HIS FUNCTIONS AND THAT HE HAD NOT RECEIVED REPLIES TO QUESTIONS HE HAD RAISED. THIS WAS NOT ACCURATE. AS HE UNDERSTOOD SITUATION BRITISH CHARGE HAD NOT UP TO THAT TIME MADE FORMAL APPROACH TO CHINESE GOVERNMENT. IF UK CHARGE FORMALLY CONTACTED CHINESE GOVERNMENT REGARDING UK FUNCTIONS ASSUMED UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, WANG'S GOVERNMMENT WOULD CERTAINLY BE AVAILABLE TO HIM. CHINESE GOVERNMENT WILLING CONSIDER ANY PROPOSAL WHICH REASONABLE AND SERVED IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE US AND THUS FACILITATED PROGRESS OUR TALKS.

24. I SAID I HAD NO MORE TO SAY AND HOPED AT NEXT MEETING TO HAVE HIS GOVERNMENT'S VERY CONSIDERED VIEWS ON STATEMENT I HAD MADE THIS MORNING. I SUGGESTED WE MEET AGAIN FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14.

25. WANG SAID HE HOPED I WOULD BE ABLE TO GIVE CONCRETE VIEWS CONCERNING EMBARGO QUESTION INTRODUCED BY HIS SIDE.

26. I REPLIED OUR VIEW ON TIMING DISCUSSION OF THAT QUESTION WAS CONTAINED IN STATEMENT I MADE THIS MORNING.

27. WANG SAID HE COULD NOT AGREE TO ANY FIXED ORDER OF DISCUSSION. HIS SIDE WOULD CONTINUE TO COMMENT ON OUR SUBJECTS AND HOPED WE WOULD DO LIKEWISE. HE AGREED DATE FOR NEXT MEETING.

28. I SAID POINT I HAD MADE ON TIMING WAS NOT MADE IN PROCEDURAL SENSE BUT IN SUBSTANTIVE SENSE.

29. WE AGREED WITHOUT DISCUSSION ON PRESS RELEASE IDENTICAL LAST MEETING.

GOWEN

TT:GEM

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October 10, 1955

Letter No. 18

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

SECRET

Dear Alex:

I have just taken Peter Colm, who is leaving for Geneva tomorrow morning, in to meet Messrs. Robertson and Sebald and to get a sense of Mr. Robertson's reaction to the course of the talks. He should be able to give you something of the feel of things at this end. He has not seen the Secretary but I don't think there is any particular new development in the Secretary's thinking to be conveyed to you at the moment. Everyone seems to be well satisfied with your conduct of last week's meetings. The feeling is that the lines which you have blocked out yourself for the near future are sound.

The feeling in FE is that it will be desirable for you to make your presentation on "unaccounted for military personnel" at the next meeting. American public opinion demands that a high priority be given to this item. We cannot afford to take any chance on some additional development causing us to fail to get this on the record. Hence it may be necessary to pursue this before touching on the trade embargo question. We do not see that there is anything to lose by putting the military personnel statement in now, particularly since we are treading in the direction of a more flexible and less systematic

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

approach to the Agenda items under Point Two. With a less formalized treatment of the Agenda list under Point Two presumably topics may become intermingled and reverted to.

After talks with D'Orlandi, the COCOM and CHINCOM Chairman, we are more than ever convinced that the present time would be highly inopportune for relaxation in the multilateral system of trade controls. It is significant that D'Orlandi was strongly of this opinion. The Japanese Ambassador Iguchi has indicated to us that the Japanese Government may not be as strongly committed to a program of relaxation as we are sometimes led to believe. The critical time of decision will probably be at the CG meeting at Paris early in December. With strong U. S. leadership at that time we may be successful.in holding the line. But it cannot be done without aggressive U. S. leadership. Pressures will have to be exerted on the French and British particularly. All this indicates that any disposition to give on the embargo question at Geneva before December will be premature. In any event we do not have the say unilaterally on multilateral controls. As for our own complete domestic embargo, that policy is fixed by NSC decision and I know of no disposition in any responsible quarter to urge an abrupt change in that policy.

Bill Sebald is working with Judge Phleger on additional material on the renunciation of use of force. This material is aimed for your use in the course of detailed discussions on the item, assuming that a detailed discussion stage will be reached eventually.

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The foregoing thoughts on the missing personnel item and the trade embargo are of course subject to confirmation by official telegram. We have not yet cleared with the Secretary.

I presume O'Neill will put your three questions formally to the Chinese Communists today or tomorrow. The Foreign Office instructed him to do so (subject to his concurrence) on October 7.

We have told the British we do not like O'Neill's suggestion that he refer to the PRC promise to notify him of the result of trials of Americans, and inform the PRC authorities that he looks forward to early notification of reduction of sentence in all cases.

This sounds too much like accepting the PRC thesis, and giving up on the implementation of the Agreed Announcement.

We are looking forward to the arrival of Ralph Clough this afternoon. No doubt we will get a better feel of the current atmosphere from him, although I must say that your telegrams have given us a very full and complete picture. We have felt that we have almost had a front center seat.

Regards,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

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TELEGRAM (279)

Department of State

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

365

1955 OCT 11 PM 6 49

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 865

REPEAT INFO: Amembassy LONDON 1973

Origin

Info

FOR JOHNSON

Your 837, Section 1. 611.93/10-855

1. Re your mention paragraph 2 of cases which QUOTE were to be expeditiously reviewed UNQUOTE, Department prefers that you adhere strictly to language of Agreed Announcement that Americans may QUOTE expeditiously UNQUOTE exercise their right ~~in~~ return U.S. Department aware that Wang made frequent mention of review of cases in discussion leading up to Agreed Announcement but this has no bearing on obligations of PRC under Agreed Announcement. Endeavor avoid any statement which might be construed as implying U.S. tacitly recognizes Wang's talking points as modifying in any way explicit PRC commitments under Agreed Announcement.

2. FYI. We have informed British Embassy ~~that~~ we do not repeat not wish O'Neill to follow up on his tentative suggestion that he might press PRC Foreign Office for expedited notification of trial of remaining Americans and reduction of sentences. Our reason for rejection this suggestion same as above.

Murphy, ACTING (WJS)

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ek/ikb 10/11/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald WJS

Clearances:

L - Mr. Phleger

Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS OCT 11 1955 5 29 PM ASSISTANT SECRETARY Department of State

11045

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611.93/10-855

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Info:

Guidance for 21st meeting October 14.

1. You should again place on record US dissatisfaction with continued Chinese Communist non-implementation Agreed Announcement. Recall that approximately five weeks ~~[illegible]~~ have passed since Agreed Announcement issued, with no action on remaining detained Americans. The Americans have not been allowed exercise expeditiously their right to return, a right expressly recognized by PRC in Agreed Announcement. PRC has not carried out its publicly assumed obligation adopt measures necessary to enable Americans exercise their right. No detained American, so far as US Government can ascertain, has yet been allowed see British Charge Peiping or any other British diplomatic or consular representative. British Charge has been unable perform any function whatever under Agreed Announcement. British Charge has been given no information other than statement that all Americans have been informed of Agreed Announcement. His request for particulars as to when, where and how imprisoned Americans were notified has not been answered.

October 12 news release attributed to Peoples' Daily alleging that "the Chinese side is faithfully carrying out the Agreement" appears to represent

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11048

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:ek 10/12/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:
L - Mr. Phleger
FE - Mr. Sebald

S/S-CR
OCT 12 1955 P.M.

Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
OCT 12 1955
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

5:35 pm

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represent attempt cover up PRC non-compliance by directing attention to 47 Americans who have not applied for exit permits "who can leave China at any time". The Agreed Announcement deals with those who want to leave, not those who do not. Implication in later paragraph this news release that Agreed Announcement provides for examination case of Americans, one by one, is not supported by language of Announcement. US Government can only conclude that PRC is deliberately misleading public as to its obligations and actions under Agreed Announcement.

Record shows that PRC so far has evaded rather than implemented requirements of Agreed Announcement. The US Government bound to take increasingly serious view of PRC failure implement provisions of Agreed Announcement if this failure should be further protracted.

2. Department will send you for possible introduction at later meeting text draft parallel declarations renouncing use of force particularly in Taiwan area. If Wang adopts anticipated line that Taiwan is domestic issue and only necessity is that US forces withdraw from Taiwan area you may wish reply along following general line:

"US and PRC views status Taiwan and US relationship to area differ sharply. Immediate and urgent problem is not attempt reconcile these views, but remove danger of resort to force which might provoke international conflict. It is impossible freely negotiate under threat of force. Only if this threat removed is there any hope of constructive

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constructive solution of basic political problems."

3. You are given discretion as to whether you should make presentation on unaccounted for military personnel at 21st meeting. Essential that this presentation be made at some point [redacted]

4. While Department does not insist on rigid adherence fixed order agenda items under Point 2, it is US position that there is no basis for constructive exchange views on trade embargo question while threat of use of military force by PRC remains. Hence, there is no point in discussing this issue in absence renunciation use force by PRC. It is believed that postponement discussion this item should be put on this practical basis. In taking this position, however, you need not object to Wang presentation this item.

5. While it would be our purpose to avoid any discussion of the embargo item until after we have gotten some positive assurances about renunciation of force, you are authorized, if you deem it necessary, to keep conversations going, to indicate that we recognize that theformulation of declaration on renunciation of force is a matter of delicacy which would require considerable thought and that while any positive conclusion on the matter of trade would inherently have to depend greatly on the Chicom response on renunciation of force, nevertheless while the Chicoms are considering the renunciation of

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SKM force matter ~~will~~ we would be willing to hear their views about trade, particularly:

(1) Are they referring to the US total ban on Chicom trade?

(2) Are they referring to restrictions on strategic materials as administerd by CHINCOM?

(3) Are they proposing modification of UN resolution adopted during Korean War?

Dulles

DULLES

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16-13
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8:51 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 855, OCTOBER 13, 2 PM

Action Assigned to CA/DR

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Date of Action _____

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Name of Officer _____

Initiation to DC/R

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FROM JOHNSON

RE DEPTEL 869

1. I WOULD THINK IT DESIRABLE THAT WHENEVER OPPORTUNITY ARISES, SUCH AS IN REPLY TO CHANG HAN-FU'S QUESTION ON O'NEILL'S INTERPRETATION OF AGREEMENT, O'NEILL SHOULD STATE UK INTERPRETS PORTION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT READING "AND WILL FURTHER ADOPT APPROPRIATE MEASURES SO THEY CAN EXPEDITIOUSLY EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN" TO MEAN EXACTLY WHAT IT SAYS. APPRECIATE THAT PROBABLY NEITHER O'NEILL NOR UK WOULD DESIRE BECOME DEEPLY INVOLVED AT THIS STAGE IN OUR CONTROVERSY WITH CHICOMS THEIR IMPLEMENTATION THIS POINT. HOWEVER BELIEVE UK WOULD DESIRE AVOID ANY IMPLICATION IT AGREES WITH CHICOM INTERPRETATION AND LAY BEST POSSIBLE BASIS FOR INVOKING THIS PORTION ANNOUNCEMENT IN REPRESENTATIONS IN INDIVIDUAL CASES.

2. IN VIEW CONTINUED CHICOM VAGUENESS ON DELIVERY TEXT ANNOUNCEMENT TO IMPRISONED AMERICANS SUGGEST CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN HAVE O'NEILL INVOKE PORTION OF ANNOUNCEMENT STATING UK CHARGE MAY ALSO GIVE PUBLICITY TO REQUEST FACILITIES HAVE COPY PERSONALLY HANDED BY MEMBER HIS OFFICE TO EACH IMPRISONED AMERICAN IN EVENT REFUSAL HE COULD REQUEST DELIVERY LETTER FROM HIM CONTAINING TEXT ANNOUNCEMENT, AND INFORMATION ON HOW TO COMMUNICATE WITH HIM, TO EACH PRISONER.

3. DEPARTMENT WILL DESIRE CONSIDER THIS FROM STANDPOINT ANY PRECENDENT IT MAY ESTABLISH FOR INDIAN FUNCTIONS IN US

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DEPARTMENT

BUT IT APPEARS TO ME WE COULD WITHOUT HARM AGREE TO SAME INTERPRETATION BY INDIANS IF QUESTION WERE RAISED.

4. IN GENERAL BELIEVE O'NEILL SHOULD AVOID ANY IMPLICATION UK CONSIDERS ITS SPECIAL FUNCTIONS UNDER ANNOUNCEMENT TO BE PRIMARILY "WELFARE" IN NATURE AND THAT CHICOMS HAVE IMPLEMENTED ANNOUNCEMENT WITH RESPECT IMPRISONED AMERICANS IF SOME "WELFARE" FUNCTIONS CONCEDED TO UK. BELIEVE HE SHOULD CONCENTRATE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE ON THE "ASSIST IN THE RETURN" ASPECTS INVOKING "EXPEDITIOUSLY" AS APPROPRIATE.

GOWEN

MEM

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19-13

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Name of Officer

Direction to DC/

Action
FE

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RMR
SS

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 856, OCTOBER 13, 2 P.M.

FROM JOHNSON

IN REPLY PRESS INQUIRIES HERE CONCERNING NCNA OCTOBER 12 ARTICLE QUOTED FBIS 121355Z PARTICULARLY CONCERNING "47 AMERICANS" AM REPLYING FOR BACKGROUND THAT MENTION THESE PERSONS ENTIRELY IRRELEVANT AND IS ATTEMPT BEFOG ISSUES AS ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNS PERSONS WHO DESIRE RETURN. AM STATING FIGURE 47 ONLY APPROXIMATELY CORRECT AS THERE ARE POSSIBLY OTHER CIVILIANS PARTICULARLY DUAL NATIONALS. AM STATING THAT 47 INCLUDE 16 NON-REPATS, AMERICAN WIVES CHINESE, CHILDREN, AND PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN WORKING FOR CHICOMS. AM REFERRING INQUIRIES ON NAMES TO DEPARTMENT. UNDERSTAND THAT MOST OF NAMES HAVE IN PAST IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER BEEN MADE AVAILABLE TO PRESS BUT BELIEVE ANY INFO THIS CHARACTER SHOULD COME FROM DEPARTMENT.

GOWEN

RWN

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UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
OCT 17 1955
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

October 13, 1955

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Letter No. 12

Dear Walter:

Yesterday I received your letter of October 10. This will be a very short note as I have little to add to what I have already said.

Peter Colm has arrived and I am very glad to have him. He seems like a good man.

Received my instructions this morning for 21st meeting and again feel that they are excellent. I greatly appreciate your getting them to me in time to ponder a little before the meeting.

I do not plan to tie my presentation on implementation to their newspaper articles or broadcasts. I have avoided this as it simply opens the door for Wang to throw USIS and American newspapers at me, and he can almost always find something to quote to serve his purpose. In any event the articles so closely follow his presentation in the meetings that there are ample statements by him to which I can tie.

I am a little concerned by the questions it is suggested that I ask him, if necessary, under paragraph 5 of the Department's 870. It seems to me that I should avoid any implication that such multilateral subjects as Chincom and U.N. resolutions could be discussed here, or that these are matters within the control of the U.S. However, I think the idea of asking the questions is very good but will try to formulate something along these lines for use, if necessary, which avoids what I believe

are

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State.

SECRET

are the undesirable implications of the questions as presently framed.

I fear that the presentation of unaccounted for military personnel at this stage would fuzz my position on priority for renunciation of force, and I am, therefore, reluctant to make it at tomorrow's meeting. On the other hand, I don't want Wang to so freeze his position on this that he is obliged to reject the lists when I hand them to him. Therefore, I will play it by ear and make the decision at the meeting as to what I will do.

Chincom people have been very helpful in giving me information on their present negotiations in Paris. Certainly the present moment would be the worst possible time to release the Chincom controls, but I can see that the pressures are extremely strong. What I have trouble thinking through is how effectively to relate what may or may not happen in these talks to how things are handled in Chincom.

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

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Control: 6843
Rec'd: October 14, 1955
4:31 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 864, October 14, 9 a.m.

FROM JOHNSON

Would appreciate prompt extension by Defense of Colonel Ekvall's orders which expired September 20.

GOWEN

TIS

Action Assigned to CA/D/R
Action Taken
Date of Action 10/14
Action Office Symbol CA
Name of Officer DWC
Direction to DC/R file

1955 OCT 14 AM 7 04

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 865, OCTOBER 14, 1 PM

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FROM JOHNSON

1. ONE HOUR FORTY MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING. WANG OPENED WITH LONG PREPARED STATEMENT DEALING EXCLUSIVELY WITH MY LAST WEEK'S STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. WHILE RELATIVELY MILD IN TONE CONSISTED ALMOST ENTIRELY REHASH PREVIOUS POSITIONS. SAID KEY TO SITUATION WAS WITHDRAWAL US FORCES FROM TAIWAN. OUR PROPOSAL WAS "ABUSE OF PRINCIPLE NON-RECOURSE TO FORCE". "ARE YOU WILLING TO DISCUSS QUESTION WITHDRAWAL US FORCES FROM TAIWAN?" LIBERATION TAIWAN "CANNOT BE MADE SUBJECT PRESENT TALKS".

2. I REPLIED WITH STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION ALONG LINES DEPTEL 870 AND THEN EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT LACK OF RESPONSIVENESS HIS STATEMENT OUR PROPOSAL. I THEN MADE STATEMENT USING MATERIAL LATTER PORTION PARA 2 DEPTEL 870 AND PERTINENT MATERIAL PREVIOUS STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE. THERE WAS THEN SOME GIVE AND TAKE DURING WHICH BOTH OF US LARGELY REITERATED PREVIOUS STATEMENTS. HOWEVER HE DID NOT CHALLENGE MY STATEMENT THAN I HOPED I COULD INTERPRET HIS REMARKS AS MEANING HE DID NOT ENTIRELY REJECT OUR PROPOSAL. TOWARDS END HE GAVE ME OPENING WHICH I USED TO CLOSE ON THEME OF IMPLEMENTATION.

3. AT CLOSE I PROPOSED NORMAL SCHEDULE WEEKLY MEETINGS AND HE AGREED SUBJECT NEXT MEETING BEING THURSDAY. UNDERSTANDING IS SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS WILL BE ON THURSDAYS.

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4. AM DEPARTING FOR PRAGUE TOMORROW MORNING RETURNING TUESDAY.

GOWEN

MEM

Mrs. Welch (FE) notified 10/14/8:35 a. m. EMB (CWO)

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 867, OCTOBER 14, 4 P.M.

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. NOTABLE ASPECT TODAY'S MEETING WAS WANG'S WILLINGNESS DISCUSS EXCLUSIVELY, ALBEIT NEGATIVELY, OUR RENUNCIATION OF FORCE PROPOSAL. HE MADE NO EFFORT WHATEVER FORCE ANY DISCUSSION EITHER OF HIS ITEMS AND HIS REACTION TO MY RENEWED DISCUSSION OF IMPLEMENTATION WAS VERY MILD. IN FACT AS WILL BE SEEN FROM FULL MEETING RECORD, DURING GIVE AND TAKE HE PERHAPS SOMEWHAT INADVERTENTLY GAVE US CREDIT FOR FULL IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. HE ALSO READILY AGREED TO MY PROPOSAL FOR NORMALLY WEEKLY MEETINGS. HIS MANNER AND TONE OF DELIVERY OF HIS OPENING STATEMENT WAS ALSO MILD AND AGAIN FULL RECORD OF MEETING PREPARED ON BASIS HIS INTERPRETER'S TRANSLATION GIVE SOMEWHAT HARDER IMPRESSION THAN ORIGINAL CHINESE.

2. THERE WAS NO NEED TO AND I FELT IT UNDESIRABLE MAKE PRESENTATION ON MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL AT TODAY'S MEETING.

3. WHILE USING IT AS A PEG ON WHICH TO HANG HIS CRITICISM OF US POLICY, WANG'S PRESENTATION TODAY SHOWS A DISPOSITION TO ACQUIESCE IN DISCUSSION AROUND OUR RENUNCIATION OF FORCE PROPOSAL WHICH WE SHOULD TRY TO EXPLAIN.

4. HIS REPLY TODAY WAS TO BE EXPECTED. STRIPPED OF PROPAGANDA VERBIAGE ONE OF HIS THESES APPEARS TO BE THAT PRESENCE OF US FORCES IN TAIWAN IS IN ITSELF "THREAT OF FORCE." HE IS TAKING AN OBVIOUSLY EXTREME BARGAINING POSITION IN ASKING FOR WITHDRAWALS US FORCES FROM TAIWAN AND ONE OF OUR PROBLEMS WILL BE TO PROBE FOR THEIR REAL POSITION FOR AS LONG AS POSSIBLE.

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WHILE AT SAME TIME NOT RUNNING INTO A DEADLOCK OR IN ANY WAY SACRIFICING OUR POSITION ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE OR SCOPE THESE TALKS.

5. PARLIAMENTARY SITUATION IS SUCH THAT HE WILL BE EXPECTING FAIRLY COMPREHENSIVE STATEMENT FROM ME AT NEXT MEETING. BELIEVE STATEMENT MUST INCLUDE AT LEAST SOME REFUTATION HIS CHARGES ON "AMERICAN AGRESSION AGAINST TAIWAN."

GOWEN

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 869, OCTOBER 14, 4 PM

FROM JOHNSON

1. DURING TODAY'S AMBASSADORIAL TALKS CHEN SHIH-WU OF NCNA TALKED WITH SEVERAL CORRESPONDENTS, PARTICULARLY AGENCY MEN AND ABOUT HALF BRITISH, INDIVIDUALLY OR IN GROUPS. GIST HIS COMMENTS AS REPORTED TO GARNISH BY PARTICIPANTS FOLLOWS:

2. SAID WANG GOING TO TELL ME TODAY THEY CANNOT DISCUSS RENUNICATION OF USE OF FORCE UNTIL THESE OTHER QUESTIONS SETTLED: SEVENTH FLEET, BLOCKADE, FORMOSA, EMBARGO. SAID THESE ARE SUBJECTS FOR FONMINS AND THEIR SETTLEMENT WOULD MAKE QUESTION OF RENUNCIATION OF FORCE TIMELY.

3. ACCORDING TO ANOTHER CORRESPONDENT, CHEN REFERRED TO CHOU STATEMENT THAT QUESTION HAS INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL ASPECTS. UNDER FORMER HE MENTIONED UNISTATES INTERFERENCE, SEVENTH FLEET, BLOCKADE, EMBARGO AND UNISTATES MILITARY ADVISORS ON FORMOSA. SAID MUST REMOVE THIS INTERFERENCE. UNDER NATIONAL ASPECT HE MENTIONED LIBERATION TAIWAN BY PEACEFUL MEANS, SAID CHOU ALREADY HAS POINTED OUT HE READY TO NEGOTIATE WITH TAIWAN AUTHORITIES WITHOUT HARD AND FAST CONDITIONS. TO QUERY WHETHER "AUTHORITES" MEANT NATIONALISTS OR TAIWANESE CHEN SAID CHOU DID NOT (REPEAT NOT) WANT COMMIT HIMSELF BUT ADDED SOME CHIANG PEOPLE READY TO NEGOTIATE. TO FURTHER QUERY CHEN REFUSED COMMIT HIMSELF THAT THIS MEANT ANY MEMBER GRC READY NEGOTIATE.

4. RESPONDING TO CORRESPONDENT'S OTHER QUESTIONS, CHEN SAID TALKS MAKING PROGRESS THOUGH SLOWLY AND SPIRIT GOOD. SAID TALKS WILL CONTINUE THROUGH FONMINS CONFERENCE AND DULLES' PRESENCE MAY GIVE IMPETUS TO THEM. EXPRESSED DOUBT WANG WILL TRY TO SEE DULLES.

5. CHEN SAID TALKS NOW APPROACHING CRUCIAL STAGE, WITH SUBJECTS

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SUBJECTS OF SUCH SCOPE AND IMPORTANCE THAT THEY BELONG ON FONMINS LEVEL.

6. TO QUESTION ABOUT NINETEEN JAILED AMERICANS CHEN SAID I ALWAYS RAISE QUESTION AS MATTER OF ROUTINE. ADDED THIS NO LONGER MATTER FOR AMBASSADORS AT ALL BUT MATTER FOR BRITISH CHARGE TO SETTLE. ALSO SAID MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL MATTER DOES NOT (REPEAT NOT) BELONG IN GENEVA TALKS.

GOWEN

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Control: 7211
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1:22 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 871, OCTOBER 14, 5 P.M.

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PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

IN DISCUSSING MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL I WILL DESIRE TO HAVE AVAILABLE FOR USE AS MAY SEEM APPROPRIATE A FEW OF AS GOOD EXPAMPLES AS POSSIBLE REASONS WE BELIEVE CHINESE COMMUNISTS HAVE SOME INFORMATION ON THESE MEN. UNFORTUNATELY INFORMATION I HAVE AVAILABLE HERE IS IN MOST CASES TOO VAGUE FOR EFFECTIVE USE IN DEBATE.

REQUEST DEPARTMENT ASK DEFENSE ENDEAVOR SUPPLY ME ANY MORE CONCRETE INFORMATION FROM CHICOM, OTHER COMMUNIST, OR NEUTRAL SOURCES THAT MAY BE AVAILABLE IN A FEW GOOD EXEMPLARY CASES SUCH AS FOLLOWING:

ARMY SGT CASIMIRE T. DEMOLL. WHAT WERE DATES AND FACTS IN REPORTS OF IRC, PEKING RADIO, AND REPORTED SOURCE NATIONAL GUARDIAN?

ARMY PFC JAMES HOWELL. WHAT WAS DATE AND CONTENT CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW REPORT?

ARMY CORPORAL JOHN E. JENNINGS. WHAT WERE DATES AND CONTENTS CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW AND IRC REPORTS?

SIMILAR INFO ON FEW AIR FORCE AND MARINE PERSONNEL WOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL. FOR EXAMPLE MORE DETAILED INFO ON "ENEMY BROADCAST OVER RADIO PEIPING" MENTIONED FILE AIR FORCE FIRST LIEUTENANT SCOTT A. HOLZ WOULD BE USEFUL.

WOULD APPRECIATE SOME INFORMATION BY NEXT MEETING IF POSSIBLE.

CES GOWEN

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Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 10/14/2:35 p. m. EMB (GWC)

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Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 872, OCTOBER 14, 8 P.M. (SECTION ONE OF THREE)

PRIORITY

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. AT 21ST MEETING, OCTOBER 14, WANG PING-NAN OPENED WITH PREPARED COMMENTS ON MY STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. HE STATED THAT TO CARRY ON USEFUL AND SENSIBLE DISCUSSION, CIVIL CONFLICTS WITHIN EITHER CHINA OR THE US MUST BE DISTINGUISHED FROM INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES. FORMER ARE OBVIOUSLY NOT WITHIN COMPETENCE OF PRESENT TALKS. ISSUES BETWEEN CHINESE PEOPLE AND CHAING KAI-SHEK CLIQUE CANNOT BE MADE SUBJECTS OF THESE TALKS. IT IS INADMISSIBLE TO INTRODUCE QUESTION OF RIGHT OF CHINESE PEOPLE TO LIBERATE OWN TERRITORY TAIWAN IN EXECUTION OF SOVEREIGN RIGHTS.

2. HE CONTINUED THAT IN REGARD TO INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA HAD FROM ITS INCEPTION ALWAYS STOOD FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND HAD OPPOSED INFRINGEMENTS OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY BY THREAT OR USE OF FORCE. CHINA'S CONDUCT IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS HAD DEMONSTRATED THAT IT WAS FAITHFUL TO THIS STAND. HE DREW ATTENTION TO "UNIVERSALLY RECOGNIZED ROLE" OF CHINA IN KOREAN AND INDOCHINESE ARMISTICES AND TO "FIVE PRINCIPLES," ON THE BASIS OF WHICH HE STATED CHINA HAD ESTABLISHED RELATIONS OF FRIENDLY COOPERATION WITH MANY COUNTRIES. HE STATED THAT AT ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE CHINA TOGETHER WITH OTHERS ADOPTED DECISIONS AFFIRMING THESE PRINCIPLES.

3. IN REGARD TO SINO-US RELATIONS, WANG STATED THAT PREMIER CHOU HAD REPEATEDLY DECLARED THAT CHINA DID NOT WANT WAR WITH US AND THAT CHINA AND US SHOULD SIT DOWN AND ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS

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THIS, HE STATED, WAS OBJECTIVE OF INTRODUCING INTO PRESENT TALKS QUESTION OF HIGHER LEVEL SINO-US NEGOTIATIONS.

4. WANG QUOTED PARAGRAPH 4, ARTICLE 2, OF UN CHARTER. HE REFERRED ALSO TO MY STATEMENT AT LAST MEETING THAT US AS MEMBER OF UN HAD AGREED TO REFRAIN FROM THREAT OR USE OF FORCE. WANG STATED THAT HE WELCOMED MY STATEMENT TO THIS EFFECT ON BEHALF OF MY GOVERNMENT, AND THAT HE VERY MUCH DESIRED THAT THIS PRINCIPLE SHOULD BECOME GUIDING PRINCIPLE OF US IN FAR EAST AND REST OF WORLD. HE STATED THAT THERE WAS NO DISPUTE BETWEEN CHINA AND US REGARDING THE PRINCIPLES GUIDING UNITED NATIONS. QUESTION WAS HOW THESE PRINCIPLES COULD BE CONCRETELY IMPLEMENTED. QUESTION WAS HOW THESE PRINCIPLES COULD BE CONCRETELY IMPLEMENTED. IN THIS CONNECTION HE CITED TAIWAN SITUATON.

5. HE STATED THAT TAIWAN WAS CHINESE TERRITORY AND THAT THIS WAS SPECIFICALLY PROVIDED IN SOLEMN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS IN WHICH US HAD PARTICIPATED. WANG QUOTED A STATEMENT OF JANUARY 5, 1950 BY PRESIDENT TRUMAN TO EFFECT THAT US GOVERNMENT HAD ALWAYS STOOD FOR GOOD FAITH IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND SPECIFICALLY IN FORMOSA (TAIWAN) SITUATION, THAT IN CAIRO DECLARATON OF 1943 THE US, UK, AND CHINA HAD ANNOUNCED OBJECTIVE OF RESTORING TO CHINA TERRITORY STOLEN BY JAPAN FROM CHINA, SUCH AS FORMOSA, THAT US WAS A SIGNATORY TO POTSDAM DECLARATION WHICH DECLARED THAT THE TERMS OF THE CAIRO DECLARATION SHALL BE CARRIED OUT, THAT THE PROVISIONS OF THE POTSDAM DECLARATION WERE ACCEPTED BY JAPAN AT TIME OF SURRENDER, AND THAT FOR FOUR YEARS THE US AND OTHER POWERS HAD ACCEPTED THE AUTHORITY OF CHINESE AUTHORITIES OVER FORMOSA. WANG STATED THAT PRESIDENT TRUMAN HAD ADDED THAT US HAD NO PREDATORY DESIGNS ON FORMOSA OR OTHER CHINESE TERRITORY AND THAT US DESIRED TO AVOID COURSES OF ACTION LEADING TO INVOLVEMENT IN CIVIL DISPUTES IN CHINA.

6. HOWEVER, WANG STATED, THE US NOW OCCUPIES TAIWAN WITH ITS ARMED FORCES AND HAS OPENLY DECLARED IT WOULD USE FORCE TO ENCROACH UPON CHINESE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. HE DECLARED THAT THIS WAS ORIGIN OF TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA AND THAT CHINA HAD NEVER USED OR THREATENED FORCE TO ENCROACH ON TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE US. CHINA HAD REPEATEDLY STATED THAT CHINA AND US SHOULD RESPECT EACH OTHER'S SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN EACH OTHER BY NEGOTIATIONS.

7. HE SAID

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7. HE SAID THAT SINCE I HAD STATED AT LAST MEETING THAT US HAD AGREED TO REFRAIN FROM THREAT OR USE OF FORCE, IT FOLLOWED THAT US SHOULD WITHDRAW ITS ARMED FORCES FROM CHINA'S TAIWAN. WANG DECLARED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER US WAS PREPARED TO DO SO.

8. WANG STATED THAT AT LAST MEETING I HAD FAILED TO MENTION FACT THAT US HAD USED FORCE AGAINST CHINA'S TAIWAN, HAD DODGED THE QUESTION OF US WITHDRAWAL, AND HAD UNREASONABLY TRIED TO INTRODUCE QUESTION OF RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AGAINST CHINA'S TAIWAN. CHINESE GOVERNMENT, CIRCUMSTANCES PERMITTING, WOULD SEEK LIBERATION OF TAIWAN BY PEACEFUL MEANS. HOWEVER, THE QUESTION FALLS WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF CHINA'S SOVEREIGNTY AND INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND CANNOT BE MADE SUBJECT OF PRESENT TALKS.

9. WANG CLOSED HIS PREPARED COMMENTS WITH STATEMENT THAT QUESTION OF AMERICA'S WITHDRAWAL FROM TAIWAN AREA SHOULD BE DISCUSSED AND THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO HEAR MY VIEWS ON THIS QUESTION.

10. IN REPLY I STATED THAT BEFORE COMMENTING ON HIS STATEMENT I MUST FIRST BRING TO HIS ATTENTION MY GOVERNMENT'S DISSATISFACTION WITH HIS GOVERNMENT'S CONTINUED DELAY IN IMPLEMENTING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WITH RESPECT TO REMAINING 19 AMERICANS IN PRISON. I STATED THAT SO FAR AS MY GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN ABLE TO ASCERTAIN, NO AMERICAN IN PRISON HAD EVEN BEEN PERMITTED TO COMMUNICATE WITH OR SEE UK CHARGE IN PEKING OR ANY OTHER BRITISH DIPLOMATIC OR CONSULAR REPRESENTATIVE. I STATED THAT THERE COULD BE NO DOUBT THAT THESE AMERICANS DESIRED TO RETURN.

GOWEN

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4:51 A.M.

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 872, OCTOBER 14, 8 P.M. (SECTION TWO OF THREE)

PRIORITY

11. I CONTINUED THAT FUTHERMORE ALMOST FIVE WEEKS HAD PASSED SINCE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS ISSUED AND THAT I HAD HOPED HE WOULD HAVE SOME INFORMATION FOR ME TODAY. HOWEVER, THUS FAR GOVERNMENT HAS NOT TAKEN APPROPRIATE MEASURES MENTIONED IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH WOULD PERMIT THESE 19 AMERICANS TO EXERCISE EXPEDITIOUSLY THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN. THIS RIGHT WAS EXPRESSLY SET FORTH IN THE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

Chinese?

12. I SAID THAT IN DISCUSSING THIS QUESTION AT PREVIOUS MEETINGS, WANG HAD CONTINUED TO MENTION HIS GOVERNMENT'S REQUEST FOR A LIST OF ALL AMERICANS IN US AND HAD CONTINUED TO MENTION SUPPOSED TIME IT WOULD TAKEFOR THE MANY CHINESE IN THE US TO RETURN TO HIS COUNTRY. I SAID HE HAD ALSO REFERRED TO THE 47 AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY WHO HAD NOT APPLIED FOR EXIT PERMITS. IN THIS CONNECTION, I POINTED OUT THAT AGREED SCOPE OF OUR DISCUSSIONS ON THIS POINT AND AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNED ONLY PERSONS WHO DESIRED TO RETURN.

13. I STATED THAT I RAISED THESE POINTS AGAIN IN ORDER TO INDICATE TO WANG REASONS WHY MY GOVERNMENT FEARED HIS GOVERNMENT WAS EVADING RATHER THAN IMPLEMENTING THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I DECLARED THAT IT SHOULD BE EVIDENT THAT MY GOVERNMENT WAS BOUND TO TAKE AN INCREASINGLY SERIOUS VIEW OF HIS GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT PROVISIONS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WITH RESPECT TO THESE 19 AMERICANS IF THIS FAILURE SHOULD BE FURTHER PROTRACTED.

14. I CONTINUED WITH WHAT I DESCRIBED AS MY PRELIMINARY COMMENTS ON WANG'S STATEMENT AT OPENING OF MEETING, POINTING OUT THAT I DESIRED TO STUDY HIS STATEMENT CAREFULLY AND REPLY IN

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GREATED DETAIL LATER.

15. I POINTED OUT THAT, AS I HAD EMPHASIZED AT LAST MEETING, MY PROPOSAL WAS NOT COUCHED IN TERMS OF CHARGES AGAINST WANG'S GOVERNMENT, BUT WAS MADE IN A MOST EARNEST DESIRE OF CONTRIBUTING A SUGGESTION CONSTRUCTIVE TO COURSE OF TALKS. I SAID THAT WANG'S STATEMENT POINTED UP FACT KNOWN TO BOTH OF US THAT VIEWS OF WANG'S GOVERNMENT AND MINE DIFFERED WIDELY ON STATUS OF TAIWAN AND ON MY GOVERNMENT'S RELATIONS TO TAIWAN. I SAID THAT THERE WAS NO USE IN PRETENDING THAT THESE DIFFERENCES DID NOT EXIST OR THAT THEY COULD BE EASILY RESOLVED. I SAID THAT MY SUGGESTION DID NOT INVOLVE THIRD PARTIES OR QUESTION OF JUSTICE OR INJUSTICE OF CONFLICTING CLAIMS IN THE AREA.

16. I STATED THAT IMMEDIATE AND URGENT PROBLEM WE FACED WAS NOT TO RECONCILE CONFLICTING VIEWS BUT TO REMOVE DANGER THAT A RESORT TO FORCE IN THE AREA MIGHT EVOKE INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT. I STATED THAT I BELIEVED WANG HIMSELF HAD PREVIOULSY RECOGNIZED THAT THIS POSSIBILITY EXISTED. I SAID THAT THESE QUESTIONS WERE GRAVE AND COMPLICATED AND THAT NEGOTIATING THEIR SOLUTION WOULD TAKE TIME AND PATIENCE.

17. I POINTED OUT THAT NEITHER OF US WANTED TO NEGOTIATE UNDER THREAT OF FORCE AND THAT THERE WAS HOPE OF A CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTION TO THE BASIC PROBLEMS OF THE AREA ONLY IF THREAT OF FOR E WERE REMOVED. I STATED THAT THE FACT THAT OUR POLICIES DIFFERED NEED NOT MEAN ARMED CONFLICT. I STATED THAT MANY COUNTRIES WERE ABNORMALLY DIVIDED AND THAT MANY GOVERMMENTS FACED SITUATIONS WHICH THEY CONSIDERED ABNORMAL INTRUSIONS INTO THEIR TERRITORY. I POINTED OUT THAT RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENTS NEVERTHELESS HAD RENOUNCED USE OF FORCE IN ACHIEVEMENT OF WHAT THEY CONSIDERED URGENT AND LEGITIMATE OBJECTIVES OF NATIONAL POLICY. I STATED THAT MY SUGGESTION DID NOT CALL UPON EITHER HIS GOVERNMENT OR MINE TO RENOUNCE THEIR OBJECTIVES, BUT SIMPLY SUGGESTED WE RENOUNCE USE OF FORCE TO IMPLEMENT OUR POLICIES. I STATED THAT THIS WAS TO ME AN EMMINENTLY REASONABLE, SIMPLE, AND STRAIGHTFORWARD PROPOSAL WHICH COULD PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTIONS TO OTHER PROBLEMS.

18. I CONCLUDED BY EXPRESSING HOPE THAT WANG'S GOVERNMENT WOULD AGAIN CONSIDER SUGGESTION WE HAD MADE AND THAT SUCH RECONSIDERATION MIGHT LEAD TO PROGRESS IN THE TALKS.

19. WANG REPLIED

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19. WANG REPLIED THAT HE COULD NOT AGREE TO WHAT I HAD SAID CONCERNING HIS GOVERNMENT'S CONTINUED DELAY IN IMPLEMENTING THE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. (WANG'S INTERPRETER INITIALLY SAID "CONTINUED FAILURE" BUT CORRECTED THIS TO "CONTINUED DELAY." EKVALL STATES THAT "CONTINUED STALLING" WOULD HAVE BEEN MORE ACCURATE ENGLISH.)

20. WANG SAID THAT DURING DISCUSSION OF FIRST ITEM OF AGENDA BEFORE AND AFTER AGREEMENT WAS REACHED, HIS SIDE HAD DEVOTED GREAT EFFORTS TO QUESTION OF RETURNING AMERICANS FROM CHINA. HE SAID THAT THIS DID NOT INCLUDE ONLY "ORDINARY" AMERICANS BUT ALSO AMERICANS WHO HAD COMMITTED OFFENSES. HE STATED THAT HIS SIDE WAS STILL FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTING THE AGREEMENT ON RETURN OF CIVILIANS. HE SAID THAT THERE WAS THEREFORE NO REASON TO CHARGE THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD DELAYED IN IMPLEMENTING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND THAT HE COULD NOT AGREE TO THIS UNJUSTIFIED CHARGE.

21. WANG CONTINUED WITH COMMENTS ON MY PRELIMINARY VIEWS ON HIS OPENING STATEMENT. HE SAID THAT IT WAS WRONG THAT THERE SHOULD BE DIFFERENCE OF VIEW BETWEEN CHINA AND US ON STATUS OF TAIWAN SINCE STATUS OF TAIWAN WAS VERY CLEAR AND PRECISE. HE SAID THAT TAIWAN WAS INDISPUTABLY AN INALIENABLE PART OF CHINESE TERRITORY. HE THEN EXPRESSED AGREEMENT WITH ME THAT ON THIS QUESTION DISPUTES DID EXIST BETWEEN OUR TWO SIDES. HE EXPRESSED AGREEMENT ALSO THAT THE TAIWAN SITUATION HAD "LED TO A GRAVE AND EXPLOSIVE SITUATION" AND THAT THERE WAS "DANGER OF THE SITUATION BEING ENLARGED." HE SAID THAT THIS WAS WHY IT WAS NECESSARY TO CALL SINO-US CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS SITUATION IN TAIWAN AREA.

GOWEN

TLS

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16-B
Action
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Control: 7415
Rec'd: OCTOBER 15, 1955
9:14 AM

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 872, OCTOBER 14, 8 PM (SECTION THREE OF THREE)

PRIORITY

22. HE SAID THAT WHILE HE AGREED DISCUSS THIS PROBLEM, HE COULD NOT BUT TRACE "ROOT CAUSES" LADING TO PRESENT GRAVE SITUATION. HE STATED THAT FAILURE FIND THESE CAUSES WOULD BE SIMILAR TO PATIENT IN WHOM DOCTOR FAILS FIND CAUSE OF ILLNESS. WANG CITED CHINESE PROVERB THAT DOCTOR SHOULD MAKE PRESCRIPTION ACCORDING TO ILLNESS OF PATIENT. HE SAID THAT FAILURE TO FIND CAUSE OF ILLNESS MAKES CURE IMPOSSIBLE.

23. WANG STATED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD ALWAYS OPPOSED RESORT TO FORCE AND HAS STOOD FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF PROBLEMS. HE AGREED WITH ME THAT NEGOTIATIONS CANNOT BE CONDUCTED UNDER THREAT OF FORCE. HE SAID THAT IF WE ARE TO DISCUSS THREAT OF FORCE, WE HAVE TO ASK WHO IS THREATENING WHOM. WANG DECLARED THAT HE CONSIDERED THAT AMERICAN ARMED FORCES WHICH OCCUPY TAIWAN ARE PRECISELY THREAT IN QUESTION.

24. WANG SAID THAT I HAD SAID THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO RENOUNCE USE OF FORCE TO PREVENT SITUATION FROM LEADING TO ARMED CONFLICT. WANG DECLARED THAT AS HE HAD STATED THIS MORNING HIS SIDE WELCOMED THIS POINT OF VIEW. HOWEVER, A MERE STATEMENT OUTLINING PRINCIPLES DOES NOT SOLVE PROBLEM. WANG STATED THAT IF US WERE TO WITHDRAW ITS ARMED FORCES FROM AREA, IT WOULD SHOW THAT US IS SINCERE IN THIS REGARD. WANG STATED THAT THEREFORE HE HOPED AFTER CONSIDERATION OF HIS PROPOSAL I WOULD EXPRESS MY VIEWS ON THIS POINT. HE CONCLUDED BY STATING THAT SUCH WITHDRAWAL WOULD INDICATE THAT PRESENT TALKS CAN REALLY SOLVE QUESTIONS AND ARE NOT MERE DISCUSSIONS. HE SAID HE HOPED THIS WAS CASE.

25. I REPLIED

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25. I REPLIED THAT QUESTIONS WANG HAD RAISED ARE COMPLICATED AND THAT I STILL DID NOT SEE WHY HE REJECTED MY SUGESTION. I STATED THAT I HOPED I WAS RIGHT IN INTERPRETING WANG'S REMARKS AS NOT A COMPLETE REJECTION OF MY PROPOSAL. I SAID THAT FIRST AND SIMPLE THING WE CAN DO IS TO SAY TO EACH OTHER THAT WE WOULD NOT RESORT TO USE OF FORCE EXCEPT DEFENSIVELY. I STATED THAT I AGREED THAT THIS WOULD NOT BY ITSELF SOLVE BASIC PROBLEMS IN AREA, BUT THAT IT WOULD REMOVE DANGER OF CONFLICT AND ESTABLISH ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH WE CAN FREELY NEGOTIATE AND IN WHICH THERE WOULD BE HOPE OF FINDING SOLUTIONS TO BASIC PROBLEMS.

26. WANG REPLIED THAT WE CAN CERTAINLY CONSIDER THAT A MERE STATEMENT WOULD NOT REMOVE DANGER OR RESOLVE DISPUTES BETWEN CHINA AND US IN AREA. ONLY ACTUAL DEEDS BY US WILL CONVICE PEOPLE THAT QUESTIONS ARE BEING RESOLVED. WANG CITED EXAMPLE OF RETURN OF CHINESE IN US. HE SAID THAT IF MERELY A STATEMENT HAD BEEN MADE THAT THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO RETURN WITHOUT ACTION, THE CHINESE WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ABLE TO RETURN. BASIC CAUSE UNDERLYING FAILURE OF CHINESE TO RETURN FROM US WAS EXISTENCE OF RESTRICTING ORDER BY US GOVERNMENT AGAINST THEM. ONLY AFTER AMERICAN GOVERNMENT RESCINDED RESTRICTING ORDERS WERE BASIC DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN RETURN RESOLVED. WANG SAID THAT WHEN THE US RESCINDED THESE ORDERS, HIS SIDE EXPRESSED WELCOME TO THIS ACTION BECAUSE THOSE ORDERS WERE UNREASONABLE AND BECAUSE IT WAS REASONABLE THEY SHOULD BE RESCINDED.

27. WANG SAID THAT SAME IS TRUE IN TAIWAN AREA. CAUSE OF TENSION IN AREA IS CHIEFLY BECAUSE US HAS USED FORCE IN AREA. HE STATED THAT HIS SIDE CONSIDERED SUCH ACTION INCONSISTENT WITH UN CHARTER AND THAT IF US WOULD WITHDRAW ALL ITS ARMED FORCES IT WOULD NATURALY CHANGE SITUATION IN AREA. ONLY BY DOING SO WOULD IT CONVINCE PEOPLE OF PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF AMERICAN PROPOSAL ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE.

28. I REPLIED THAT I COULD NOT REFRAIN FROM POINTING OUT THAT WE DID NOT MAKE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT UNTIL WE WERE FULLY PREPARED IMPLEMENT IT. I AGREED TO HIS THESIS THAT MERE STATEMENTS DO NOT SOLVE PROBLEMS. WE DID NOT MAKE THE STATEMENT THAT

ALL CHINESE

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ALL CHINESE WERE FREE TO DEPART UNTIL THEY WERE IN FACT ABLE TO DO SO. THIS LED ME TO MY POINT IN REGARD TO REMAINING IMPRISONED AMERICANS. I STATED THAT ONLY ACTION BY HIS GOVERNMENT CAN PERMIT THEM TO LEAVE. I HAD HOPED AND EXPECTED THAT THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO LEAVE EXPEDITIOUSY. HOWEVER, ALMOST FIVE WEEKS HAD PASSED SINCE THE ANNOUNCEMENT. I RECALLED THAT HE HAD USED MANY WORDS IN OUR DISCUSSION OF TIME AMERICANS WOULD BE ABLE TO LEAVE, INCLUDING "VERY QUICKLY" AND OTHER SUCH TERMS. I SAID "EXPEDITIOUSLY" HAD FINALLY BEEN DECIDED UPON, AND YET IN FIVE WEEKS NOT ONE OF NINETWEEN HAS BEEN ABLE TO LEAVE. I STATED THAT I FAILED TO SEE HOW THIS CAN BE TERMED EXPEDITIOUSLY.

29. WANG REPLIED THAT HE HAD NOTHING MORE TO SAY.

30. I STATED THAT I HAD A SUGGESTION TO MAKE ON TIMING OF THE TALKS. I POINTED OUT THAT WE HAVE BEEN MEETING AT IRREGULAR INTERVALS AND THAT BOTH OF US HAD OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES AS WELL. I STATED THAT TALKS WERE ENTERING PHASE OF UTMOST GRAVITY AND IMPORTANCE AND THAT I AND MY GOVERNMENT WANTED TIME CAREFULLY TO CONSIDER COURSE OF TALKS HERE. IN LIGHT OF THIS, I SUGGESTED THAT WE NORMALLY MEET ONCE A WEEK. I SAID FRIDAY OR ANY OTHER DAY WOULD SUIT ME BUT DID NOT EXCLUDE OCCASIONAL MORE FREQUENT MEETINGS IF WE CONSIDERED DESIRABLE.

31. WANG IMMEDIATELY CONCURRED IN MY SUGGESTION, REQUESTING THAT MEETINGS TAKE PLACE ON THURSDAYS FOR TIME BEING. WE AGREED TO RELEASE CUSTOMARY STATEMENT TO PRESS.

32. NEXT MEETING THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20, 10 AM.

GOWEN

HER

NOTE: FE Message Center notified 10/15/55 10:40 a.m. EMB(CWO)

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 290

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

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1955 OCT 14 PM 6 20

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611.93/10-1455

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 886

FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info:

Your 864. 611.93/10-1455

Defense arranging assign Ekvall European post and detail Geneva for duration talks. Letter from Godel enroute.

Dulles DULLES
(WPMcC)

Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:ek 10/14/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

DC/R
Amt 27
Rev
Cat

S/S-CR
OCT 14 1955 P.M.

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291

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Book

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☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 9/6/82

October 14, 1955

Letter No. 19

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

SECRET

Dear Alex:

Your long letter No. 6 of October 6 came on the 11th. It was of singular interest and gave us some very valuable sidelights on some of your collateral problems as well as on your general thinking. Walter Robertson, Herman Phleger and Bill Sebald have all read your letter and commented on its particular interest and value. I have discussed with Rod O'Connor the problem of coordinating the Departmental direction of your talks while the Foreign Ministers' Conference is going on. It will be difficult, with the Secretary and Judge Phleger in Geneva, and Robertson, Sebald, and myself here. Rod is sure that the Secretary will want to see you from time to time in Geneva, notwithstanding the great pressure of affairs directly related to the Conference. Judge Phleger will also be tied up with the business of the Conference, but naturally will wish to keep close to your negotiations. The regular work on your instructions will almost have to be done from here since our Delegation at Geneva will not have the time, the FE personnel or the files. (As you probably have heard, the Secretary has decided not to take any FE personnel or to engage in discussions of FE subjects. Molotov may be allowed to bring up some FE subjects if he insists, but he will have to do the talking and our Delegation would only listen.)

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador now at Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

We expect to present a recommendation to the Secretary on Monday for coordination of the direction of the talks while the Conference is going on. We are passing on to the Secretary your expression of hope that he may be able to in some way use Molotov during the Conference quietly to bring some pressure on the PRC to release the detained Americans. We don't know yet what if anything may be possible along this line.

You will have noted the conspicuous absence in our telegram of any response to your suggestion that we not rule out the introduction of procedural questions near the end of the talks. We appreciated that this might look like "a pot of gold" which could help to keep the talks going. But there is no inclination here now to take a position on this in our telegrams. The Secretary was quite specific in his talk with Foreign Minister George Yeh on Oct. 4 (a copy of the memorandum of conversation is being pouched to you), and on other occasions as to his aversion to the idea of a higher level Conference, his intention to avoid it, and his belief that there is nothing appropriate for discussion which cannot be handled in your conversations. Of course this does not preclude us from keeping the Chinese Communists guessing a little, but on principle there are arguments against seeming to equivocate.

Incidentally the Secretary was quite frank with George Yeh in spelling out to him the extent to which the continuation of the talks is in the interest of the GRC. I think it may tend to soften the criticism of the talks which has been coming out of governmental quarters in Taipei although I doubt if the tone of the Taiwan Press will be changed much.

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We have noted your query as to whether it might be permissable for either side to raise new subjects under Item Two. There will be some response to this query by early next week either in my next letter on the 17th or in a telegram.

Yesterday I gave Joy of the British Embassy the observations contained in your 855 concerning O'Neill's responsibilities. We endorsed your suggestions and requested that they be related to O'Neill with a recommendation that he act on them if he and the British Foreign Office perceive no objection. The British are being quite diligent on the implementation problem although they are somewhat concerned now at apparent leaks to the press (Reuters and AP) which hint at the difficulties O'Neill is encountering. I do not know the source of the information which the press is obtaining. I doubt if there is much of a leak since the information is somewhat garbled. Also the stories may indirectly be somewhat helpful rather than harmful since they will add a bit to the public pressure on the PRC to act. Still we must respect British wishes where the protection of their reporting is concerned, so we are taking steps to limit the distribution in the Department of O'Neill's reports on his conversations with the PRC Foreign Office. There is great interest among the press in O'Neill's efforts so our P and FE/P people are somewhat on the spot, as is the British Embassy here.

We are hoping that some additional pressure will be exerted on Peiping through U Nu. The Secretary sent him a good strong message

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in response to U Nu's extraordinary appeal for a higher level Conference. We assume of course that U Nu will pass on to Chou En-lai the text of the Secretary's reply. We have endeavored to capitalize on this probability. There is a ~~good~~ chance that U Nu will associate himself to some extent with our expression of dissatisfaction over the failure of the PRC to implement the Agreed Announcement.

A copy of this exchange of messages will be sent to you.

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Mr. Robertson is making a speech at Davidson College, North Carolina tomorrow which will have some pretty explicit things to say on the question of implementation of the Agreed Announcement, and on the need for ~~the~~ a PRC renunciation of the use of force. We think that this speech will fit well into our strategy. Some very specific questions are posed in this speech. You will get a copy.

On the renunciation of force item, we may have ~~unduly~~ unintentionally misled you somewhat in talks still about a "study". Nothing as elaborate as what that probably signifies to you is underway here. What is being worked on by Bill Sebald and Judge Phleger is a draft declaration proclaiming the renunciation of the use of force, except defensively, with specific reference to the Taiwan area. The form would be analogous to that of the Agreed Announcement of September 1C: — two parallel unilateral statements or declarations. The Secretary and Mr. Robertson had some reservations about the first draft and a new version is now in the works. It would be quite simple — only a half a page or so. We hope a draft of this will be ready to send you some time next week for your comments. With the help of Doug Forman and Peter Colm you probably will be able to prepare all the material you will need for expanding on the subject in the course of discussions. Your men certainly have more time to work on this than anybody in CA. However, it is true that they may be somewhat handicapped by not having the feel of all the current thinking here. We hope that Ralph Clough or someone else who is well qualified can be given a few hours of free time in which he can work up some argumentation under informed guidance.

On the

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On the embargo question, you may have sensed that the Secretary himself drafted numbered paragraph 5 of your instructions dated October 12, Deptel 870. There seems to be a good chance that we can get some negotiating value from drawing the Chinese Communists out as to just what aspects of the so-called "embargo" they are complaining about. We are troubled by the pressure from the British and the French, and to a much lesser extent the Japanese, for relaxing the COCOM controls and abolishing the differential altogether between CHINCOM and COCOM. Kalijarvi and Barbour met with Robertson on this yesterday. EUR and E are more pessimistic than FE on the possibility of maintaining the higher level of Chinese controls for the present. It is clear that it would be very poor tactics for us to throw away our China control cards now without getting anything in return. We believe we can hold the Japanese in line and we are going to urge the Secretary to make a strong approach to McMillan and Pinay in the tripartite talks preceding Geneva. Probably the Secretary is the only one who would be able to prevail on the French and British to stay in line. If this can be done our hand will be much strengthened with the Chinese Communists. Undoubtedly the trade controls are the one really effective pressure we are able to exert. We are convinced that those who minimize the value of the higher level of China controls are mistaken. FE is making its own recommendations to the Secretary on the subject. They differ somewhat from those of EUR and E.

We are

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We are glad that you expressed your views with complete frankness on the various draft documents on the question of the unaccounted for military personnel. It goes without saying that complete candor both here and in Geneva is essential. There is no hypersensitivity here or among the Pentagon people who are working on this subject, and we know you do not suffer from this affliction either. We want your ~~reaction~~ to with complete candor and we are doing the same. It is natural that somewhat more weight should be given to the importance of the record here than you would give it in Geneva. While there is plenty of room for ~~argumentation~~ as to what is the best tack from the standpoint of getting a cooperative response out of the Chinese Communists, I do not think the final version telegraphed from here is actually provocative, since it is probably a sad fact that we are not going to get any satisfaction out of the Chinese Communists in any event on a single one of these names, it may be just as well to adhere to the stronger text.

We were glad to get Ralph Clough back on the 10th. He has already been of ~~incapable~~ invaluable help to me in the regular work of the office as well as on Geneva matters.

I am surprised to learn that Colonel Ekvall's new orders have not gone out yet. We had understood from Bill Godel and from Colonel Rasmussen that everything was all squared away for him to be detailed as Assistant Military Attache. We wrote a letter some time ago confirming the continued need for his services and requesting an extension of his assignment.

We

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We were assured that this was all that was needed. I will have Ralph check again with the Pentagon today.

Bill Sebald sends his regards and tells you he hopes to find a few minutes some time soon to write you a note.

Regards and continued commendation for steering a good course.

As ever,

WPM

P.S. Please send one carbon copy of your letters in the future, if convenient.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 292

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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06683

1955 OCT 17 AM 11 53

DC/R Central Files

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 900

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

Chicom propaganda on international issues during past week continued ~~to~~ maintain hostile attitude toward US, accusing US of obstructing Geneva talks and pursuing policies in Far East contrary ~~to~~ spirit of Geneva. US said to be still relying on force to achieve objectives. NCNA commentary on Dulles Legion speech October 10 asserts ~~that~~ US request for ~~Chinese~~ Chicom renunciation of force tantamount ~~to~~ demand ~~that~~ ~~Chinese~~ Chicoms renounce sovereignty over Taiwan.

Geneva talks received more attention than previous week. People's Daily "Observer" editorials October 12 and 13 accused US of obstructing talks and failing take "any steps conforming to Geneva spirit." October 13 editorial focussed on question US military personnel missing in Korea. Editorial charged publicity given this subject in US press raises question US willingness abide by agreement on press release procedures, and hinted ~~that~~ if issue is raised by US, Chinese side will have "ample reason" raise issue of 14,000 POWs "forcibly detained" by US.

Peiping publicized return from America October 8 of jet propulsion expert Chien Hsueh-sen and Li Cheng-wu. Alleged Chien and Li had been "illegally arrested" in 1950 and "searched" by US officials on exit from US Sept. 17. Couple feted in Canton October 9.

Comment in

Drafted by: DRF/C:FLDawson:mvw 10-14-55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: OIR/DRF:JAYager

Clearances: IAD CA

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OCT 17 1955

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Comment on Taiwan during week relatively slight, consisting largely of broadcasts beamed to Taiwan, concerning US "exploitation" of Taiwanese. NCNA Oct. 8 noted Taiwan press reports of build-up in MAAG staff Taiwan and stepped-up US training program. Peiping commentary on Dulles speech October 10 charged US holding Taiwan "by force," while demanding China renounce force. Reiterated usual line that "liberation" internal affair, while US "use of force" in Taiwan area an international issue requiring negotiation.

Commentaries on Hoover trip noted pace of Japanese rearmament being quickened at US instigation and accused US of plans to send Japanese troops abroad, to further US "aggression" in Asia.

Question of "normalizing" relations between China and Japan apparently discussed at some length by Mao and Chou in interviews with Japanese Diet members visiting Peiping, October 3. Account of interviews given in Hong Kong and Japanese press indicate Chicoms now seeking restoration "normal relations" prior to discussion outstanding issues. Chou reported to have offered "normalized" relations, without conditions, and to have taken conciliatory line on question of Japanese relations with Taiwan, stating Peiping would not insist on rupture prior to talks. Mao reported to have promised release of Jap "war criminals," once state of war ended with Japan. Mao and Chou also reported to have suggested inauguration of talks on "normalization" of relations, at ambassadorial level, or higher, and Chou reported to have renewed invitation to Hatoyama to visit Peiping. NCNA October 13 accused Japanese government of turning deaf ear to Peiping's efforts to normalize Sino-Japanese relations.

Daily editorial October 12 hailed withdrawal six Chicom divisions from Korea as "major contribution to promotion peaceful settlement Korea question." Dulles

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October 17, 1955

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☑ Reviewer _____ Date 7/6/82

LETTER No. 20

Official Informal

SECRET

Dear Alex:

This letter will be short since not much has transpired since I wrote you on the 14th.

The Secretary has noted that it would seem at some point we should try to smoke out the Chinese Communists by asking them whether the matters they have proposed constituted the only matters they have at issue with the U. S. The Secretary observes that the purpose of the talks was to discuss such matters and he thinks we might ask that they should bring out everything that is in their minds. Otherwise the talks cannot serve their agreed purpose.

The foregoing is related to your remarks about whether the raising of other subjects by either side is precluded. I do not believe that anyone on our side thinks that as of now the raising of subjects other than the four mentioned under Item Two is ruled out. The only question is whether a deadline should be established for the introduction of new subjects.

Some of Judge Phleger's people and also Ralph Clough, are working on material for your possible use in connection with the renunciation of force item. We are in something of a dilema in that any elaboration

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

of our position on support of the GRC, the Mutual Defense Treaty, the Mission of the 7th Fleet, and the presence of MAAG units in Taiwan tends to get us involved in a discussion involving the essential interests if not the rights of the GRC. Yet avoidance of all mention of these matters and of our position on the juridical status of Taiwan, puts us in a false position of seeming to have ~~nothing~~ no defensible Position and nothing to say in response to Warr's ripostes. It would look as if our position were entirely ~~defensive~~ defensive and untenable. It would almost seem that we were ashamed to even attempt to defend our position. Somehow we must work out a means of ~~assuming~~ a forthright but our basic stance without getting bogged down in a counter productive dispute. ~~I think the answer will be found by taking a line which voices anything which would suggest negotiation of matters involving the rights of the GRC. Certainly the GRC would not object to a strong statement merely affirming our basic position in regard to the GRC and the reasons for the adoption of our basic policy.~~

I am enclosing a copy of an important speech which Mr. Robertson made at Davidson College on October 15. This will be of considerable background use to you. You will note that our problems are specifically dealt with beginning on the bottom of Page 5, running through Page 9. This speech is being given heavy play by the VOA throughout the FE although it was not carried as a State Department press release. We expect to put it in the State Department Bulletin soon.

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The Secretary is still taking a firm position against travel of American correspondents to Communist China while the 19 are still held. He reaffirmed this position to a CBS Executive recently. The pressure xx for immediate relaxation is undiminished.

The pouch is closing. We are meeting this afternoon on the guidance for your Thursday meeting. We hope to get this out tomorrow so you will have time to assimilate the telegram and come back at us if necessary before your meeting. You did well to get the meetings established on a weekly schedule without any adverse reaction from Wang.

Krishna Menon saw the Secretary alone on the 15th. I do not have any report on what transpired yet. I hope we can send a report ~~something~~ on anything ~~which may be~~ of direct interest within the next few days.

Good wishes,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosure:

Speech of Mr. Robertson

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1955 OCT 18 PM 6 36

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 914

FOR JOHNSON

Origin

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Guidance for 22nd meeting October 20.

1. You should continue stress emphatically US dissatisfaction with PRC failure implement Agreed Announcement along lines Deptel 870 numbered paragraph 1. Situation remains unchanged regarding nineteen Americans and ability UK Charge carry out his agreed functions. Conviction growing in US that Americans being held as hostages for political purposes. As evidence hardening of US public opinion you should quote verbatim New York Times editorial October 17 which illustrates growing concern US over Chinese failure implement their agreement. (Deptel 910) US Government seriously concerned by PRC's continued evasion its express commitments, which cannot fail have unfavorable effect on other aspects these talks.

2. At last meeting Wang introduced subjects such as status Taiwan and presence US forces in area on which US and PRC hold different views. These not subjects which can be usefully discussed under present conditions. Remind Wang that fundamental and pressing need is for both parties renounce use force so as to remove threat of war. Whenever Wang attempts divert discussion

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11052

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough/WJSebald:ek 10/18/55

Telegraphic transmission classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

L - Mr. Phleger

S - The Secretary (in draft)

CA - Mr. McConaughy

S/S-CR

OCT 18 1955 P.M.

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discussion to other topics you should endeavor bring it back to this simple basic proposition.

3. With reference ~~to~~ Wang's demand that US withdraw its forces from Taiwan area, you should point out that this is in effect a demand that US change its policy and abandon those whom it has pledged to defend from attack, under threat that armed force will be used if US does not accede to that demand. US does not intend yield to threat of force. Force is not an admissible means settling differences between us. US is not demanding that PRC alter its views and objectives. We only ask that both sides declare their willingness renounce force. Then and only then can differences be freely discussed.

4. Discretion on unaccounted-for military personnel continues in accordance with Deptel 370 paragraph 3 and on embargo accordance paragraph 5 same telegram.

5. As opportunity arises, endeavor smoke out Wang on what other issues PRC may wish discuss under Item 2, so that we may know of all questions Chinese Communists want settled. [Purpose questions raised latter paragraph is to lay basis for our inability solve embargo item unilaterally (your letter Oct. 13).

6. While Secretary in Geneva, responsibility for issuance your regular instructions will remain in Department. Telegraph promptly any instructions you may receive direct from Secretary in order keep Department fully informed. Department will keep Secretary informed of all instructions to you.

DULLES

11053

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 295

Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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SECRET
Classification
~~Verbatim Text~~

07481

1955 OCT 18 PM 6 37

DCAT

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON 915

Origin

Info:

Following draft declaration on renunciation of force has not repeat not received final approval in Department but is transmitted for your comments:

QUOTE

Agreed Announcement

of the Ambassadors of the United States of America and

the People's Republic of China

The Ambassadors of the United States of America and the People's Republic of China in the discussion of the practical matters at issue between the two sides have agreed to announce the following declarations:

Ambassador Wang Ping-nan informed Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson that:

In general, ~~particular~~, and with particular reference to the Taiwan area, The People's Republic of China renounces the use of force, except in individual and collective self defense.

Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson informed Ambassador Wang Ping-nan that:

In general, ~~particular~~ and with particular reference to the Taiwan area, the United States renounces the use of force, except in individual and collective self defense.

UNQUOTE

Dist. Desired (Offices Only)

11054

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:ek 10/18/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

S - The Secretary (in draft)
CA - Mr. McConaughy
FE - Mr. Sebald
L - Mr. Phleger

S/S-CR
OCT 18 1955 P.M.

SECRET
Classification

CS/M

611.93/10-1855

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19-H

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10/19/55, 2:35 p.m.
CORRECTED COPY

Action
FE

Control: 9401
Rec'd: October 19, 1955
7:30 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

Info
RMR

TO: Secretary of State

SS

NO: 896, October 19, noon

Action Assigned to Copy

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to OC/R

NIACT

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FROM JOHNSON

1. Re penultimate sentence paragraph 1 DEPTEL 914.

2. For following reasons I question desirability quoting newspaper editorial in meeting:

A. I open door to Wang quoting back to me as expressions US public opinion other American newspaper editorials favoring higher level meeting, even recognition, admission to UN, et cetera. (He can always find something our press quote against me while we can be sure we will never find anything CHICOM press quote against him.)

B. While cited editorial is excellent and I have in past and will continue make its principle points, my quoting it in meeting constitutes degree of endorsement which may require me to defend in detail. For example while phrase "Red China" is perfectly proper in context editorial and even public statements in US, it is type of phrase which I have thus far avoided in meeting and if Wang were to use corresponding Communist phrases in characterizing US Government or its officers I would expect immediately call him on it. Next, reference in fourth sentence editorial to "still larger number supposedly free to leave" presumably refers to "47".

I do not believe we have any evidence or even indication support implication these person most of whom probably working for CHICOMs desire to leave or are being prevented from leaving. In fact at last meeting I rejected Wang's efforts confuse issue with this group. While editorial speaks of "top level" meeting "between Secretary of State Dulles and Red Chinese Premier Chou En-lai" Wang has spoken only of "higher level" meeting and while implication of Dulles-Chou meeting is clear it has never been specifically identified as such.

C. It

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C. It seems to me I weaken my position as spokesman in these negotiations for a representative government presumably able to speak for and assess public opinion much better than any newspaper by formally introducing a newspaper editorial to support our position. He will be able throw back at me my previous statements early in negotiations on undesirability using press as authoritative source. (See 11th paragraph MYTEL 354).

3. I can and will in meeting strongly make point on hardening of US public opinion because CHICOM failure implement announcements CHICOMs closely follow US press and well know which papers are authoritative and influential, and will well know accuracy my statements without my reading editorials to them.

4. Therefore believe best use this and similar editorials in repetition to China by VOA and inclusion in Wireless Bulletin which they able closely follow.

GOWEN

LMS:LFS/2

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OUT TELEG 297

INDICATE [ ]
[ ] CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

383

07315
1955 OCT 19 PM 4 09
DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 931

Origin

Info:

FOR JOHNSON

Deptel 914.

Second sentence para 5 should follow first sentence para 4.

Dulles
DULLES

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SECRET FILE

Drafted by:
FE:WJSebald:evc 10/19/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald

Clearances:

11055

S/S-CR
OCT 19 1955 P.M.

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[ ] CHARGE TO

Department of State

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Classification

08033 (387)

1955 OCT 19 PM 6 39

This Dc DC/R Central Files

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 934

Origin

Info:

FOR JOHNSON

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Your 896. Department leaves to your discretion use of New York Times editorial Oct. 17. If you prefer you may cite principal points that editorial as widely representative American opinion without identifying with New York Times.

VOA requested give prominent play to this editorial in its Far Eastern output.

Dulles DULLES

611.93/10-1955

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DC/R
Anal 27
Rev

Drafted by: WPMcC
:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 10/19/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

L- Mr. Phleger

FE/P-Mr. Henderson

FE-Mr. Sebald

SECRET
Classification

OCT 19 1955 P.M.

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Deny
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Reviewer
Date

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

(19)

~~Mr Robertson~~
~~Mr Sebald~~
Return to Lot.

October 19, 1955

OFFICIAL -- INFORMAL

SECRET

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Letter No. 13

Dear Walter:

Your letter of October 14 was here when I returned yesterday afternoon. Your letter of October 17 arrived today. As always they are tremendously helpful and appreciated.

With the pouch going out tomorrow noon and my having a meeting at the same time, there is not much that I can write at this time. I have been steadily at work all day on my material for tomorrow's meeting on the basis of Deptel 914. I very much hope that you agree with me on the use of the New York Times editorial on which I sent you a message this morning as soon as I had read the instructions. Otherwise I felt the instructions were excellent and very helpful.

I am bothered by the absence of any word whatever from O'Neill and hope that something will arrive before tomorrow morning's meeting so that I do not go out on any limbs.

I thought the Secretary's press conference statement yesterday was excellent. I am glad that he brought out the extent to which we are actually on Item 2 although it has necessitated my doing a little explaining to correspondents here with whom I have thus far been less forthcoming in this regard.

I do not expect anything dramatic in tomorrow's meeting and will try to write you more fully on Friday.

With

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

With the Foreign Ministers' Conference opening, we will be able to take advantage of much more frequent pouch service.

I will probably return again to Prague on Saturday, again coming back here on Tuesday with the expectation of remaining here steadily during all or most of the Foreign Ministers' Conference.

Sincerely,

Alex

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

Oct. 20

P.S. Have just come back from today's meeting & this must go into pouch. Think meeting went as well as could be expected & think I made some progress on seriousness with which we view implementation problem. Would not be surprised if we got a few out before opening Fomin conference next Thursday. Suggested to UN they take initiative in moving our meetings to another area in same building so that we are entirely out of Fomin area where we are now meeting.

Alex

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2 9 2 a 386

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In reply refer to
CA

October 19 1955

This Document Made Re Reviewed to DC/R Central Files

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Dear General Erskine:

I refer to our previous correspondence regarding unaccounted-for United States Military personnel and our exchanges of views regarding the accounting to be demanded at Geneva by Ambassador Johnson from the Chinese Communist representative.

It appears that the Chinese Communist representative may respond to Ambassador Johnson's request for an accounting by making a counterdemand for an accounting for Chinese military personnel, including those who, in accordance with the Armistice Agreement, chose not to be repatriated.

I believe that our chances for favorable action on the release of the imprisoned civilians, as well as on our demand for this accounting, will be improved if we are able to render as full an accounting as possible for any list the Chinese Communist representative may submit. I understand an extensive accounting for Chinese personnel on lists previously submitted by the Communist side through the Military Armistice Commission in Korea has already been prepared, but not handed over to the Communists because of their refusal to account for our side's unaccounted-for personnel.

I would appreciate receiving from you any general suggestions and comments you may have as to how Ambassador Johnson might be instructed to respond to a Chinese Communist demand for an accounting for their personnel from the Korean War. I would

also

General G. B. Erskine,
Assistant to the Secretary of Defense,
(Special Operations),
Department of Defense,
Pentagon.

SECRET

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611.93/10-1955 CS/E

SECRET FILE

611.93/10-1955

also like to know your estimate, based on past Communist demands through the MAC, of the probable size and breakdown of the list which the Chinese Communist representative may submit, together with our position and capabilities with respect to furnishing the desired accounting.

Sincerely yours,

Walter S. Robertson
Assistant Secretary

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S/S-CR

OCT 18 1955 P M.

11736

SECRET

FE:CA:DLOsborn:apt 10/17/55

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CONFIDENTIAL

19-H
Action
FE

Info
RMR

SS

Control: 10147
Rec'd: OCTOBER 20, 1955
10:33 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 910, OCTOBER 20, 1 P.M.

Action Assigned to

Action Taken

No of Act

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

NIACT

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FROM JOHNSON

1. TWO HOUR TWENTY MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING, SOMEWHAT OVER HOUR OF WHICH DEVOTED TO IMPLEMENTATION.

2. I MADE PREPARED STATEMENT ALONG LINES PARA ONE DEPTEL 914 AND INCLUDING INFO ON O'NEILL'S INABILITY PERFORM FUNCTIONS CONTAINED DEPTEL 933.

3. DURING CONSIDERABLE GIVE AND TAKE IN WHICH HE SAID NOTHING NEW, I STRONGLY STRESSED TO WANG INCREASING SERIOUSNESS PRESENT SITUATION, INCREASINGLY UNFAVORABLE EFFECT IT WOULD HAVE ON OTHER ASPECTS THESE TALKS, REFERRED TO INCREASINGLY HARD TONE AMERICAN PRESS AND READ PORTION OF LETTER I HAD RECEIVED FROM MOTHER OF FATHER HOULE. THEME WAS AMERICANS BELIEVE ANNOUNCEMENT MEANT WHAT IT SAID AND AS TIME PASSES WITH NO RESULTS IN THIS OUR FIRST COMMON PUBLIC ACT, HE MUST EXPECT STRONG REACTION. CONVICTION 19 BEING HELD FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES STRENGTHENED BY CONTINUED REFERENCE PRC PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON "IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS" AS FACTOR IN TIMING RELEASE. BELIEVE I WAS SUCCESSFUL IN SOME DEGREE IMPRESSING ON HIM SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH WE VIEW SITUATION.

4. I THEN MADE PREPARED STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE ALONG LINES PARAS 2 AND 3 DEPTEL 914 WANG REPLIED WITH SHORT PREPARED STATEMENT TO EFFECT OUR PROPOSAL WAS ABUSE NON-RECOURSE TO FORCE PRINCIPLE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS TO PREVENT THEIR EXERCISE OF SOVEREIGN RIGHTS IN TAIWAN, TAIWAN WAS DOMESTIC PROBLEM, DISCUSSION INADMISSIBLE IN SCOPE

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SCOPE THESE TALKS AND MERE STATEMENT PRINCIPLE CANNOT RESOLVE TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA. DEEDS, THAT IS US WITHDRAWAL FROM TAIWAN, REQUIRED. REPEATED THEME "CIRCUMSTANCES PERMITTING CHINESE GOVERNMENT WILLING TO STRIVE FOR LIBERATION TAIWAN BY PEACEFUL MEANS". IN GIVE AND TAKE HE REGULARLY SPOKE OF "AMERICAN INVASION AND ARMED OCCUPATION OF TAIWAN". REJECTED ANY PARALLEL BETWEEN TAIWAN SITUATION AND OTHER DIVIDED COUNTRIES. PRC "WILL NEVER RECOGNIZE STATUS QUO".

5. I IGNORED CHALLENGE OUR POLICY AND KEPT COMING BACK TO THEME FIRST AND FUNDAMENTAL STEP WAS NON-RECOURSE TO FORCE DECLARATION TO WHICH HIS REITERATED REPLY WAS WITHDRAWAL US FORCES IN IMPLEMENTATION US ACCEPTANCE OF PRINCIPLE NON-RECOURSE TO FORCE OR THREAT OF FORCE.

6

6. NEXT MEETING THURSDAY OCTOBER 27.

7. I AM DEPARTING FOR PRAGUE SATURDAY RETURNING GENEVA TUESDAY.

GOZE

RW

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25-D
Action
FE

Control: 10381
Rec'd: October 20, 1955
4:21 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

Info
RMR

TO: Secretary of State

SS
G

NO: 915, October 20, 4 p.m.

FROM JOHNSON

JR

JOINT STATE USIA MESSAGE

IA Garnish informs me he has been assigned full time as Chief USIS Coverage Team FONMIN Conference, and is departing Geneva immediately thereafter for home leave. No information here on arrival his successor but appears may be at least few weeks. With mass arrival correspondents for FONMIN Conference it can be expected will be considerable increase in demands on information officer for my talks. Thus important information officer with clear responsibility my talks be available not later than October 26. From policy standpoint would not think it desirable such officer be actively identified with FONMIN Conference. Would appreciate Department promptly discussing appropriate action with USIA.

GOWEN

HMR/14

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Date of Action 10/24

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Name of Officer

Direction to RC/R

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Control: 10399
Rec'd: OCTOBER 20, 1955
4:57 PM

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Action Taken

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Date of Officer
Initials DC/D

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 921, OCTOBER 20, 8 PM

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FROM JOHNSON

REDEPTEL 915

1. IN GENERAL I THINK IT IMPORTANT THAT WHATEVER OUR MINIMUM POSITION ON TEXT OF DECLARATIONMAY BE WE START WITH SOMETHING MORE SO AS TO PRESERVE BARGAINING ROOM. WOULD NEVER BE ABLE CONVINCE WANG OUR FIRST POSITION WAS FINAL POSITION AND FIRST TEXT SHOULD HAVE SOME NEGOTIATING LATITUDE BUILT INTO IT.

2. AT SAME TIME DO NOT BELIEVE TEXT THIS DECLARATION CAN BE MADE FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON SUBJECT TO SAME DEGREE AS WAS POSSIBLE WITH AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ON RELEASE CIVILIANS. THAT IS, DO NOT RPT NOT BELIEVE IT WOULD BE PRODUCTIVE INTRODUCE ANY TEXT UNLESS AND UNTIL NEGOTIATIONS REACHED POINT APPEARED SOME AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE IN SIGHT.

3. I PERCEIVE NO OBJECTION TO DRAFT TEXT BUT HAVE DIFFICULTY IN VISUALIZING AT THIS STAGE HOW NEGOITAIONS THEREON MIGHT DEVELOP. IN EVENT SOME AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE IS REACHED IT IS POSSIBLE CHICOMS MAY DESIRE INCLUSION SOME LANGUAGE IN THEIR SECTION REAFFIRMING THEIR POSITION ON TAIWAN ETC. THIS OF COURSE WOULD OPEN DOOR FOR S TO ISIST ON INCLUSION COUNTER-BALANCING STATEMENTS OUR SECTION. CHICOMS ALSO LIKELY INSIST ON INCLUSION UN CHARTER LANGUAGE FROM ARTICLE 2 PARA 4 ON "INTERNATIONAL" AND "THREAT" USE OF FORCE.

4. HAVE NO FURTHER COMMENTS AT THIS TIME.

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7:47 PM

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 922, OCTOBER 20, 9 PM (SECTION 1 OF 2)

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. 22ND MEETING TODAY LASTED TWO HOURS AND TWENTY MINUTES. I OPENED WITH PREPARED STATEMENT AS FOLLOWS:

A. MR AMBASSADOR, I FIRST WISH TO DISCUSS WITH YOU THIS MORNING QUESTION OF IMPLEMENTATION OF ANNOUNCEMENT WITH REGARD TO RETURN OF CIVILIANS WHICH WE ISSUED ON SEPTEMBER TENTH. THIS SATURDAY SIX WEEKS WILL HAVE PASSED SINCE THAT ANNOUNCEMENT WAS ISSUED. IN OUR LAST FEW MEETINGS I HAVE EXPRESSED TO YOU INCREASING CONCERN OVER DELAY BY YOUR GOVERNMENT IN IMPLEMENTING THAT ANNOUNCEMENT. AT OUR LAST MEETING I STATED THAT IT SHOULD BE EVIDENT THAT MY GOVENMENT WAS BOUND TO TAKE INCREASINGLY SERIOUS VIEW OF YOUR GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT ANNOUNCEMENT WITH RESPECT TO 19 AMERICANS IN JAIL IF THIS FAILURE SHOULD BE FURTHER PROTRACTED. HOWEVER, I HAVE NOT TAKEN UP VALUABLE TIME AT THESE MEETINGS TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER IN DETAILS.

B. I HAVE DONE THIS IN DEFERENCE TO YOUR WISH THAT WE SHOULD PROCEED TO DISCUSSION OF MATTERS UNDER AGENDA ITEM 2 AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE. THIS IS MY DESIRE TOO, BUT YOU MUST UNDERSTAND THAT IN ORDER FOR DISCUSSION OF THESE COMPLEX SUBJECTS TO PROCEED WITH SOME HOPE OF SUCCESS, THERE MUST BE PRESENT AN ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND ASSURANCE THAT AGREEMENTS REACHED WILL BE CARRIED OUT.

C. THIS ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE IS RAPIDLY AND SERIOUSLY

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BEING JEOPARIDZED BY YOUR GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WITH RESPECT TO REMAINING IMPRISONED AMERICANS, AS WELL AS BY CONTINUED INABILITY OF UK CHARGE IN PEKING TO CARRY OUT FUNCTIONS ENVISAGED IN ANNOUNCEMENT. WHEN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WAS RELEASED, PEOPLE OF UNITED STATES AND WORLD PROMPTLY TOOK IT TO MEAN SIMPLY WHAT IT SAID. THEY BELIEVED THAT AMERICANS IN YOUR COUNTRY WHO WANTED TO RE TURN WOULD BE PERMITTED EXPEDITIOUSLY TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO DO SO, THIS ENCOURAGED AMERICAN PEOPLE AND MY GOVERN-MENT AND ME TO BELIEVE THAT WE COULD PROMPTLY GO ON TO FRUITFUL DISCUSSION OF OTHER MATTERS AT ISSUE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. WE HOPED AND EXPECTED THAT IN THIS ATMOSPHERE IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO MOVE AHEAD ON THESE OTHER IMPORTANT AND DIFFICULT MATTERS.

D. I MUST IN INTEREST OF OUR TALKS FRANKLY TELL YOU THAT FAVORABLE ATMOSPHERE CREATED BY ISSUANCE OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT IS BEING RAPIDLY DISSIPATED. UP TO NOW NO ACTION WHATEVER HAS BEEN TAKEN TO PERMIT RETURN OF REMAINING 19 AMERICANS. FURTHERMORE, YOU TOLD ME THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WOULD PROMPTLY CONSIDER SUGGESTIONS WITH REGARD DETAILS OF IMPLEMENTATION SUB-MITTED BY BRITISH CHARGE IN PEIKING. ALTHOUGH MORE THAN FIVE WEKS HAVE NOW PASSED SINCE I FIRST RAISED THESE QUESTIONS HERE WITH YOU AND SEVERAL WEEKS HAVE PASSED SINCE BRITISH CHARGE RAISED THESE SAME QUESTIONS WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT, HE STILL HAS NOT EVEN RECEIVED REPLY. NOR HAS ANY IMPRISONED AMERICAN BEEN PERMITTED BY YOUR GOVERNMENT EVEN TO COMMUNICATE WITH HIM. THIS IS CAUSING SERIOUS DOUBT IN MY COUNTRY CONCERNING WILLING-NESS OF YOUR GOVERNMENT FAITHFULLY AND PROMPTLY TO CARRY OUT THIS, OUR FIRST COMMON PUBLIC ACT. FEELING IS GAINING GROUND THAT CASES OF THESE AMERICANS ARE NOT BEING HANDLED IN LIGHT OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, BUT RATHER THAT THESE INDIVIDUALS ARE BEING HELD AS HOSTAGES FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES. I WOULD NOT BE HONEST IF I DID NOT TELL YOU THAT CONTINUATION OF THIS SITUA-TION CANNOT FAIL TO HAVE AN UNFAVORABE EFFECT ON OTHER ASPECTS OF THESE TALK

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E. IF THIS IS TO BE RESULT OF OUR ISSUING AN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, IT WOULD HAVE, PERHAPS, BEEN BETTER IF IT HAD NEVER BEEN ISSUED. HOWEVER, I AM VERY RELUCTANT TO COME TO THIS CONCLUSION. I WANT TO BELIEVE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE ACTION TO COMPLETE CARRYING OUT OF ITS COMMITMENT AND THEREBY RESTORE AN ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS IN THESE TALKS.

F. BEFORE TURNING TO ANY OTHER MATTERS THIS MORNING, I WOULD LIKE TO HEAR WHAT YOU HAVE TO WAY WITH REGARD TO THIS SITUATION.

2. WANG REPLIED THAT HE REGARDED MY AGAIN RAISING QUESTION OF IMPLEMENTATION REGRETTABLE. HE COULD NOT ACCEPT MY STATEMENT THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD NEGLECTED IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. THERE WERE STILL CHINESE NATIONALS IN US WHO DESIRE TO RETURN BUT HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO DO SO. HIS GOVERNMENT HAD NOT RECEIVED LISTS OF NAMES EVEN OF THOSE INDIVIDUALS I HAD INFORMED HIM HAD DEPARTED US. WANG SAID THAT THIS WAS NOT SATISFACTORY.

3. HE CONTINUED BY STATING THAT 66 AMERICAN NATIONALS REMAIN IN CHINA, INCLUDING 47 "CIVILIANS". ANY OF THESE "CIVILIANS" WHO DESIRE TO RETURN TO US MAY DO SO IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREEMENT. AS TO ANOTHER 19 WHO HAVE "COMMITTED OFFENSES", WANG SAID THAT HE HAD PREVIOUSLY INDICATED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT IS WLLING TO REVIEW CASE OF EACH OF THESE PEOPLE IN ACCORDANCE WITH CHINESE LAW.

4. WANG SAID THAT "ALLEGED DOUBT" IN US CONCERNING WILLINGNESS OF HIS GOVERNMENT TO CARRY OUT AGREEMENT IS NOT JUSTIFIED, AND THAT HE OPPOSED STRONGLY "ALLEGED STATEMENT" THAT REMAINING 19 ARE HELD AS HOSTAGES. HE TERMED THIS "DELIBERATE DISTORTION OF FACTS".

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5. HE SAID THAT EACH SIDE HAD INVITED THIRD COUNTRY AND THAT ALL MATTERS CONCERNING IMPLEMENTATION SHOULD BE REFERRED TO THESE COUNTRIES. IT IS UNNECESSARY FURTHER TO BRING UP MATTER IN THESE TALKS. IF MATTER IS FURTHER RAISED IN THESE TALKS, HE CANNOT BUT TAKE IT AS QUESTIONING THEIR GOOD FAITH IN IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

6. WANG STATED THAT HIS SIDE WAS NOT RAISING QUESTION OF US IMPLEMENTATION IN SPITE OF ITS DISSATISFACTION ON RETURN OF CHINESE NATIONALS IN US. HE STATED HE WOULD NOT RAISE QUESTION OF GOOD FAITH OF US IN CARRYING OUT AGREEMENT.

7. I REPLIED THAT ADVANTAGE OF OUR MEETING WAS INFORMAL ATMOSPHERE WITHOUT PUBLICITY THAT ENABLED US TO TALK FRANKLY WITH EACH OTHER. I STATED THAT I HOPED WE WOULD BE ABE TO CONTINNUE TO DO SO. I TOLD HIM THAT WHAT I HAD SAID THIS MORNING WAS MOTIVATED BY EARNEST DESIRE TO EXPLAIN FRANKLY SITUATION IN MY COUNTRY IN REGARD TO TALKS. I TOLD HIM THAT IF HE IS DISSATISFIED WITH PROGRESS OF RETURNING CHINESE NATIONALS FROM US HE SHOULD TELL ME SO FRANKLY.

8. I STATED THAT TO BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE NO CHINESE NATIONAL WHO WANTS TO RETURN IS BEING PREVENTED FROM RETURNING BY ANY ACTION BY MY GOVERNMENT. I SAID THAT ANY CHINESE NATIONAL WHO FEELS HE IS BEING HINDERED IS FREE TO COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY, AND THAT WE HAD PREVIOUSLY STATED THAT WE WOULD ACCEPT REPRESENTATIONS FROM INDAN EMBASSY ON BEHALF OF ANY SUCH NATIONALS. I SAID THAT I KNEW OF NO CASE THUS FAR IN WHICH SUCH REPRESENTATIONS HAD BEEN RECEIVED AND THAT WE WOULD ACT PROMPTLY SHOULD ANY SUCH CASE ARISE.

9. I SAID THAT CASE OF 19 AMERICANS IS ENTIRELY DIFFERENT. I SAID THAT ONLY ACTION BY WANG'S GOVERNMENT CAN PERMIT THEM TO LEAVE. WHATEVER HE MAY FEEL CONCERNING JUSTICE OR INJUSTICE OF MY STATEMENTS REGARDING PUBLIC OPINION IN US, IT IS FACT THAT HAS TO BE CONSIDERED. I AM SURE HIS GOVERNMENT FOLLOWS US PRESS AND KNOWS STATEMENTS I MADE ARE NOT BASED ON FIGMENT MY IMAGINATION.

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10. I SAID THAT PRESS RELEASES BY OFFICIAL AGENCIES OF HIS GOVERNMENT HAVE DONE MUCH TO FEED FEELING THAT THESE AMERICANS BEING HELD AS HOSTAGES. THESE PRESS RELEASES AND STATEMENTS CONTINUED TO SPEAK OF IMPROVEMENT IN RELATONS AS FACTOR IN RELEASE OF THESE AMERICANS.

11. I SAID THAT AMERICAN PRESS AND PUBLIC ARE PUTTING SAME INTERPRETATION ON THESE STATEMENTS THAT I HAD TOLD HIM IN EARLIER MEETINGS I COULD NOT BUT PLACE ON SIMILAR STATEMENTS HE HAD MADE. I SAID THAT I AM VERY DISTURBED ABOUT THIS SITUATION.

12. I TOLD HIM THAT I EARNESTLY HOPED THIS SITUATION CAN BE CORRECTED AND THAT ATMOSPHERE CREATED BY AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT CAN BE RESTORED. I SAID I GREATLY FEARED CONSEQUENCES OF CONTINUATION OF PRESENT SITUATION, AND THAT I WAS SAYING THIS NOT TO BE PROVOCATIVE OR TO MAKE THREATS, BUT SIMPLY IN ORDER TO SHARE FRANKLY WITH HIM TREND OF OPINION IN MY COUNTRY WITH ITS INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCES ON THE TALKS.

13. WANG REPLIED THAT HE SHARED MY VIEW THAT WE SHOULD SPEAK FRANKLY IN THESE TALKS. HOWEVER, FRANK EXCHANGES SHOULD FACILITATE RATHER THAN HINDER PROGRESS OF TALKS. INSOFAR AS PUBLIC OPINION IS CONCERNED, THERE IS ALSO PUBLIC OPINION IN HIS COUNTRY. IN HIS COUNTRY "PUBLIC OPINION IS TRULY REPRESENTATIVE OF OPINION OF CHINESE PEOPLE", AND THIS FACT COULD NOT BE DISTORTED IN ANY WAY.

14. HE SAID THAT OUR POSITIONS IN THESE DISCUSSIONS MUST BE BASED ON GENUINE FACTS. IF OUR DELIBERATIONS WERE BASED ON INACCURATE SPECULATIONS, WE COULD NOT POSSIBLY COME TO CORRECT CONCLUSIONS. IN SAME MANNER HE HOPED THAT THERE WOULD BE CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE IN PUBLIC OPINION. THIS REQUIRED EFFORTS ON BOTH SIDES.

15. I REPLIED THAT I AGREED THAT DISCUSSION SHOULD BE BASED ON FACTS, AND THAT I WAS TRYING TO EXPLAIN FACT REGARDING SITUATION IN MY COUNTRY. I SAID I HOPED HE AND HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD EARNESTLY CONSIDER WHAT I HAD SAID BECAUSE IT WAS SAID TO FACILITATE TALKS.

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16. I SAID I WISHED TO STRESS THAT FACT THAT PEOPLE IN MY COUNTRY EXPECTED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO LEAD TO EXPEDITIOUS RETURN OF DETAINED AMEICANS AND THAT ADVERSE REACTION OF DISAPPOINTMENT WAS INCREASING WITH TIME. I SAID THAT AS PERSONAL TOUCH I HAD LETTER FROM LADY IN MY OWN HOME TOWN, MRS HOULE, MOTHER OF FATHER HOULE. I READ EXCERPTS FROM LETTER, EXPRESSING MRS. HOULE'S EXPECTATION AT TIME OF ANNOUNCEMENT HER SON WOULD PROMPTLY RETURN AND INCREASING (#)

CRH:HER

(#) OMISSION. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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16. I SAID I WISHED TO STRESS THE FACT THAT PEOPLE IN MY COUNTRY EXPECTED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO LEAD TO EXPEDITIOUS RETURN OF DETAINED AMERICANS AND THAT ADVERSE REACTION OF DISAPPOINTMENT WAS INCREASING WITH TIME. I SAID THAT AS PERSONAL TOUCH I HAD LETTER FROM LADY IN MY OWN HOME TOWN, MRS. HOULE, MOTHER OF FATHER HOULE. I READ EXCERPTS FROM FROM LETTER, EXPRESSING MRS. HOULE'S EXPECTATION AT TIME OF ANNOUNCEMENT HER SON WOULD PROMPTLY RETURN AND INCREASING DISAPPOINTMENT AT NO WORD ON HIS RETURN.

17. I CONCLUDED THAT IT WAS HARD FOR ME TO ANSWER LETTERS LIKE THAT, BUT THAT I WOULD NOT PURSUE SUBJECT FURTHER THIS MORNING.

18. WANG REPLIED THAT THERE ARE PEOPLE WHO EXPRESS SAME FEELINGS IN LETTERS TO HIM AND THAT THERE HAVE BEEN VARIOUS VIEWS CONCERNING THE ADVANCE RELEASE OF AMERICANS WHO HAVE COMMITTED OFFENSES. HE SAID THAT QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN RAISED WHY SUCH PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN UNFRIENDLY TO CHINA AND CARRIED OUT ACTS AGAINST IT SHOULD BE RELEASED EARLY. HE SAID HE DID NOT PROPOSE TO DEAL FURTHER WITH THIS POINT.

GOWEN

CES

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 922, OCTOBER 20, 9 PM, (SECTION 2 OF 2).

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FROM JOHNSON

19. I NEXT PRESENTED PREPARED STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AS FOLLOWS:

A. MR. AMBASSADOR I HAVE VERY CAREFULLY STUDIED REMARKS WHICH YOU MADE AT OUR LAST MEETING CONCERNING PROPOSAL OF MY GOVERNMENT THAT EACH OF US SHOULD RENOUNCE USE OF FORCE TO ACHIEVE OUR POLICIES WHEN THEY CONFLICT AND SPECIFICALLY THAT BOTH SIDES DECLARE THAT THEY WOULD NOT RESORT TO USE OF FORCE IN TAIWAN AREA EXCEPT DEFENSIVELY.

B. DURING YOUR DISCUSSION AT OUR LAST MEETING YOU INTRODUCED SEVERAL SUBJECTS, IN PARTICULAR THAT OF STATUS OF TAIWAN AND PRESENCE OF UNITED STATES FORCES IN THAT AREA. THESE ARE SUBJECTS UPON WHCH OUR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS HOLD DIFFERENT VIEWS. I HAVE CAREFULLY AVOIDED ATTEMPTINGTO FORCE ON YOU VIEWS OF MY GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD TO THESE COMPLEX MATTERS. ALTHOUGH MY GOVERNMENT IS ENTIRELY CONVINCED OF RIGHTNESS AND JUSTNESS OF ITS POSITION WITH REGARD TO THESE MATTERS, IT IS NOT NOW ASKING YOUR GOVERNMENT TO ACCEPT OUR VIEWS. MY GOVERNMENT FULL WELL RECOGNIZES THAT ITS VIEWS ARE DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF YOU GOVERNMENT AND THAT EACH OF OUR GOVERNMENTS HAS POLICIES WHICH ARE IN CERTAIN RESPECTS INCOMPATIBLE WITH EACH OTHER.

C. ON OTHER HAND I HAVE NOTED YOUR DEMAND THAT MY GOVERNMENT SHOULD WITHDRAW ITS FORCES FROM TAIWAN AREA. IN EFFECT YOU ARE DEMANDING THAT UNITED STATES SHOULD CHANGE ITS POLICY AND

THAT

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THAT MY GOVERNMENT SHOULD ABANDON THOSE WHOM IT HAS SOLEMNLY PLEDGED TO DEFEND FROM ATTACK. YOU STATE THAT YOUR GVOERNMENT WILL, IF CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT, SEEK WHAT YOU TERM THE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN BY PEACEFUL MEANS. I CANNOT BUT READ INTO YOUR STATEMENT THE CLEAR IMPLICATON THAT IF YOU ARE NOT ABLE BY PEACEFUL MEANS TO ACHIEVE YOUR NATIONAL OBJECTIVES WITH RESPECT TO TAIWAN AREA, YOU WILL RESORT TO FORCE. WHAT YOU SEEM IN EFFECT TO BE SAYING IS THAT YOU WILL USE PEACEFUL MEANS AS LONG AS YOUR NATIONAL OBJECTIVES CAN THEREBY BE ACHIEVED BUT THAT IF THEY CANNOT BE ACHIEVED BY SUCH MEANS, YOU THREATEN TO USE FORCE. THEREFORE, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WHAT YOU IN EFFECT HAVE SAID IS THAT IF UNITED STATES DOES NOT ACCEDE TO YOUR GOVERNMENT'S DEMAND THAT MY GOVERNMENT CHANGE ITS POLICIES, YOUR GOVERNMENT THREATENS USE OF ARMED FORCE.

D. JUST SO THAT WE MAY BE ENTIRELY CLEAR, I WANT TO SAY VERY FRANKLY AND VERY BLUNTLY THAT UNITED STATES DOES NOT INTEND TO YIELD TO THREAT OF FORCE.

E. MY GOVERNMENT DOES NOT CONSIDER THAT FORCE IS ADMISSIBLE MEANS OF SETTLING DIFFERNECES BETWEEN US. MY GOVERNMENT IS NOT DEMANDING THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT ALTER ITS VIEWS OR ITS OBJECTIVES. PROPOSAL WHICH I HAVE MADE IS ONLY THAT BOTH SIDES DECLARE THEIR WILLINGNESS TO RENOUCE FORCE TO IMPLEMENT THESE POLICIES. THEN AND ONLY THEN CAN THESE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US BE FREELY AND HOPEFULLY DISCUSSED. THEY CANNOT BE USEFULLY DISCUSSED UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS IN WHICH ONE PARTY IS THREATENING USE OF FORCE IF ITS VIEWS DO NOT FULLY PREVAIL.

F. I HAVE SOUGHT TO DETERMINE ASPECTS OF THIS PRINCIPLE ON WHICH WE AGREE AND HOPE THAT WHATEVER COMMON GROUND WE DO HAVE MAY BE EXTENDED AND PROVIDE A SUFFICIENT BASE FOR MAKING DECLARATIONS WHICH I HAVE SUGGESTED. SOLEMN DUTY WHICH BOTH OF US HAVE TOWARD OUR RESPECIVE GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES IS TO ATTEMPT TO WIDEN AREA OF WHATEVER AGREEMENT EXISTS BETWEEN US AND TO NARROW AND EVENTUALLY ELIMINATE AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT. YOU HAVE STATED THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT IS IN AGREEMENT WITH MY GOVERNMENT REGARDING PRINCIPLES OF UNITED NATIONS CHARTER WITH RESPECT TO USE OF FORCE. HOWEVER, IF

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I UNDERSTAND YOUR REMARKS CORRECTLY, YOUR GOVERNMENT IS NOT WILLING TO APPLY THOSE PRINCIPLES TO SITUATION IN TAIWAN AREA. AS I POINTED OUT IN MY STATEMENT AT OUR 20TH MEETING, THERE ARE MANY COUNTRIES IN WORLD TODAY WHCH ARE ABNORMALLY DIVIDED. IN EACH OF THESE CASES RESORT TO FORCE BY ONE SIDE OR OTHER CANNOT BUT RESULT IN WAR. A DETERMINATION THAT SUCH SITUATIONS SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO BRING ABOUT WAR HAS BEEN VOICED BY RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENTS. IN SUCH AN ATMOSPHERE THERE CAN BE HOPE THAT EQUITABLE, JUST AND PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS CAN, WITH PATIENCE, BE FOUND. SUCH SOLUTIONS ARE IMPOSSIBLE IN ATMOSPHERE OF OVERWHELMING THREAT OF ONE SIDE TO RESORT TO FORCE IF ITS VIEWS DO NOT PREVAIL. ONLY WHEN THREAT OF FORCE IS REMOVED CAN THERE BE HOPE OF COMING TO CONSTRUCTIVE CONCLUSIONS.

G. I FAIL TO SEE WHY OR UPON WHAT MORAL OR LEGAL BASIS YOUR GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THAT SITUATION IN TAIWAN AREA DIFFERS FROM THESE OTHER SITUATIONS. I FAIL TO SEE WHY YOUR GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THAT IT SHOULD BE ENTITLED TO DISREGARD ACCEPTED STANDARDS OF INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT WITH REGARD TO THIS PARTICULAR SITUATION.

H. I AGAIN MOST EARNESTLY EXPRESS HOPE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL BE ABLE TO AGREE WITH MINE UPON THIS SIMPLE BUT FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE SO THAT OTHER MATTERS CAN BE DISCUSSED WITH A BETTER HOPE OF REACHING CONSTRUCTIVE CONCLUSIONS.

20. WANG REPLIED WITH PREPARED STATEMENT. HE SAID THAT HE HAD PREVIOUSLY POINTED OUT THAT PRINCIPLE OF NON-RECOURSE TO FORCE MUST NOT BE ABUSED WITH RESPECT TO CHINA'S EXERCISE OF ITS SOVEREIGN RIGHTS TO ITS OWN TERRITORY OF TAIWAN. HE SAID THAT CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY STATED THAT "CIRCUMSTANCES PERMITTING IT WILL STRIVE TO LIBERATE TAIWAN BY PEACEFUL MEANS". HOWEVER, THIS CHINESE DOMESTIC AFFAIR IS NOT WITHIN SCOPE OF OUR PRESENT TALKS.

21. HE SAID THAT SECOND AGENDA ITEM COVERED ONLY PRACTICAL MATTERS AT ISSUE BETWEEN CHINA AND US AND THAT I HAD REPEATEDLY INDICATED THAT DISCUSSION COULD INVOLVE ONLY CHINA AND US. HENCE HE CONSIDERED DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF CHINA OR US COULD NOT BE MADE SUBJECTS OF TALKS.

22. HE

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22. HE STATED THAT AS HE HAD PREVIOUSLY POINTED OUT, CHINA HAS ALWAYS ADVOCATED PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES RATHER THAN RECOURSE TO FORCE AND THAT CHINA IS OPPOSED THREAT OR USE OF FORCE TO UNDERMINE SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ANY STATE. HE SAID THAT I HAD STATED THAT US AS MEMBER OF UN AGREED TO REFRAIN FROM THREAT OR USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. HE STATED THAT US BY USING FORCE AGAINST CHINA'S TAIWAN HAS ALREADY BROKEN PRINCIPLE OF NON-EMPLOYMENT OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

23. AT APPROXIMATELY THIS POINT WANG ABANDONED HIS MANUSCRIPT AND CONTINUED EXTEMPORANEOUSLY. HE SAID THAT MERE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLE CANNOT RESOLVE TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA. PRACTICAL QUESTION IS HOW US IS GOING TO IMPLEMENT PRINCIPLE BY ACTUAL DEEDS.

24. HE COULD NOT ACCEPT THE WAY I HAD RAISED QUESTION OF STATUS OF TAIWAN. TAIWAN IS CHINESE TERRITORY AND THIS CANNOT BE DISPUTED. THAT QUESTION HAS BEEN SETTLED LONG AGO. TAIWAN IS AS MUCH CHINESE TERRITORY AS NEW YORK IS AMERICAN TERRITORY AND CANNOT BE SEPARATED FROM CHINA.

25. HE SAID THAT I HAD ON-ONE HAND PROPOSED TO MAKE ANNOUNCEMENT REGARDING RENUNCIATION OF USE OF FORCE. ON OTHER HAND, I HAD OPENLY MADE A STATEMENT THIS MORNING CONCERNING JUSTICE OF USE OF FORCE BY US IN TAIWAN AREA. IF SUCH AMERICAN USE OF FORCE IS JUSTIFIABLE ONE IS BOUND TO QUESTION SIGNIFICANCE OF CAIRO DECLARATION, OF POTSDAM AGREEMENT ON WHICH SIGNATURE OF US PRESIDENT IS AFFIXED, OF PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY AMERICAN PRESIDENTS, AND OF UN CHARTER STIPULATIONS. IF AMERICAN USE OF FORCE AGAINST TAIWAN IS JUSTIFIED, WHAT WAS MEANING OF RESISTANCE AGAINST JAPANESE AGGRESSION. IF AMERICAN USE OF FORCE AGAINST TAIWAN IS TERMED JUSTIFIED WE ARE BOUND TO SAY IT IS MAKING FARCE OF NORMALLY ACCEPTED STANDARDS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

26. WANG STATED THAT HE ALSO WISHED TO SAY FRANKLY THAT US ARMED OCCUPATION OF TAIWAN IS NOT MERELY THREAT TO SECURITY OF CHINA BUT ALSO THREAT TO SECURITY AND PEACE IN FAR EAST. CHINESE PEOPLE CONSISTENTLY ADVOCATED PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

OF

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OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES AND OPPOSED SETTLEMENT BY FORCE, BUT THEY WILL NEVER YIELD TO THREAT OF FORCE AND WILL NEVER RECOGNIZE STATUS QUO.

27. HE SAID THAT EXAMPLES OF DIVIDED NATIONS THAT I HAD CITED CAN NEVER EXPLAIN OR JUSTIFY AMERICAN ARMED OCCUPATION OF TAIWAN.

28. HE SAID THAT CHIEF CAUSE OF TENSION LIES IN FACT THAT US USED FORCE IN THE AREA. SUCH USE OF FORCE GREATLY THREATENS CHINA AND OTHER CONTRIES IN THAT AREA. THAT WAS WHY IT WAS NECESSARY TO CARRY ON TALKS HERE. PURPOSE OF TALKS IS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND US AND TO EASE TENSE SITUATION IN FAR EAST. HE SAID THAT IF AS PROPOSED BY CHINA US APPLIES PRINCIPLE OF NON-RECOURSE TO FORC AND WITHDRAWS ITS ARMED FORCES FROM TAIWAN AREA, THEN IT WOULD NOT ONLY IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, BUT AT SAME TIME GREATLY REDUCE TENSION IN THAT PART OF WORLD.

29. HE CONCLUDED BY STATING THAT THE QUESTION IN WHAT MANNER CHINA WILL LIBERATE TAIWAN IS SOLELY A DOMESTIC AFFAIR AND NOT FOR DISCUSSION HERE AND THAT CHINESE PEOPLE RESOLUTELY OPPOSE ANY STATE THAT TRIES TO INTERFERE IN THEIR DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. HE RESERVED COMMENTS ON REMAINING PARTS OF MY STATEMENT FOR THE NEXT MEETING.

30. I REPLIED THAT IF ONE GOVERNMENT WERE ENTIRELY TO CONCEDE TO THE VIEWS OF ANOTHER GOVERNMENT, MANY SITUATIONS WOULD BE RESOLVED, BUT ONLY IN A ONE-SIDED MANNER. WHAT GOVERNMENTS CAN DO IS TO SAY THAT DIFFERENCES MUST NOT LEAD THEM TO WAR AND THAT THEY WILL DISCUSS PROBLEMS IN PEACEFUL ATMOSPHERE FREE FROM THREAT OF FORCE FROM EITHER SIDE. I SAID THAT I WAS PROPOSING NO MORE AT THE MOMENT. I WAS NOT ASKING HIM TO CONCEDE TO OUR POINT OF VIEW, BUT SIMPLY ASKING THAT WE AGREE WE WILL NOT FIGHT OVER OUR POINTS OF VIEW. THEN WE WOULD BE ABLE TO DISCUSS OTHER MATTERS WITH A BETTER HOPE OF FINDING SOLUTIONS.

31. WANG REPLIED THAT OF COURSE WE WERE TRYING TO FIND BETTER SOLUTIONS IN OUR TALKS AND THAT IT WAS CERTAINLY CORRECT WHEN I SAID THAT DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW SHOULD NOT LEAD TO WAR.

HE

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HE SAID THAT AS HE HAS STATED ON MANY OCCASIONS AND AS PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI HAS ALSO STATED, CHINESE PEOPLE ARE FRIENDLY TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND DO NOT WISH TO FIGHT AMERICANS. HOWEVER THE PRESENT SITUATION CAN BE DESCRIBED AS DAGGER THRUST INTO THE BODY OF CHINA. THOSE WHO SUFFER ARE CHINESE PEOPLE.

32. WANG SAID THAT I HAD STATED THAT NO GOVERNMENT CAN RESOLVE A DISPUTE WITH ANOTHER GOVERNMENT ENTIRELY IN ACCORD WITH ITS OWN VIEWS. HE SAID HE RECOGNIZED THAT EACH PARTY TO A DISPUTE HAS ITS OWN REASONS, BUT ONE CANNOT SAY ALL REASONS ARE CORRECT. THAT IS WHY IT IS NECESSARY TO HAVE INTERNATIONAL LAW AND STANDARDS OF CONDUCT SUCH AS UN CHARTER. THAT MEANS EACH STATE MUST RESPECT TERRITORIAL INTEGRRITY AND SOVEREIGNTY OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS. IF ANY GOVERNMENT COULD INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES IN DISREGARD OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, OUTLOOK OF WORLD WOULD INDEED NOT BE OPTIMISTIC.

33. I REPLIED THAT IF HIS GOVERNMENT WAS DETERMINED THAT THE SITUATION SHOULD NOT LEAD TO WAR AND IF, AS I HAD TOLD HIM, MY GOVERNMENT IS SO DETERMINED, WHY SHOULD IT NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR US SIMPLY TO SAY SO.

34. WANG REPLIED THAT IF DECLARATION OF RENUNCIATION OF USE OF FORCE IS TO BE MADE THEN WHY CANNOT US SPECIFICALLY WITHDRAW ITS ARMED FORCES FROM THIS AREA. HE CITED A CHINESE PROVERB: ONLY A PERSON'S DEEDS CAN VERIFY A PERSON'S WORDS. ONLY DEEDS GIVE EFFECT TO WORDS.

35. I REPLIED THAT WANG WAS ASKING THE US TO ABANDON SOLEMNLY PLEDGED WORDS AND AGREEMENTS WITH OTHERS AND TO CHANGE ITS POLICIES IN AREA. I SAID I WAS NOT EXCLUDING DISCUSSION OF OTHER SUBJECTS BUT I WAS SIMPLY SAYING THAT WE CANNOT DISCUSS SUCH SUBJECTS UNLESS WE HAVE SAID WE WILL NOT LET DIFFERENCES LEAD US TO WAR. THAT IS FUNDAMENTAL TO ANY FRUITFUL DISCUSSION OF DIFFERENCES. IF HIS GOVERNMENT SHARED MY GOVERNMENT'S DETERMINATION THAT DIFFERENCES SHOULD NOT LEAD TO WAR, I SAW NO REASON WHY WE SHOULD NOT SAY SO. ONCE WE HAD DONE THIS, WE COULD HAVE BETTER HOPE IN DISCUSSING OTHER MATTERS.

36. WANG

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36. WANG REPLIED THAT US IS MEMBER OF UN, AND THAT HE WAS ASKING US TO ABIDE BY SOLEMN PLEDGE IT HAS MADE IN UN CHARTER AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS TO WHICH IT IS SIGNATORY. HE SAID THAT IF THAT SPIRIT CAN BE SPECIFICALLY IMPLEMENTED WITH DEEDS, WE CAN EXPECT PROGRESS IN THE WORLD.

37. I ADDED THAT THERE WERE TWO INDISPUTABLE FACTS: ONE, THERE IS A DISPUTE BETWEEN US; AND, TWO, THE SPIRIT OF THE UN CHARTER IS THAT DISPUTES SHALL NOT BE SETTLED BY RECOURSE TO FORCE. I SAID THAT REGARDING OUR SPECIFIC DISPUTE, WE WERE WILLING TO STATE WE WOULD NOT RESORT TO FORCE. IF HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD SAY THE SAME THING, THEN WE COULD START TALKING ABOUT THE DISPUTE IN AN ATMOSPHERE FREE FROM THREAT OF FORCE BY EITHER SIDE.

38. WANG REPLIED THAT IF THE US WOULD WITHDRAW ITS ARMED FORCES FROM TAIWAN, IT WOULD CERTAINLY CREATE PEACEFUL ATMOSPHERE. HE SAID THAT HE HOPED I WOULD VERY CAREFULLY STUDY HIS PROPSAL AND PUT FORWARD CONSTRUCTIVE VIEWS.

39. I SAID I HAD NOTHING TO ADD AT THIS TIME. THE MEETING CONCLUDED WITH CONFIRMATION OUR PREVIOUS AGREEMENT THAT THE NEXT MEETING WOULD BE THURSDAY, OCTOBER 27, AND THAT THE USUAL STATEMENT WOULD BE MADE TO THE PRESS.

GOWEN

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 924, OCTOBER 21, NOON

Control: 10756
Rec'd: OCTOBER 21, 1955
8:27 A.M.

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Date of Action

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1. AT YESTERDAY'S AS WELL AS PRECEDING MEETING WANG WAS RELAXED AND MADE NO EFFORT FORCE PACE OF MEETING OR PRESS DISCUSSION HIS SUBJECTS. YESTERDAY WORDS "HIGHER LEVEL MEETING" OR "TRADE EMBARGO" WERE NOT MENTIONED EVEN OBLIQUELY. HIS ENTIRE ATTITUDE LAST TWO MEETINGS AS WELL AS READINESS WITH WHICH HE AGREED MY PROPOSAL FOR WEEKLY MEETINGS GIVE GENERAL IMPRESSION OF WILLINGNESS, AT LEAST FOR TIME BEING, PERMIT TALKS CONTINUE AT LEISURELY PACE WITHOUT MAKING EFFORT BRING ANY ISSUES TO HEAD. THIS REPRESENTS SHARP CONTRAST TO HIS ATTITUDE AT BEGINNING DISCUSSION ITEM TWO.

2. IT MAY BE THEY HAVE NOW REACHED CONCLUSION IT IS IN THEIR INTEREST KEEP TALKS GOING MORE OR LESS INDEFINITELY EVEN THOUGH THEY OBTAIN NO CONCRETE RESULTS. ON OTHER HAND THEIR PRESENT TACTICS MIGHT BE RELATED TO FONMIN MEETING AND MAY UNDERGO CHANGE FOLLOWING THAT MEETING.

3. POSSIBILITY THAT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IS THAT, IF THEIR PRESENT DESIRE IS TO KEEP TALKS GOING FOR THEIR OWN SAKE EVEN THOUGH NO CONCRETE RESULTS OBTAINED, THEY MAY ESTIMATE OUR ONLY INTEREST IN TALKS IS TO OBTAIN RELEASE OF AMERICANS AND WHEN THAT IS ACCOMPLISHED WE WILL CUT THEM OFF. THEY MAY THUS BE ESTIMATING THAT IT IS NECESSARY FOR THEM CONTINUE HOLD SOME AMERICANS TO ACCOMPLISH EVEN LIMITED OBJECTIVE OF CONTINUATION TALKS. NOT SURE HOW WE CAN MEET THIS POSSIBILITY BUT WILL BE ALERT FOR ANY OPPORTUNITY TO CONFIRM THIS THEORY

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AND DO WHAT I CAN TO REFUTE.

4. WANG WILL PROBABLY MAKE OPENING STATEMENT NEXT MEETING REPLYING MY STATEMENT YESTERDAY'S MEETING ON RENUNCIATION FORCE. QUESTION IS WHAT I CAN USEFULLY SAY IN REPLY OTHER THAN REITERATING POINTS ALREADY MADE.

GOWEN

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 966

FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info:

General tone of Peiping propaganda during week ending October 20 continued hostile toward US. Commentary on Dulles speech of October 10 accused Secretary of trying to "undermine the cordial atmosphere" Summit Conference, and seeking to "sabotage" coming Big Four Ministers Conference. US accused of continuing to rely on force to achieve "aggressive" goals, and of showing off atomic power to maintain tension. US said to be converting Japan into "atomic war base," and frantically trying to subvert PRC.

Attention given to Geneva talks past week relatively slight. NCNA October 19 gave brief summary Dulles press conference October 18 without comment. NCNA October 20 quoting Special Correspondent Ch'en Shih-wu, accused US of "consistently obstructing and delaying discussion" of substantive issues under Item 2 by unilateral disclosure of "controversial issues" to press, and by press fabrications. NCNA cited as example of latter, NY Times article October 15 quoting NCNA representative in Geneva to effect that Wang instructed not to discuss renunciation of force prior to discussion trade embargo and Seventh Fleet removal. Accused Times correspondent of adopting "hostile attitude" toward talks, and hinted he has close connections with US Consulate.

On Taiwan

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Drafted by: DRF/C:FLDawson;mvw 10-21-55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: OIR/DRF/JAYeger JY, by RKS

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On Taiwan issue, NCNA October 17 stated US still creating tension Taiwan area, hence continued need for "vigilance"; stressed need to "prepare for liberation of Taiwan," while Geneva talks continue. People's Daily editorial October 19 stated "Chinese people willing to strive to liberate Taiwan by peaceful means," Cited Tibet as example of "peaceful liberation." Contrasted US "use of force" in Taiwan area, with Chinese peaceful intentions. Concluded that "If Dulles principle of renouncing force is to have practical significance, US should discard use of force...and materially contribute to easing of tension in Taiwan area,"

Considerable attention in Peiping press during past week to need for early "normalization" relations with Japan. Address by Liu Shao-ch'i to group Diet members October 16 followed general line established by Chou-Mao interviews October 3 -- i.e., achieve "normalization" first, then settle specific issues. Liu called for early holding of "diplomatic negotiations" with Japanese government and continued expansion of informal contacts, through trade, cultural, and parliamentary missions. Liu address followed by joint communique October 17 calling for "positive efforts" normalize relations; relaxation of COCOM controls; increased cultural contacts. Mao Tse-tung quoted by Reuters as having told Japanese Diet members he was willing to visit Japan or ~~the~~ US if invitation offered, and would extend return invitation to Hatoyama. Mao reported as having said that international situation "might change," hence he sought to promote friendship with all countries. Meanwhile, Peiping continued ~~to~~ take harsh line toward Hatoyama government, strongly protesting Japanese decision send 150 Chinese residents of Japan to Taiwan, and hinting this was due to "American influence."

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UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
OCT 2 1955
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

October 21, 1955

~~Mr. Robertson~~
~~Mr. Debald~~
Return to WPW

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Letter No. 14

Dear Walter:

I do not know when this letter will reach you but I hope that it may be of some value in contributing to your more long range thinking back there. It is very much in the nature of "thinking aloud" and represents distillation of many "bull sessions" we have had here on the subject.

We have now for several meetings discussed primarily renunciation of force. One of the things about which we have been puzzling is why Wang has been so willing to drop his subjects and at least talk around our subject. One theory, which I set forth in my telegram 924 of today, is that they are willing to see the talks kept going either more or less indefinitely or at least through the Foreign Ministers' Conference and do not desire to take any steps that would tend to bring matters to a head.

Another theory we have been discussing since I sent my telegram is that they see in this subject possibility of pressing their undoubted desire for the withdrawal of our forces from the Taiwan area within such a framework, whereas they full well realize that its introduction as a subject by them would have been rejected by us as outside the scope of these talks.

This leads me to an attempt to analyze what their thinking may be with respect to our renunciation of force proposal. Despite its surface appearances, I believe the Chinese Communists may well view the proposal as very unequal from their standpoint. They may well feel that it would require them to make substantial political concessions while we are making virtually none.

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State.

It would

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

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It would not increase the assurances which they now have from us against military attack contained in our treaty with the GRC, our general obligations under the UN Charter and our public statements. At the same time we would continue to maintain in close proximity to them our present heavy preponderance of air and sea power.

Also, the Chinese Communists may estimate that such a declaration would carry with it for them the following other disadvantages:

a) It would carry with it a tacit acknowledgment of the existence of the GRC far more than any other act they have thus far taken. The PRC is in a much stronger international position than any of the rump Communist governments in other divided countries which for the most part have no status outside the Communsit bloc. The tacit recognition that a no force declaration would give to the status quo, and the GRC as a government which claims sovereignty over all of China and is recognized by most free world countries, would greatly weaken the PRC claim as the only government of China and the government entitled to occupy China's seat in the UN.

b) The renunciation of force declaration by the PRC would virtually eliminate the possibility of its obtaining even the offshore islands in the foreseeable future. PRC estimates that there is a good possibility it could attack those islands without too serious risk of U.S. intervention and without serious political loss. It also estimates that if the U.S. were to intervene to prevent capture of the offshore islands and any considerable hostilities should develop therefrom, the PRC would have considerable political support in Asia as well as elsewhere, while the U.S. would tend to become politically isolated on this issue.

c) The renunciation of force declaration would be interpreted in Taiwan and by the overseas Chinese as an acceptance of the status quo by the PRC and would, therefore, greatly increase the difficulties of PRC subversion of Taiwan and PRC influence among overseas Chinese.

c) Such a bilateral declaration would not bind the GRC or bring about any cessation of GRC harassment of the mainland and shipping destined for the PRC.

The only

The only factors that I perceive that might move them toward making such a declaration are the following:

a) It would contribute to their current diplomatic peace offensive.

b) It would increase pressure on U.S. to agree to a higher level meeting and, in turn, speed up relaxation of trade controls, membership in the UN, etc.

c) If they genuinely fear that the U.S. intends to put Chiang back on the mainland, they would enter into the declaration in the hope that it would tie our hands.

d) They could use such declaration to bring pressure on us to restrain GRC from its harassing tactics.

None of the foregoing points seems very persuasive to me from their standpoint, and I doubt if they outweigh what they consider to be the disadvantages. My estimate of the situation at present is that I see little or no possibility of their entering into such a declaration unless it were accompanied by the withdrawal of our forces from Taiwan or, much less likely, a firm commitment to a Foreign Ministers' meeting. I would not even be sure that they would enter into it even if both things were done. I am also not sure where Quemoy and Matsu might fit in. I certainly thus far have not perceived any support for the oft repeated thesis that a ceasefire could be obtained in the Formosa Strait if Matsu and Quemoy were turned over to them. However, by stretching things a bit, one might be able to read into Wang's remarks thus far that they would be willing to agree to renunciation of force declaration in exchange for withdrawal of U.S. forces from Taiwan. He has never defined or been specific about this. I am not sure whether he is talking just about the air unit which we have stationed there, which is, I understand, our only tactical unit on the island, or whether he is talking about the whole complex of the MAAG and the Seventh Fleet.

It might be, as indicated in my today's telegram, that they are willing to keep these talks going indefinitely as an alternative to making decisions on these problems which are even more difficult for them than for us. However, it is too early to come to any firm conclusion on this.

I am

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I am not sure where all of this leads us but simply wanted fully to share with you some of our talk on the subject. If the opportunity arises, I hope to talk some of these things through with the Secretary while he is here, but before doing so would appreciate having FE reactions to some of these hypotheses.

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

P.S. In case you haven't seen it, I thought you would be amused at the enclosed FBIS. You should have somebody get out the original New York Times story to which it refers.

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(308)

5-42

October 21, 1955

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☐ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Exrise as shown) B-1-301
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☐ Reviewer _____ Date 7/6/82

LETTER No. 21

Official Informal

SECRET

Dear Alex:

The Secretary is due to arrive in Geneva on Wednesday afternoon, October 26. I have just talked to Rod O'Connor for the second time regarding contacts with you. We think the arrangement for the handling of your instructions during the Foreign Ministers Conference should work all right. The regular instructions to you will continue to be handled in the Department, but will be repeated to the Secretary in the TEDUL series. We will take particular pains to get these instructions out on the Tuesday before the Thursday meetings, so there will be time for the Secretary to amend or comment on the instructions if he wishes to do so. It would be well for you to give the Secretary's staff in Geneva a copy of all your messages to the Department simultaneously with the dispatch of the messages. This in addition to the arrangement for you to inform us of any instructions you receive direct from the Secretary should give us a

pretty

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

pretty complete cross-check. In addition, there may be some direct exchanges between the Secretary and/or Herman Phleger in Geneva and the Department on policy considerations involved in your instructions. There will always be a risk of some confusion or misunderstanding in a situation like this but we hope that this arrangement will give us maximum insurance against any serious crossing of the wires.

Ralph Clough has had Joe Nagoski prepare an up-to-date box score on the status of the 76 Chinese in this country who were mentioned to Wang. It is enclosed as of possible background use to you.

The mild and cautious tone of the Secretary's remarks about the Geneva talks at his Press Conference on October 18 has created an impression in some quarters that we are not particularly dissatisfied with the PRC's record of implementation of the Agreed Announcement, and that a Foreign Ministers' level meeting might be seriously considered immediately after your talks are terminated. Senator Knowland telephoned from California on October 19 to express his surprise over the press reports on the Secretary's remarks and to go on record as being opposed to any discussions under Item 2 "until the 19 Americans rotting in Communist jails have been released". He thought we had abandoned our firm position. Mr. Robertson explained that we had not abandoned Item 1 and would not do so until the last civilian was released. He also pointed out that the only substantive discussion under Item 2 concerned the renunciation of force, which was our topic.

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topic. The discussion of this topic was in our interest and in no way indicated a weakening of our position or a concession to the Communist viewpoint.

We are doing what we can to counter any impression abroad that we are satisfied with Chinese Communist performance under the Agreed Announcement, that we are about ready for a Dulles-Chou En-lai meeting, or that our stand on the recognition issue has changed.

We are sending you a memorandum of the latest conversation between Ambassador Koo and Mr. Robertson on this subject which took place October 20.

The British Embassy here is giving us somewhat fuller abstracts of O'Neill's reports than the Foreign Office in London is giving to our Embassy there. There is some duplication involved since you are receiving this material both from London and from us. We would like to have an indication from you as to whether the somewhat greater detail you get in our telegrams justifies the added expense.

We are awaiting your reaction to the short and simple draft declaration on renunciation of force. It may not be the best form of statement to propose to Wang but it is a starter anyway. We want to avoid high-flown language suggestive of a treaty. So it will have to be short and simple. We feel we must get in a specific inclusion of the area of Taiwan without diluting the force of the general statement. This creates something of a dilemma for us. The introduction of the "collective" reference is an added complication.

The report

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The report of the 22nd meeting yesterday indicates that you are just about on the merry-go-round in the discussion of the renunciation of the use of force. There is a need for introduction of new material to avoid repetition ad nauseam of the hackneyed phrases. It seems to me we must rebut in some way the Communist canard that we are in military occupation of Taiwan. How to do this without getting side-tracked, and without being led into matters dealing with the rights and essential interests of the GRC, is a poser.

A good sojourn in Prague, and I hope that you won't mind being deprived of the limelight during the Foreign Ministers Conference.

Regards,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosure:

Status of 76 Chinese

FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:jmd

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 309

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Department of State

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Classification

394

1955 OCT 24 PM 6:59

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 980

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

Your 915. USIA detailing Lawrence Howse, Press Attache at Paris, as your press officer.

Hoover, Acting
(WPMcC)

HOOVER

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Exal 55
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Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 10/24/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

FE/P - Mr. Henderson

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Department of State

SECRET
Classification

396

10318

1955 OCT 24 PM 7:24

Central Files

DC/T

Origin

Info:

SENT TO: Amembassy PARIS TEDUL 8 PRIORITY

RPT: Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON 981 PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION
FROM ROBERTSON

1. We have been considering in what way Johnson might bring about three week recess in talks to prevent Wang and Chinese Communists from exploiting increased status and prestige which would result from continuation Johnson-Wang conversations simultaneously with Foreign Ministers Conference.

2. If release of Americans were sole objective of talks, we would favor very ~~forceef~~ forceful presentation our case at this point, including public statement, and insistence on three-week recess as method of exerting pressure on Communists and demonstrating we do not propose continue talking indefinitely with representative of government which failing to live up to its express commitments. However, this tactic would make it very difficult for us to resume talks if Communists failed to act within three-week period. To do so would be interpreted as weakness by Communists and would certainly be criticized in US. Alternative would be indefinite recess at least until such time as Communists decided release some Americans. Results this tactic probably would not be consonant with one of major objectives, namely, keeping talks going.

3. It would be possible, however, for Johnson to present recess proposal

11059

Drafted by: FE:CA:WNClough/ikb 10/24/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

~~S/S~~

FE-Mr. Robertson (Cleared in draft ~~[illegible]~~)
" " Sebald

S/S - R.B. Barnes

1955 P.M.

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611.93/10-2455

CS/M 611.93

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SECRET
Classification

proposal in manner giving least impression of pressure and with due regard for Chinese Communist considerations of face. He would point out to Wang that Wang himself had emphasized need for time to carry out judicial processes required in release of Americans and that we were therefore proposing three-weeks' recess for this purpose. He would seek Wang's concurrence in recess and would not insist if Wang objected. It is problematical whether Wang would agree and whether, if he did, any Americans would in consequence be released, but this tactic would avoid risks to major objective of talks which are inherent in that proposed in paragraph 2.

4. A third alternative would be to have Johnson make forceful statement expressing US dissatisfaction at Chinese Communist non-performance and informing Wang that if no action on Americans had taken place by following meeting we would be compelled to consider making public statement. This type of threat once used by Wang on us and implications would not be lost on him. It involves some risk, but has advantage of giving Chinese Communists chance to act before any public exchange of recriminations had occurred.

5. We have also considered whether time has not arrived to take harder line in our conversations with Wang even if this would cause a deterioration in tone of talks. Public and Congressional opinion hardening here in face continued inaction on release of Americans by Chinese Communists.

6. Would appreciate early reply so Johnson can be instructed prior to October 27 meeting.

HOOVER ACTING
(WPMack)

11060

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811

397

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

10/26

Mr. Barnes

Mr. Cladouhas of FE would like two extra copies of the attached. He said that they needed one for Mr. Sebald, one for Mr. McConaughy and one for himself. He wanted to know why they only got one and I told him that was usually the practice on eyes only and he said it wasn't, that he had received as many as 4 copies of one, but on checking it was one slugged E.O. for Robertson, etc.

jmr

Approve ~~OK~~ RVB

Disapprove ____

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SECRET EYES ONLY

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

October 25, 1955

G - Mr. Murphy

Action has been sent to:

FE - Mr. Robertson

Robert G. Barnes

SECRET

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1

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Control: 12844
Rec'd: OCTOBER 25, 1955
1:17 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 957, OCTOBER 25, 6 P.M.

NIACT

SENT DEPARTMENT 957 REPEATED INFORMATION NIACT PARIS 132.

FROM JOHNSON

PARIS EYES ONLY FOR DULLES

HAVE JUST RETURNED AND SEEN ROBERTSON'S TEDUL 8 REPEATED GENEVA 981 AND HAVE FOLLOWING COMMENTS:

1. RE PARA 1 REFERENCE TELEGRAM, WHILE I AM NOT IN BEST POSITION TO JUDGE IT DOES NOT SEEM CLEAR TO ME CHICOMS OBTAIN ANY INCREASED STATUS AND PRESTIGE FROM CONTINUATION TALKS DURING FONMIN CONFERENCE. IN FACT WOULD SEEM TO ME TALKS AT ONLY AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL WITH CHICOMS WHILE FOUR FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING SAME CITY DOES NOT GIVE CHICOMS ANY SPECIAL ADVANTAGE THEY NOT ALREADY DERIVING FROM TALKS AND MAY BE SOMEWHAT OUR ADVANTAGE.

2. RE PARA 2, AM CONVINCED THAT AT LEAST FOR TIME-BEING PUBLIC PRESSURE, AND PARTICULARLY TO EXTENT OF RECESSING TALKS, ON CHICOMS WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE IN EXPEDITING RELEASES.

3. PARA 3, WANG IS NEVER GOING TO AGREE TO ANY RECESS FOR PURPOSE ALLOWING TIME COMPLETING "JUDICIAL PROCESSES" FOR RELEASE.

4. I BELIEVE THERE IS MUCH MERIT IN THIRD ALTERNATIVE SET FORTH PARA 4 HOWEVER IN ORDER SET STAGE TO OBTAIN MAXIMUM BENEFIT SUGGEST FOLLOWING COURSE OF ACTION:

(A) AT OCTOBER 27 MEETING I WOULD MAKE PRESENTATION ON MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL AND WOULD SUGGEST TO WANG AGREE

611.93/10-2555

PA SECRET FILE

FILED FEB 19 1959

Copy # 2 Sent TO FE 2/20/59

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COMMUNIQUE FOLLOWING MEETING WOULD INCLUDE STATEMENT WE HAD CONTINUED DISCUSSION IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND QNDER ITEM TWO U.S. HAD INTRODUCED TOPICS RENUNCIATION FORCE AND MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL AND, AS PREVIOUSLY STATED, PRC HAD INTRODUCED TRADE EMBARGO AND FONMIN MEETING.
I WOULD EXPECT WANG REJECT WHEREUPON I WOULD INFORM HIM I WOULD ISSUE UNILATERAL STATEMENT ALONG SIMILAR LINES EXCEPT THAT I WOULD OMIT REFERENCE TO TWO PRC TOPICS. PURPOSE OF THIS WOULD BE SUPPLEMENT SECRETARY'S OCTOBER 18 PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENT AND MAKE CLEAR TO WORLD OPINION US REASONABLENESS IN ENTERING INTO DISCUSSION ITEM TWO EVEN THOUGH PRC HAD NOT IMPLEMENTED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

(B) AT NOVEMBER 3 MEETING I WOULD MAKE THREAT OF PUBLIC STATEMENT ON OUR DISSATISFACTION WITH IMPLEMENTATION AND

(C) IF NECESSARY WOULD IMPLEMENT THE THREAT AT NOVEMBER 10 MEETING WHICH WOULD BE JUST TWO MONTHS FROM ISSUANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND DURING MIDST FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE.

GOWEN

TT

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 312

Department of State

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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1955 OCT 25 PM 5 49

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 989

Origin

Info:

FOR JOHNSON

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FYI Senator George delivered following confidential letter to Secretary shortly before his departure on 21st:

QUOTE On the eve of your departure for the Geneva Conference, permit me, as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to wish you a pleasant and a successful conference.

I hope it may be of some help to you to know that as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and as far as I am authorized to speak for the Committee, my position is that there are some matters before the ambassadorial conferees that ought to be concluded before any further steps are taken.

The Chinese Communists first should release the American prisoners they have promised to free and they should give some accounting of the 450 soldiers who remain unaccounted for after the Korean War.

If they will do these things and make a public pledge to give up the use of force in any settlement of the Formosa issue, then we should be prepared to go ahead with a high level conference.

With my cordial regards to you for a pleasant trip and a safe return, I am UNQUOTE.

Hoover, ACTING

HOOVER

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 10/25/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

S/S-CR
OCT 25 1955 P.M.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 313

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

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Classification

1955 OCT 25 PM 7 34

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON PRIORITY 996

RPT:INFO: Amembassy PARIS TEDUL 11 PRIORITY

Origin

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Partial guidance for October 27 meeting:

1. On renunciation of force item, although it is undesirable for you to engage in extensive debate with Wang in Defense US policy regarding Taiwan, his accusation that US has occupied Taiwan by force of arms cannot be permitted rest unchallenged. You should briefly and factually state our position: that Taiwan is seat of GRC which we recognize; that US has signed Mutual Defense Treaty with GRC under which we assumed obligations to assist in defense of Taiwan against outside attack; and that such units of US armed forces as are stationed on Taiwan are there in accordance with treaty provisions and with full consent of GRC. To describe this situation as "US armed occupation of Taiwan" is distortion of truth.

You should then reiterate, along lines followed last meeting, that in best interests both countries and world at large urgent requirement is not to sit in Geneva arguing whose position right and whose wrong, but for both parties renounce use of force to settle differences, with particular reference to Taiwan area.

2. Your

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CS/Y

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Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:ek 10/25/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

S/S - Mr. Barnes

CA - Mr. McConaughy

FE - Mr. Sebald (in draft)

11062

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2. Your 957 approve your recommendation that statement on unaccounted-for military personnel be presented.

3. Awaiting reply from Secretary before sending additional instructions concerning manner of presentation item on release Americans.

Hoover
ACTING

HOOVER

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Action
FE
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SS

Control: 13184
Rec'd: October 26, 1955
5:49 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 962, October 26, 10 a.m.

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON.

Would appreciate some reply my 871 prior to tomorrow's WPP Meeting.

GOWEN

RPL/11

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CA/OIR
Reply drafted 10/26
CA
R. N. Clough
file

FEB 19 1959

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Department of State

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CA

SECRET

401

26-L
Action
SS

Info
RMR

Control: 13628
Rec'd: OCTOBER 26, 1955
5:45 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: DULTE 12, OCTOBER 26, 7 PM

NIACT

FOR NEXT MEETING AGREE YOUR GUIDANCE IN GENEVA 996. SUGGEST THAT FORCEFUL STATEMENT BE MADE ABOUT FAILURE IMPLEMENT DECLARATION ABOUT REPATRIATION, THEN PRESENT STATEMENT ON UNACCOUNTED-FOR MILITARY PERSONNEL AND CONTINUE ON ITEM RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. DO NOT BELIEVE ADVISABLE SUGGEST RECESS OF TALKS, IN VIEW OF RISKS, AT LEAST AT THIS TIME, OR TO GIVE NOTICE WE WILL MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT. THESE TACTICS CAN BE CONSIDERED LATER.

DULLES

AAL

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FE 7/30/59

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1003

FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info:

Your 962.

Defense unable supply specific information requested your 871 from Washington files. Have asked Army to have search made of more complete files stored Kansas City.

Hoover
ACTING
(WPMcC)

HOOVER

611.93/10-2655

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Drafted by: FE:CA:RMClough:ek 10/26/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: WPMcC Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

S/S-CR

11064 OCT 26 1955 A.M.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 317

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☐ CHARGE TO

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11684

1955 OCT 26 PM 8 35

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON NIACT 1013

RPT INFO: Amconsul GENEVA TEDUL 18

Origin

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

DEPTEL 996 paragraph 3.

In absence other instructions from Secretary or last minute favorable news regarding detained Americans, lead off 23rd meeting with renewed demand for prompt PRC compliance terms of Agreed Announcement. Follow lines your statement last meeting reported your 922, but make tone somewhat more insistent in view passage additional week with no performance. Remind Wang that American Government and people have been extremely patient in waiting for PRC to carry out Agreed Announcement, but as time continues pass with no action whatsoever, not even authorization for nineteen imprisoned Americans to communicate with British Charge or be seen by him, patience wearing thin.

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611.93/10-2655

HOOVER

ACTING

DC/R
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Rev
Cat

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough/WPMcConaughy/ikb 10/26/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

FE- Mr. Sebald

S/S-CR

OCT 26 1955 P.M.

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318

15-D

CONFIDENTIAL

Action FE

Control: 13908 404 1/6
Rec'd: OCTOBER 27, 1955
7:46 AM

FROM: GENEVA

Info RMR

TO: Secretary of State

SS

NO: 968, OCTOBER 27, 5 AM

Assigned to CA/OIR

Taken

NIACT

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

*(agreed announcement)

FOLLOWING IS TEXT DRAFT "AGREED STATEMENT" SUBMITTED BY WANG AT TODAY'S MEETING:

1. AMBASSADOR WANG PING-NAN ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND AMBASSADOR U. ALEXIS JOHNSON ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA JOINTLY (declare) STATE THAT,

In accordance with article 2, para 3,

2. PURSUANT TO PARAGRAPH 3, ARTICLE 2 OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, " ALL MEMBERS SHALL SETTLE THEIR INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL MEANS IN SUCH A MANNER THAT INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY, AND JUSTICE, ARE NOT ENDANGERED"; AND

(and in accordance with article 2, para 4)

3. PARAGRAPH 4, ARTICLE 2 OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, "ALL MEMBERS SHALL REFRAIN IN THEIR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS FROM THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANY STATE, OR IN ANY OTHER MANNER INCONSISTENT WITH THE PURPOSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS"

4. THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ARE AGREED (agreed) THAT THEY SHOULD SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN THEIR TWO COUNTRIES BY PEACEFUL MEANS WITHOUT RESORTING TO THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE; AND (delete and)

5. IN ORDER TO REALIZE THEIR COMMON DESIRE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA HAVE DECIDED TO

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* changes in 994 for Geneva

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HOLD A FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE TO NEGOTIATE A SOLUTION OF THE QUESTION OF EASING AND ELIMINATING THE TENSED SITUATION IN THE TAIWANG AREA.

DULLES

MEM

Note: Advance copy to (FE) 8:45 a.m. 10/27/55, CWO/FED.

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OCT 27 AM 9 21

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

ACTION COPY

319

15-2

CONFIDENTIAL

Action
FE

Info
RMR

Control: 13977
Rec'd: OCTOBER 27, 1955
9:50 AM
Taken

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 970, OCTOBER 27, 2 PM

NIACT

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. TWO HOUR FORTY-FIVE MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING OPENED BY WANG WITH SOMEWHAT MILDER REHASH CHICOM POSITION ON TAIWAN WHICH AVOIDED RENEWAL DEMAND FOR US WITHDRAWAL AND ENDED WITH PRESENTATION DRAFT STATEMENT TRANSMITTED BY SEPERATE TEL.

2. I REPLIED WITH STATEMENT ALONG LINES PARA ONE DEPTEL 996 AND STATED I WOULD STUDY AND REPLY LATER CONCERNING HIS DRAFT STATEMENT.

3. HE REPLIED WITH LONG AD LIB STATEMENT "REJECTING" MY STATEMENT ON TAIWAN. AFTER SOME SPARRING AND GIVE AND TAKE I TRIED TO PROBE FURTHER FOR MEANING PARA 4 HIS DRAFT STATEMENT TO DETERMINE WHETHER IT WAS ANY MOVE TOWARD MEETING OUR POSITION ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE IN TAIWAN AREA. WHILE HIS REPLIES FOLLOWED CHOU EN-LAI FORMULA THEY WERE SOMEWHAT MORE AMBIGUOUS THAN PREVIOUSLY. REPLYING TO MY SPECIFIC QUESTION HE STATED PARA 4 "INCLUDED DISPUTE" BETWEEN US AND CHINA IN TAIWAN AREA". MY SPECIFIC PROBING ON SIGNIFICANCE HIS CONTINUED USE "CONDITIONS PERMITTING" WITH RESPECT "LIBERATION" TAIWAN LED TO NO DEFINITE CONCLUSION.

4. I THEN REVERTED TO IMPLEMENTATION IN BRIEF BUT STRONG TERMS TO WHICH HE REPLIED MY INFORMATION WAS NOT CURRENT WITH RESPECT ABILITY UK CARRY OUT ITS FUNCTIONS AND REJECTED IN HARDER TERMS THAN PREVIOUSLY MY RAISING QUESTION THESE MEETINGS. HE REBUFFED ALL MY EFFORTS DETERMINE WHAT HE MEANT BY MY INFORMATION NOT CURRENT.

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611.93/10-2755

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5. I THEN MADE STATEMENT ON MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL IN ACCORDANCE DEPTELS 824 AND 828. IN REPLY HE READ PREPARED STATEMENT "REJECTING ASSERTION 450 AMERICANS STILL ALLEGEDLY BEING HELD" AND FLATLY REFUSED ACCEPT LISTS.

6. I REPLIED BY POINTING OUT I HAD NOT ALLEGED 450 "STILL BEING HELD" BUT WAS ASKING FOR INFORMATION WITH REGARD TO THEIR FATE.. I THEN CITED AS EXAMPLE CASE OF ARMY PFC. PAUL E. CRAIG, POINTING OUT HIS SPECIFIC MENTION IN PEIPING BROADCAST AND THAT THEY COULD NOT DENY THEY HAD INFO WITH REGARD TO HIM. IF HE WERE DEAD, ALL WE WERE ASK NG WAS WHEN AND WHERE. THERE WAS THEN LONG AND INCREASINGLY ACRIMONIOUS DISCUSSION WHICH I CENTERED AROUND FACTS IN CRAIG CASE AND HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS. HE REHASHED POSITION ON FOURTEEN THOUSAND AND REITERATED ENTIRE MATTER SHOULD BE TAKEN UP IN MAC. HE CLAIMED HE HAD ANSWERED OUR QUERY BY GIVING US LIST ALL AMERICANS IN CHINA, INCLUDING LIST LAST YEAR ALL THOSE WHO HAD DIED IN CIHINA. HE MADE DIRECT REQUEST FOR INFORMATION ON FOURTEEN THOUSAND. I POINTED OUT NO RELATION BETWEEN 14,000 AND LIST 450, THE CASE 14,000 ANALOGOUS TO AMERICANS WHO REMAINED THEIR SIDE AND WENT TO PRC. I SAID HIS REFUSAL ACCEPT LIST WAS NOT IN KEEPING WITH SPIRIT OUR TALKS AND MADE REPEATED EFFORTS GET HIM ACCEPT. AFTER I HAD PUSHED HIM INTO TIGHT CORNER BY CONTINUALLY COMING BACK TO CRAIG CASE, HE SIMPLY CLAMMED UP AND REFUSED TO SAY ANYTHING MORE. IT WAS CLEAR HE WAS UNDER CATEGORICAL INSTRUCTIONS NOT TO ACCEPT LIST AND NOTHING I SAID WAS GOING TO CHANGE THIS FACT. MEETING CLOSED ON THIS VERY HARD NOTE WITH MY RESERVING RIGHT REVERT TO MATTER.

7. NEXT MEETING NOVEMBER 3.

GOWEN

MEM

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320

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406

27
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Info
RMR
SS

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Control: 14258
Rec'd: OCTOBER 27, 1955
5:28 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 977, OCTOBER 27, 9 PM

FROM JOHNSON

MYTEL 871. DEPTEL 1003 FE

Action Assigned to CA/P
Action Taken telegram to Geneva for Johnson Oct 31.
Date of Action Oct 31, 1955
Action Office Symbol CA/P
Name of Officer J. Mogorin
Direction to DC/R File

SUGGEST DRF MAY BE ABLE OBTAIN SOME OF INFORMATION REQUIRED FROM ITS FILES OF FBIS. NEED TEXTS OF CHICOM BROADCAST OR PRESS ITEM WITH PRECISE DATE AND SOURCE. FOR POSSIBLE USE NEXT MEETING REQUIRE DATA ON:

PAUL E. CRAIG, ARMY, PEIPING BROADCAST 27 JUNE 1951

CASIMIRE T. DEMOLL, ARMY, PEIPING BORADCAST 22 JUNE 1951.

MYRON JOHNSON, ARMY, PEIPING BROADCAST 29 JUNE 1951.

RUSSEL F. MORRIS, ARMY, CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW AUGUST 1951.

WILLIAM D. SCHOFDER, JR., ARMY, PEIPING BROADCAST 23 JUNE 1951

GERALD G. SCHURING, ARMY, (POSSIBLY PEIPING) BROADCAST 7 MAY 1951.

WILLIAM R. SEGGIE, ARMY, (POSSIBLY PEIPING) BROADCAST 22 JUNE 1951.

FOR SUBSEQUENT USE REQUIRE DATA ON ANY OTHERS ON LIST OF 450 MISSING PERSONNEL.

GOWEN

JJ

10263

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811.93/10-2755

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1955 OCT 28 AM 9 50
BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
NOV 9 1955
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COMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

321

3-22

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 15009
Rec'd: OCTOBER 28, 1955
5:49 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 994, OCTOBER 28, 10 PM

Date of Action

Action Officer

Name of Officer

Direction to File

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

WANG'S OFFICE TODAY SENT OVER REVISED ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF DRAFT HE HANDED ME YESTERDAY WHICH CONTAINS FOLLOWING CHANGES FROM TEXT GIVEN MYTEL 968.

A) TITLE CHANGE FROM "AGREED STATEMENT" TO " AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT".

B) "STATE THAT" END PARA ONE CHANGED TO "DECLARE".

C) FIRST PORTION PARA 2 CHANGED TO 2IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 2, PARA 3".

D) FIRST PORTION PARA 3 CHANGED TO "AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 2, PARA 4".

E) PARA 4 "ARE AGREED" CHANGED TO "AGREE", AND "AND" AT END OF PARA DELTEED.

F) ALL OF PARA 5 CHANGED TO READ AS FOLLOWS: " IN ORDER TO REALIZE THEIR COMMON DESIRE, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICAN DECIDE TO HOLD A CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS TO SETTLE THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS THE QUESTION OF RELAXING AND ELIMINATING THE TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA."

GOWEN

CRH

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1955 OCT 29 AM 7 50
BUREAU OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

CONFIDENTIAL

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322

Rec'd Nov. 2 5-16

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 7/6/

October 28, 1955

OFFICIAL -- INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 15

To - WP McC

Dear Walter:

I hope to take advantage of the more frequent pouch service for the next few weeks.

The Secretary arrived Wednesday evening, and Herman Pnleger immediately got in touch with me to show me the message which he and the Secretary drafted on the plane on the way over replying to your 981. I made no suggestions for any changes and they sent it off immediately Niact at about 8 p.m. Geneva time, but I was sorry to see from your 1013 that it had apparently not arrived.

The Secretary asked to see me the same evening and I had some general discussion with him, primarily on the trade question. I gathered that he had talked with MacMillan on the CHINCOM question and that he had come to the conclusion that some drop in the CHINCOM level, toward but not all the way to a COCOM level, is shortly inevitable. (I understand a telegram on the subject went from Paris to the Department but I have not seen it.) We had some general discussion on how this could be tied in with my talks here but came to no conclusion, except that I gathered that it is the Secretary's desire that if this development is in any event going to take place, I should attempt to capitalize on it here. I told him that, without expressing any opinion on whether or not the level should or should not be dropped, my strong feeling was that if we had come to the conclusion that it was going to be dropped, I thought it important solely from my standpoint here that it would appear we had agreed, or at least acquiesced, rather than that it had happened in spite of our opposition.

If I am going to make any capital out of it here, it would be important that Wang and I have had at least some discussion of the subject prior to any reduction becoming known to the Chinese Communists.

Obviously

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

Obviously I cannot and would not in any sense negotiate with him on the level of CHINCOM controls, but believe I could at the most intimate a causal relationship. It seems to me that this would assist in the objective of keeping these talks going by giving the Chinese Communists a feeling that the talks were not entirely devoid of results for them. It just might also help somewhat in release of Americans.

Yesterday's meeting went about as expected except for Wang's introduction of his draft agreed statement. It is clearly a very clever piece of work, and if published, would have much public appeal. As I noted in my 970, I feel that it does represent some slight advance inasmuch as it relates some form of renunciation of force to a Foreign Ministers' meeting rather than to the previous position on withdrawal of U.S. forces from the Taiwan area. Of course, this latter objective is merely deferred to the Foreign Ministers' Conference.

I am very provoked at Wang's attitude yesterday - sitting back and smugly telling me that he knew something I didn't know with regard to implementation but would not tell me what. It was only after I got back to the hotel after the meeting that I learned that the press tickers reported the release of Hariett Mills and Father Proulx. I was put in a somewhat foolish position at the meeting by not knowing this. This was probably their intent. Technically I have no basis for real objection, as under the Agreed Announcement there is no obligation on their part to inform me here (nor to inform O'Neill, for that matter), but it is hardly in the spirit of relationship which I have been trying to establish with Wang. Of course he was under instructions, and it is clear that their objective is to make clear that these releases are their unilateral act and that any credit in the matter will go only to the British. They are not going to let me obtain any credit by giving out the announcement here.

What I am disturbed by and am sending you a telegram on is that from Hong Kong's 84, sent Department 883, it appears O'Neill was informed of these releases on October 26, but I had no word here until Hong Kong's 84 was received today.

The missing military personnel item went about as I expected. I was sorely tempted to put it off as it was late, we had already exchanged many recriminations on our occupation of Taiwan and implementation, and the atmosphere was poor. However I decided to get it over with and, as it turned out and was to be expected, he was under clear instructions and no matter when or how I did it, the result was going to be the same. I felt that I was able to back him into a corner for whatever satisfaction there was to be derived from that. I don't think we should drop the subject too quickly or easily, but feel that we are not going to get any real satisfaction.

I should

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I should think that, in light of our discussion at yesterday's meeting, we might consider again also pushing the matter in the MAC.

Herman Phleger has just been in while I have been dictating this letter. We have been having some preliminary discussion of Wang's draft agreed statement of yesterday. He talked with the Secretary a little about it during the course of yesterday's Foreign Ministers' meeting. We are seeing the Secretary this afternoon. I will save any comments, as I presume the Secretary will want to send you a message during the course of the day on the subject.

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

323

23 B

SECRET

Action FE

Info RMR SS P O

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 999, OCTOBER 29, 10 P M

Control: 15273
Rec'd: OCTOBER 30, 1955
3:29 P M

Action Assigned to IA/DIR

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. BELIEVE THAT AT NEXT MEETING I SHOULD NOT AND NEED NOT ENTER INTO ANY DETAILED REPLY TO HIS DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. HOWEVER BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO ASK HIM ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS AND WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S SUGGESTIONS IN THIS REGARD.

2. WITH RESPECT IMPLEMENTATION BELIEVE CIRCUMSTANCES CALL FOR SOME DIFFERENT APPROACH FOR AT LEAST ONE MEETING AND I SUGGEST MY LINE BE TO NOTE RELEASE MILLS AND PROULX AND EXPRESS HOPE THIS SIGNIFIES ALL OTHERS WILL BE FOLLOWING SHORTLY.

3. BELIEVE I SHOULD FOLLOW UP MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL ITEM TAKING ANOTHER NAME AND PRESSING IN SAME MANNER AS WITH CRAIG'S CASE LAST MEETING BUT WITHOUT AGAIN ATTEMPTING FORCE HIM ACCEPT LISTS UNLESS APPEARS HE WILLING ACCEPT. HOPE REPLY MYTEL 977 WILL CONTAIN WELL DOCUMENTED FACTS ON AT LEAST ONE ADDITIONAL NAME.

4. IN ORDER CAPITALIZE ON PROBABILITY SOME ACTION WILL TAKE PLACE IN NEXT FEW MONTHS TO REMOVE SOME ITEMS FROM CHINCOM CONTROL LIST, SUGGEST I INVITE HIS VIEWS ON TRADE EMBARGO IN CONTEXT-PARA 5 DEPTEL 870, ASKING QUESTIONS OUTLINED THEREIN AS SEEMS USEFUL. I WOULD OFFER TO ACCEPT ANY MATERIAL HE DESIRES GIVE ME THIS REGARD CONTRASTING WITH HIS REFUSAL ACCEPT LIST MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL. REQUEST DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS ON DESIRABILITY MY SOLICITING AT THIS OR SUBSEQUENT MEETING VIEWS ON SPECIFIC ITEMS PRESENT CHINCOM LIST THEY CONSIDER NON-STRATEGIC AND

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FE 2/22/57 MH

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PA

SECRET FE

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SECRET

999, OCTOBER 29, 10 P M, FROM GENEVA

AND IN WHOSE REMOVAL FROM LIST THEY PARTICULARLY INTERESTED FOR NON-MILITARY PURPOSES.

GOWEN

MGG

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1955 OCT 31 AM 7 10
BUREAU OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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SECRET

OUTGOING TELEGRAM (324)

INDICATE [ ] COLLECT
[ ] CHARGE TO

Department of State

13133 (41)

1955 OCT 29 PM 5 10

DC/T Central Files

SECRET
Classification

SENT TO: AmConsul, GENEVA PRIORITY 1053
FOR JOHNSON ALSO FOR THE SECRETARY

~~SENT TO: AmConsul GENEVA PRIORITY~~
~~FOR JOHNSON AND THE SECRETARY~~
~~RRT: AmConsul GENEVA TEDUE~~
~~RRT: AmConsul GENEVA PRIORITY TEDUE~~

Origin

Info:

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Guidance for November 3 Meeting.

1. Implementation Agreed Announcement: Note that two of nineteen Americans now released and inform Wang U. S. Government expects this to be followed by expeditious release remainder, as provided in Agreed Announcement. Point out that although PRC has now recognized in principle right of British Charge to correspond with and visit jailed Americans, he has been subjected to regulations which so circumscribe his freedom of action as to make it impossible carry out effectively his functions under Agreed Announcement. There is no justification for applying to British Charge regulations intended for "prisoners' receiving and corresponding with relatives." No restrictions imposed on Indian Ambassador in carrying out his functions under Agreed Announcement in US. Call Wang's attention to specific regulations which interfere with Charge's functions such as prohibition on speaking to prisoner about his case which would prevent investigation facts provided for in Agreed Announcement.

2. Unaccounted for military personnel: present lists again, using argumentation similar last meeting, emphasizing this unquestionably an issue between us and therefore appropriate subject for inclusion in talks.

Additional

11073

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough/ek/ikb 10/29/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

CA- W. P. McConaughy

FE - Mr. Sebald (Cleared in Draft)

SECRET
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Additional material individual cases being forwarded. Prepare ground for possibly reading lists to Wang next meeting if he still refuses accept.

3. Renunciation of force: Again reject Wang's allegations that U. S. occupying Taiwan, violating UN Charter, etc. Inform him that although PRC's willingness to consider renunciation of force is contribution to progress of talks, his draft statement unacceptable. It completely avoids main issue, which is that both sides renounce use of force, with particular reference to Taiwan area. Paragraphs 2 and 3 deal exclusively with renunciation of force in international disputes and Wang has clearly indicated PRC would not consider itself prevented by these provisions from using force against Taiwan. Whatever language chosen for declarations must be applicable to situation, which one party considehs solely domestic issue and other does not. Both must pledge not to use force in this situation, except defensively. Paragraph 5 introduces extraneous subject, Foreign Ministers Conference, which as previously pointed out, not considered suitable subject for discussion these talks.

4. In view information contained DEPTEL 1052 endeavor discuss our draft (DEPTEL 915) with Secretary and Phleger with view introducing it as counter proposal at Nov. 3 meeting.

Hoover
ACTING

HOOVER

11074

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 325

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET

Classification

13134

1955 OCT 29 PM 5 10

DC/T

SENT TO: AmConsul, GENEVA TEDUL 28 PRIORITY

Origin

Secretary should see DEPTELS 1052 and 1053 to Geneva FOR JOHNSON.

611.93/ 611.93/

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611.93/10-2955

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Hoover

HOOVER

CS/DLS

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611.93/10-2955

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DC/R 55
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Rev
Cat

Drafted by: S/S: McAuliffe:er 10/29/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: S/S - Eugene V. McAuliffe

Clearances:

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

326

5-43

"This document consists of 4 pages

Number 3 of 5 copies, Series "

~~RAC~~

IKB

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- [ ] Releasable if _____ concurs
- [ ] Excise as shown) Basis-1-301 ___
- [ ] Deny)
- [ ] Downgrade to _____
- [ ] Review Again _____
- [x] Reviewer _____ Date _____

October 29, 1955

SECRET

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

Letter No. 22

Dear Alex:

Your letters 13 and 14 of October 19 and 21 arrived together on October 24. Your No. 14 successfully visualizes the issues as the Chinese Communists probably see them. Your analysis seems to us generally valid. It casts a rather novel and revealing light on various aspects of the renunciation of force question. We would depart from your analysis only in giving more weight to the attraction of the "renunciation of force" item to the PRC which stems from their capability to exploit it for their own purposes by espousing a perverted but rather plausible form of renunciation of force declaration. Admittedly we have the benefit of hindsight in making this observation. Mr. Robertson commented after reading the letter that your exposition of the probable Chinese Communist reasoning constituted the best possible reinforcement of the argument for pressing vigorously our demand for a bona fide renunciation of force declaration, with specific inclusion of the area of Taiwan.

Presumably Wang's draft represents only an opening bargaining position, but I personally am skeptical as to how much "give" is built into the draft. I am inclined to think that the PRC would not accept any language clearly at variance with its position that Taiwan is a domestic issue. We find Wang's draft to be solidly based on the constantly reiterated Chinese Communist position. On analysis it reflects no concession whatever, although it is so cleverly drafted as to give the impression to the superficial observer that it represents a reasonably complete renunciation of force. We fear it would commend itself to a lot of unthinking and partially informed people and therefore may spell trouble for us.

The instructions for the next meeting which we are drafting will point out, in very general terms, the respects in which paragraphs two through five are unacceptable to us. We haven't yet made up our minds as to when a U. S. draft should be submitted. The thinking is that it should be very soon. Wang has in a sense already stolen the

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

ball from us and made a run with it, by getting in his draft ahead of ours. He has to some extent seized the initiative on our own item. We don't have final agreement yet on the language of our draft, but we should have it soon. The willingness of Wang to debate the renunciation of force item provides a lot of grist for the mill, even though the grinding may be a trying process.

We have given the British Embassy here the text of Wang's draft. We decided that it would be helpful to have O'Neill's estimate of Chinese Communist tactics in the light of this document. His comments so far have impressed us as shrewd and perceptive. We have kept the British very fully informed on the discussions regarding the Agreed Announcement. This has tended to let them in on other aspects of the discussion to a somewhat greater extent than would normally be the case.

Enclosed is the full text of the telegram from O'Neill giving the PRC rules and regulations governing visits to the imprisoned Americans, together with O'Neill's report of his conversation with Chang Han-fu on October 26, when the rules were handed to him. This is as promised in our 1031. In my conversations with Joy here I have encouraged the British to take a somewhat stronger line in opposition to any such rules and regulations as applied to the Americans covered by the Agreed Announcement. The British are somewhat inclined to regard these rules as representing a rather satisfactory advance in the situation. They tend to overlook or minimize the fact that O'Neill's contact with the Americans should be governed by the provisions of the Agreed Announcement, not a penal or POW code. Hubert Graves remarked that the rules seemed to him to represent a considerable advance over the rules applied by the Japanese to enemy aliens during World War II. This is the sort of irrelevancy which we regret to hear from the British.

I am also enclosing a copy of O'Neill's report on the announced release of Harriett Mills and Father Proulx. We are mystified by the delay in the arrival of these two Americans in Hong Kong. We still assume that they will come out shortly.

I discussed with Joy the embarrassment (your 987) that resulted from the failure to get word to you before your Oct. 27 meeting of O'Neill's conversation with Chang Han-fu, when he received the rules and regulations regarding visits and the word of the impending release of Mills and Proulx. This interview took place on the evening of October 26 (about noon on Oct.26, Geneva time). This was almost a full day before your meeting and with prompt service you would have had the word in time. O'Neill did get his message out Wednesday night. It was received by the British Foreign Office fairly promptly. It

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reached the British Embassy here, marked Priority, on the evening of the 26th, Washington time. If Joy had been notified by the Embassy duty officer, he would have telephoned me and you would have had the information before your meeting. Unfortunately the duty officer did not see the urgency, and took it upon himself to disregard the priority marking. Joy did not see or hear of the message until the opening of business on Thursday, the 27th, which was too late to do us any good. It seems that the Chinese tried to time their release of this information so as to make it difficult for you to receive the news before the meeting. Their hopes were realized, through a failure in the British Embassy here. I have pointed out to Joy the awkward position in which you were placed as a result . I mentioned particularly the fact that it gave Wang a talking point in support of his contention that these implementation matters should not be discussed in Geneva. The British are taking special measures to insure that a similar slip will not happen again. A special alert will be in effect on Wednesdays, day and night.

Enclosed is what sketchy material we have been able to obtain from Defense on the cases of certain of the missing servicemen, as requested by you. The information we are able to get from Defense on this subject is still inadequate and the handling unsatisfactory. They tell us that they will have to go to central files in another city for some of the needed material and that this material will probably not add anything to what is already known. Monroe has been out of town for some days. He is due to return on the 31st and we may be able to get a little help from him then.

We have had a lot of difficulty in trying to resolve Ekvall's status. The Department of the Army and Defense have wanted to use Ekvall's case as a lever to obtain a permanent additional slot for an Assistant Army Attache in Berne. Any enlargement of the Service Attache staff is strongly opposed by Miss Willis and EUR. Defense feels that at the very least State should pay Ekvall's per diem and there is some merit in this argument. However they have mentioned their belief that he should get $25.00 per day, which seems out of all proportion. And it would not solve his family problem. We have explored the possibility of assigning either Stanley or Al Harding from DRF to take Evall's place about six weeks hence. This might be possible but we suspect you would prefer to retain Ekvall, with whom you are accustomed to working. It is embarrassing for us to have to depend on the Army for an interpreter in a diplomatic negotiation, especially when we are not able to let the Pentagon in on the direction of the negotiations, as they would like. As of now I am hopeful that we can solve the problem by getting Defense to assign Ekvall to an Army command in

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Heidelberg, Bonn or Paris, with temporary duty in Geneva. This should be acceptable to Defense, but Army G-2 may object.

The courier service to Geneva is almost daily during the Foreign Ministers' Conference so you will be hearing from usaa bit more frequently. I hope you are having an opportunity for some talks with the Secretary and Herman Phleger.

Regards and good luck,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Six communications from British Embassy, Washington, based on reports from British Charge, Peiping.

2. Letter from Lt. Col. Monroe, with attachments regarding certain unaccounted for military personnel.

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

ACTION COPY

327

6-D

SECRET

Control: 15806
Rec'd: OCTOBER 31, 1955
10:11 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: DULTE 34, OCTOBER 31, 2 P.M.

PRIORITY

RE DEPTEL 1053 TO JOHNSON

1. PARAGRAPH 1. AS CHICOMS HAVE NOW RELEASED TWO OF 19 THINK JOHNSON SHOULD EXPRESS EXPECTATION THIS WILL BE FOLLOWED BY EXPEDITIOUS RELEASE REMAINDER. AGREE JOHNSON SHOULD EXPRESS DISSATISFACTION WITH CHICOM REGULATIONS ALONG LINES DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION WHAT FURTHER INFORMATION MAY BE RECEIVED FROM O'NEILL WITH RESPECT VISITS BY TIME NEXT MEETING.

2. PARAGRAPH 2. CONCUR EXCEPT SUGGEST LEAVE TO JOHNSON'S DISCRETION WHETHER IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE AGAIN PRESENT LISTS THIS MEETING OR ATTEMPT READ LISTS. IMPORTANT HE HAVE INFORMATION TO PRESENT OF AT LEAST ONE ADDITIONAL CASE WHERE CLEAR INDIVIDUAL WAS IN CHINESE CUSTODY.

3. PARAGRAPHS 3 AND 4. THINK NOT DESIRABLE TO PRESENT COUNTER-PROPOSAL OF AGREED STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION ON FORCE UNTIL WE HAVE PROBED MEANING OF CHICOM PROPOSAL. THINK AT NEXT MEETING JOHNSON SHOULD PROBE MEANING AND APPLICATION OF CHINESE PROPOSAL INCLUDING QUESTIONS DESIGNED TO BRING OUT POINTS MENTIONED LATTER PART PARAGRAPH 4 URTEL. WOULD EXPECT WANG MIGHT POSTPONE REPLIES TO SOME QUESTIONS TO NEXT FOLLOWING MEETING AND THUS GIVE US ADDITIONAL TIME.

4. WE ARE BEING HARD PRESSED HERE TO AGREE ACCEPT THAT LEVEL CHICOM CONTROL SHOULD BE IDENTICAL WITH SOVIET BLOC CONTROL LEVELS AND THAT THESE SHOULD BE REDUCED AND WE MUST ANTICIPATE THAT WITHIN NEAR FUTURE WE WILL BE FACED WITH IRRESISTABLE DEMANDS SUCH REDUCTION. THEREFORE IMPORTANT TO UTILIZE THIS BARGAINING POINT IN

Copy to IO 11 Oct 55
FE 2/20/59
PD

SECRET

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611.93/10-3155

PA SECRET FILE

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CHICOM DISCUSSION AND BELIEVE JOHNSON SHOULD AT NEXT MEETING USE AUTHORITY GIVEN HIM IN PARAGRAPH 5 OF OURTEL 870 TO HIM.

DULLES

RN

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (328)

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

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Classification

13339

1955 OCT 31 PM 5 18

473

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 1064

FOR JOHNSON

Your 871 and 977.

FBIS check negative.

Nine of names and serial numbers you mention are cited in 1951 issues of China Monthly Review published Shanghai which carried regular feature: "New List of American POW's". This heading always followed by explanatory note of which August issue typical: "Following names of American POW's are additions to lists published in May, June and July issues of Review. These names have been compiled from files of New China News Agency (Hsinhua) and do not constitute an official list, being only names of POW's who have broadcast statements over Peking Radio or who have asked Chinese correspondents in Korea to publish their names so that their families may learn that they are prisoners.--Editor."

Citations, August issue: Craig, Demoll, Howell, Jennings, Johnson, Morris, Seggie, Schonder. June issue: Schuring. Morris cited also in The Shanghai News, June 30, 1951, as POW.

Research these and other names continuing in Chinese language press. State whether you want evidential publications airpouched to you.

Hoover, Acting

HOOVER

DC/R Encl 55

Drafted by: FE:CA:JPNagoski:jmd 10/31/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

S/S-CR

OCT 31 1955 P.M.

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Classification

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611.93/10-2755

CS/M

Confidential File

611.93/10-2755

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (329)

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

3577

1955 OCT 31 PM

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY TEDUL 42

Origin

Info:

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

— 611.93/10-3155

Re Dulte 34.

1. Information contained DEPTEL 1064 responsive paragraph 2 REFTEL.

2. Your paragraph 3. Our recommendation, which is herein renewed, that US draft declaration be introduced next meeting based on following considerations: (a) Undesirable allow Wang draft remain sole basis for negotiation. Renunciation of force is our item, not his. By his action he has seized initiative from us, and to some extent placed us on defensive. Our best counter action and our best refutation of his draft appears to us to be immediate submission of US draft which is natural outgrowth of our initial presentation; (b) so long as Wang draft is only one in hands British and Indians, their thinking likely to crystallize in terms that draft. We believe we can counteract this tendency only by presenting our draft and also furnishing copies on informal basis these governments; (c) DEPTEL 1052, paragraph 8, indicates Chou En-lai endeavoring to press initiative gained by presentation first draft on renunciation of force and strongly implies tactics on our part suggestive of stalling may play into Chinese Communist hands.

Believe above considerations outweigh advantage of gaining time.

CA

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DC/R 1
Exal 55

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough/WPMcConaughy/ikb 10/31/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Ralph N. Clough

Clearances: S/S FE-Sebald (Cleared in Draft)

S/S-CR
OCT 31 1955 P.M.

11075

SECRET
Classification

SECRET FILE

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3. Re Johnson's 921 paragraph 1, believe our draft's ~~xxxxxx~~ leanness contrasted with Wang draft's fatness provides necessary negotiating latitude. So long as we do not sacrifice ~~xxxxxx~~ essence of our draft we can afford make certain concessions in direction accepting addition of statements general principles although not specific language that Wang has presented.

4. Your paragraph 4. Concur advisability initiating embargo discussions along lines DEPTEL 870 paragraph 5. Re Johnson's 999 paragraph 4 believe probing should be strictly confined at this stage to context DEPTEL 870 paragraph 5, avoiding discussion specific commodities. Any such indication we prepared enter into bilateral negotiations with Chinese Communists in direction of reducing controls would greatly weaken our position in current and forthcoming negotiations with British and French. Chinese Communists could be expected promptly leak such information to British and ~~French~~ French for this purpose.

Repeat to Johnson.

Hoover

HOOVER

ACTING

Dmc

SECRET

11076

Classification

Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

330

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

416

ACTION COPY

OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Control: 373
Rec'd: November 1, 1955
12:59 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1027, November 1, 5 p.m.

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
NOV 2 1955
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FROM JOHNSON

Re DEPTEL 1064

Pouch publications where available.

GOWEN

AAL/12

Action Assigned to OA/PO

Action Taken (publication)

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Office

Direction

1955 NOV 2 AM 7 10

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (331)

INDICATE: [ ] COLLECT
[ ] CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

00383 (418)

1955 NOV 1 PM 7 20

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 1079

FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info:

Peiping propaganda on international issues during week continues to accuse US of obstructing ambassadorial talks, intensifying military preparations, and seeking prolong cold war. General tone not quite as hostile as previous week. Coverage on Taiwan issue somewhat increased, with renewed emphasis on theme of "peaceful liberation." New element injected by warning to Portuguese government that Chinese would "definitely recover" Macau, but would prefer to use peaceful means.

NCNA commentary October 22 Geneva Ambassadorial talks focussed on POW issue, demanding that US account for 21,000 Chinese-Korean POWs "abducted" by UN Command. Hong Kong press, October 28 reported that Chou had told British Quaker group that US insistence on repatriation all Americans before discussion other issues was "unacceptable" to Peiping; Chou also quoted as having expressed hope that present talks will lead to higher level talks on ~~the~~ Taiwan issue. NCNA continues to urge convening of Far Eastern Conference with "wide representation Asian countries" to discuss "pressing issues."

Peiping commentary on Big Four Ministers conference characterized by tone of guarded optimism. Conditions said to be favorable, but "influential forces" in US alleged to be seeking to prolong cold war tensions.

Peiping international

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611.93/11-155

CS/DLS

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DC/R
Acct 55
Cat

Drafted by: DRF/C:FLDawson:mvw 10-31-55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: OIR/DRF:JAYager

Clearances: IAD OA

S/S-CR
NOV 1 1955 P.M.

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Peiping international broadcasts on Taiwan revived emphasis on Chou En-lai formula for "peaceful liberation," with Tibet again cited as example. TA KUNG PAO October 25 cited Chou statements of May 13 and July 30 regarding talks with "responsible local authorities" on Taiwan. NCNA October 26 explained that such negotiations would be of nature of negotiations between "central and local government," and methods should be chosen by "Chinese people themselves."

Portuguese plans to celebrate 400th anniversary of rule in Macau provoked bitter propaganda blast from Peiping. People's Daily October 26 issued stern warning to effect that "Macau is Chinese territory and Chinese people have right to demand its recovery." Stated that Chinese people would "not long tolerate" Portuguese occupation. Mass rally held Canton October 27 marked by speeches demanding cessation of "provocations" by Portuguese Government, and accusing Portuguese authorities in Macau of "sheltering" Nationalist agents, and collaborating with US and Taiwan in effort "sabotage" ChiCom regime. Added, however, that "Chinese people" favored settlement Macau question by "peaceful means."

Other highlights week were Peiping's overtures to Philippines and Italy, in line with recent effort "normalize" relations with non-Communist countries and isolate US. According to Manila press Chou En-lai held interview with Filipino correspondents October 23, at which he asserted Taiwan's liberation "inevitable," and urged that Philippine Government conclude treaty of non-aggression with Peiping, based on Chou-Nehru Five Principles and Bandung Ten Principles. ChiCom press October 25 stated that time was now ripe for establishment of diplomatic relations

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diplomatic relations with Italy and suggested that negotiations for same be tied to discussions for extension of trade x and cultural relations.

NCNA commentary on Japan accused Hatoyama government of protracting talks with USSR, and of adopting "passive attitude" on subject of normalizing relations with north Korea. NCNA commentary on Diem government referendum views it as US plot to undermine Geneva agreements and turn south Vietnam into separate state.

Hoover, acting

HOOVER

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SECRET
Classification

(332)

Rec'd Nov. 2

5-17

R

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

November 1, 1955

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
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☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer [illegible] Date 9/4/80

~~Mr. Robertson~~
~~Mr. [illegible]~~ LB

OFFICIAL -- INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 16

Dear Walter:

Herman Phleger and I had dinner with the Secretary Friday evening during which we discussed the Chinese draft in a general and preliminary way but without coming to any conclusions. The Secretary has apparently not made up his mind on how he wants to handle it, and clearly wanted to have time to think about it, which was difficult with the extreme pressure on him of other events here. Therefore, in the telegram of suggestions for the next meeting, which I sent you on Saturday, I suggested that we not get into any detailed discussion.

The Secretary was also obviously very anxious that I get started on the trade embargo item, and, hence, my suggestion in that regard. I also want you to know that it was the Secretary's thought that I should query Wang with regard to specific items on the CHINCOM list, set forth in the last sentence of my 999. I told him that I had serious doubts about the desirability of this, but put it up in my telegram as my own query so that the Department would not feel any inhibitions in commenting on it. I have talked to Goodkind about it but he was understandably very reluctant to commit himself on the policy considerations involved. He saw no objection from the purely technical CHINCOM standpoint.

It has been a big help to have Goodkind and Doherty here to get myself thoroughly briefed on all aspects of CHINCOM controls, as it is a subject with which I was not familiar in detail. I want to let both you and Walter know that, except for the foregoing background against which I sent my 999, it represented only my own thoughts and I deliberately avoided showing it to or discussing it with the Secretary, because I feel that he should have the advantage of thoughts and recommendations of you and Walter in each case before making up his mind. I do not feel it right that my

temporary

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

temporary proximity to him here should operate so as to cause him to give any undue weight to my opinions and without having FE opinions in front of him. This gets to be a little difficult, but I want you to know that I have it very much in mind, as I know he does. I am sorry that my 999 crossed with your 1053. I sent it priority quite early Saturday morning and do not understand why you did not have it prior to sending your 1053. However, I believe it worked out all right as the Secretary had both messages in front of him yesterday and he and Herman did up a Dulte on the subject to you.

The one specific question which I particularly desired to, and did, discuss with the Secretary and Herman Friday evening was this: As I told him, it seemed to me that in the context of our talks my continued reference to "other matters" which could be more hopefully discussed following a satisfactory renunciation of force statement included, in Wang's mind, the presence of our forces in the Taiwan area. As I told the Secretary, I have very carefully avoided any specific statements and have carefully kept to simply the "other matters" formula. Wang has also not pressed me to be specific in this regard but he might well do so. In any event I want it to be clear in my own mind as to whether we would admit to discussion of the presence of our forces in the Taiwan area as an "other matter" if there were the satisfactory renunciation of force statement. Admitting to discussion, of course, would not carry with it any implication that we might be willing to agree with their demand for withdrawal or otherwise accept their point of view. However, I said it seemed to me that it would, as Herman phrases it, carry with it an implication of willingness to "bargain in good faith" and not simply sit and say "No". I particularly raised the question as to whether any such discussion would be within the agreed scope of our talks or whether it would be something involving the rights and interests of the GRC and, therefore, outside the scope of our talks.

I believe the Secretary's view can be summarized as follows: We cannot, of course, give any consideration, under present conditions, to withdrawal of all of our forces from the Taiwan area. Apart from any other considerations, the presence of at least symbolic forces is essential for the maintenance of morale on Taiwan. However, the United States has no desire to maintain forces in forward positions except as we consider essential in the light of our estimate of security situation in the particular area. This policy has been demonstrated by a reduction of strength in Korea and Japan. Similarly, the forces we maintain in the Taiwan area will be dependent upon our estimate of the security situation in that area. If the Chinese Communists unequivocally renounce force in the Taiwan area and otherwise demonstrate their peaceful intent, it could be expected we would give consideration to unilateral reduction in whatever strength is being maintained by us in the area. This would be a purely unilateral act on our part and not subject in any sense to agreement with the

Chinese

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Chinese Communists. Such decisions on our part do not involve the rights or interests of the GRC nor our agreements with the GRC. Therefore, "discussion" of the subject with PRC in the light of the foregoing could be admitted to.

The foregoing is merely my reconstruction of dinner conversation in which the Secretary was simply thinking out loud, and ~~that~~ I am passing it on to you simply in that context.

The Secretary has taken with him on his trip to Madrid today the renunciation of force file, including the PRC draft and the Department's draft. One aspect of the PRC draft that I am not clear on how I am going to handle in debate is that the 4th paragraph is very cleverly and carefully confined to disputes between PRC and the US. Thus, it is strictly within the agreed scope of our talks. What we want, of course, is for their renunciation to include the GRC, including Quemoy and Matsu. How do I justify this within the agreed scope of our talks? Is this not something which involves the rights and interests of the GRC and PRC-GRC relations? Another factor that occurs to me is if the PRC has renounced force as between itself and the US, how could it attack Taiwan as long as US forces are there without clearly breaching its renunciation of force with the US? Of course this leaves Quemoy and Matsu out. The Foreign Ministers' Conference is, of course, easy to handle as they are in an insupportable position in attempting to make any renunciation of force conditional upon the Foreign Ministers' Conference.

I am sure of only one thing: there is room for much and long discussion during which I will need all the ideas that you can give me.

Sincerely,

Alex

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

P.S. I have just read & briefly discussed with Herman your Tedul 42. Herman very much feels ~~so~~ I should not introduce any communiqué at this meeting & that we can counteract factors mentioned in para 2 Tedul 42 by circulating our original statement on renunciation of force. However, as Secretary does not return until late tonight we will not be able to obtain his decision SECRET until tomorrow morning.

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Control: 865 Taken

Rec'd: NOVEMBER 2, 1955
8:21 AM No action necessary

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1033, NOVEMBER 2, NOON

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
NOV 2 1955
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Date of Action 11/2/55

Action Office Symbol CA

Name of Officer R. Bregman

Direction to DC/R File

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611.93/11-255

FROM JOHNSON

... CORRESPONDENT HAS INFORMED ME IN CONFIDENCE HE HAS LEARNED THAT CHICOMS HERE HAVE TOLD YUGOSLAV UNESCO REP NOW IN GENEVA THAT THEY ARE VERY UNHAPPY WITH SOVIET MANEUVERS IN MIDDLE EAST AS IT IS SPOILING ATMOSPHERE FOR WORKING OUT THEIR PLANS IN FE. CHICOMS ARE SUPPOSED TO HAVE SO INFORMED SOVIETS.

... WHO IS RELIABLE BELIEVES STORY IS CORRECT. MY RECOLLECTION IS NOT CERTAIN AS TO WHETHER YUGOSLAV WAS REP UNESCO OR OTHER SUCH UN ORGANIZATION.

GOWEN

MEM

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NOV 8 1955

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
1955 NOV 2 AM 10 32
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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420

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 957
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 2, 1955
10:38 A.M. CA/DIR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1036, NOVEMBER 2, 2 P.M.

PRIORITY

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

REFERENCE: DEPTEL 1078.

PRESUME DEPARTMENT WILL REQUEST UK INSTRUCT O'NEILL IMMEDIATELY ATTEMPT ARRANGE VISIT TO DOWNEY. I DO NOT SEE HOW ANY QUESTION PRIORITY IS INVOLVED AND WOULD HOPE O'NEILL WOULD IN INTERVIEW PARTICULARLY ATTEMPT TEST CHICOM REGULATION ON "DISCUSSION CASE IN WHICH PRISONER INVOLVED".

IN THIS CONNECTION DEPARTMENT AND O'NEILL SHOULD HAVE IN MIND USUAL COMMUNIST (AS WELL AS FORMER JAPANESE AND SOME EUROPEAN) PRACTICE OF KEEPING PRISONER INCOMMUNICADO UNTIL "INVESTIGATION" CASE COMPLETED. AS DOWNEY HAS BEEN TRIED AND SENTENCED SUCH CONSIDERATION SHOULD UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES NO LONGER APPLY HIS CASE. ALSO SHOULD NOTE FACT CENSOR PASSED DOWNEY'S LETTER SPECIFICALLY ASKING "TO DISCUSS HIS CASE".

GOWEN

WEB

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FILED FEB 19 1955

DEPARTMENT OF STATE 1955 NOV 2 PM 2 26 BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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5-1154

November 2, 1955

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☐ Deny
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer S Date 1/6/82

SECRET

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

Letter No. 23

Dear Alex:

This will be a short note, mainly to submit a few factual items.

Indian Ambassador Mehta saw Mr. Robertson on October 27 to discuss certain phases of the Indian Embassy's function under the Agreed Announcement. A memorandum of the conversation is enclosed. The Indians are inclined to bring up various hair-splitting points although fundamentally they are obviously satisfied that all Chinese in this country are free to return to the Mainland if they wish to do so. Mehta seemed worried by what he termed evidence of fear on the part of several Chinese who have made preliminary inquiries, mostly by telephone, of the Indian Embassy here and the Indian Consulate General in New York. He seems to think they fear a certain intimidation of some sort, as if they think they will be penalized in some way if their interest to return to the Mainland should be

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

known. He wants us to find some means of giving reassurance to Chinese who may be deterred by vague fears from contacting the Indian Embassy. We pointed out to Mehta that there is no possible reason for any Chinese fearing any action by the U.S. Government if he should express a wish to return to the Mainland. We do not know of any further action which we could take to make their complete freedom to depart more explicit. Mehta also brought up the question of Chinese who are dual nationals. He wanted to know if Chinese with a valid claim to both American and Chinese citizenship are covered. He also inquired about native American wives and minor children of Chinese who wished to return and take their families with them. These questions seemed to be largely hypothetical at this stage.

Hubert Graves only yesterday brought in O'Neill's message of October 31 reporting the receipt of a letter from Downey. We see no reason why O'Neill should not play this straight and seek to interview Downey immediately. We are informing the British Embassy to this effect today. We are also replying to numbered paragraph 3 of O'Neill's comments on the release of Mills and Proulx, which we received from the British Embassy on October 28. (We sent you this document as an enclosure to my last letter.) Our reply will recommend that O'Neill proceed to dispatch immediately an identical letter to each prisoner. This letter will reiterate the terms of the Agreed Announcement, and confirm the readiness of the British Embassy in Peking to contact the addressee. We will give O'Neill a certain amount of latitude in

drafting the letter so as to enable him to get around the objection that any repetition of the Agreed Announcement would seem to indicate a lack of confidence in the assurances that Chou En-lai personally gave to O'Neill that each American had been notified. We do not know what O'Neill meant by saying that "I do not think the Chinese will allow me to act until they have confirmation that Indians in United States will receive reciprocal rights". We are asking for clarification of this.

Chou En-lai's conversation with O'Neill of October 29 is undoubtedly of considerable significance. We take it as signifying that the PRC is likely to increase the pressure for a higher level conference and that our difficulties in indefinitely maintaining the conversations at the present level will increase.

You will be interested to know that Joe Alsop remarked to me only yesterday that our tactic of dragging out the talks, and our motivation for doing so, were transparently clear to him. He said that Krishna Menon had revealed in a recent conversation with him that he (Menon) also saw this clearly. Naturally Alsop thinks the Chinese Communists see this with increasing clearness, and are likely to manifest growing impatience.

I hope you get some conclusive word from the Secretary on our guidance for your next meeting in time for you to map out your campaign without undue haste. His visit to Madrid probably complicated matters somewhat for you. I suppose there is not now much chance of

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submitting our draft on renunciation of force at the next meeting, but we would hope that it could be done on November 10 at the latest.

Our people are working actively with Colonel Monroe of Defense on assembling the information on the best cases among the 450. It is slow and frustrating business.

Do you have in your files a copy of the DRF Intelligence Report No. 6858 of March 22, 1955, entitled "Chinese Communist Views on Taiwan"? This is useful background historical material. We will send you a copy at once if you do not already have it. This study shows that back in the 30's the Chinese Communists pretty consistently took the stand that Taiwan should be independent and was not a part of China.

Regards and good fortune to you,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosure

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336

OMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

ACTION COPY

421

5-D
Action
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Info
RMR

SECRET

Control: 1455
Rec'd: November 3, 1955
6:19 a.m.

1/10

FROM: Geneva

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1044, November 3, 10 a.m.

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

Re paragraph 2 TEDUL 42.

Secretary feels our draft agreed announcement too "bare" for introduction as counterproposal today's meeting and there was not sufficient time to obtain your comments on new draft we have prepared here. I am transmitting new draft by separate telegram for your comments.

GOWEN

RHF/6

CA/OIR

Copy II 11 sent to FE 2/20/59

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1955 NOV 3 AM 9 29
BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

FEB 19 1959

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422

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18-L
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SECRET

Control: 1564
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 3, 1955
8:50 AM

1/6

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1048, NOVEMBER 3, NOON

Action Assigned to CA/DIR

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Action to DO

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

FOLLOWING IS SUGGESTED REDRAFT OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE WHICH HAS BEEN SHOWN TO THE SECRETARY AND PHLEGER AND HAS THEIR GENERAL CONCURRENCE. HOWEVER DESIRE TO RECEIVE DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS. IN PARTICULAR DESIRE COMMENTS ON INCLUSION PHRASE "TO ACHIEVE ITS NATIONAL POLICY OBJECTIVES WHEN THIS WOULD THREATEN INTERNATIONAL PEACE" IN LAST TWO PARAGRAPHS. THERE IS SOME THOUGHT THIS MIGHT BE OMITTED FROM FIRST DRAFT PRESENT TO WANG AND POSSIBLY RETAINED FOR LATER INTRODUCTION DURING COURSE NEGOTIATIONS.

1. THE AMBASSADORS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN THE DISCUSSION OF THE PRACTICAL MATTERS AT ISSUE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES HAVE RECOGNIZED THAT THE TWO COUNTRIES CONFRONT EACH OTHER WITH POLICIES WHICH ARE IN CERTAIN RESPECTS INCOMPATIBLE. THEIR GOVERNMENTS ARE DETERMINED, HOWEVER, THAT THEIR FIRST OBJECTIVE WILL BE TO SEE THAT THESE DIFFERENCES DO NOT LEAD TO ARMED CONFLICT.

2. THEIR DETERMINATION NOT TO RESORT TO WAR DOES NOT MEAN THAT EITHER GOVERNMENT MUST RENOUNCE ANY POLICY OBJECTIVES WHICH IT CONSIDERS IT IS LEGITIMATELY ENTITLED TO ACHIEVE OR RENOUNCE THE RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE. IT DOES MEAN THAT NEITHER WILL INITIATE THE USE OF FORCE TO IMPLEMENT ITS POLICIES.

3. THEIR DETERMINATION NOT TO RESORT TO THE USE OF FORCE TO MAKE THE POLICIES OF EITHER PARTY PREVAIL OVER THOSE OF THE OTHER DOES NOT INVOLVE THE INTERESTS OF THIRD PARTIES NOR DOES IT INVOLVE THE JUSTICE OR INJUSTICE OF CONFLICTING CLAIMS.

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4. THEY RECOGNIZE THE BASIC PRINCIPLE THAT THE USE OF FORCE TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL OBJECTIVES DOES NOT ACCORD WITH ACCEPTED STANDARDS OF CONDUCT UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW IF IT CONSTITUTES A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND JUSTICE.

5. FURTHERMORE, THEY RECOGNIZE THAT THE DETERMINATION NOT TO RESORT TO THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE IS ESSENTIAL TO THE JUST SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL MEANS, FOR NEGOTIATIONS CANNOT ACHIEVE FAIR AND EQUITABLE SOLUTIONS IF CONDUCTED UNDER THE OVERHANGING THREAT THAT FORCE MAY BE RESORTED TO WHEN ONE PARTY DOES NOT AGREE WITH THEN OTHER.

6. ACCORDINGLY; AMBASSADOR U. ALEXIS JOHNSON INFORMED AMBASSADOR WANG PING-NAN THAT: IN GENERAL, AND WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE TAIWAN AREA, THE USA RENOUNCES THE USE OF FORCE TO ACHIEVE ITS NATIONAL POLICY OBJECTIVES WHEN THIS WOULD THREATEN INTERNATIONAL PEACE, EXCEPT IN INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE.

7. AMBASSADOR WANG PING-NAN INFORMED AMBASSADOR U. ALEXIS JOHNSON THAT: IN GENERAL, AND WITH PARTICULAR REFERNECE TO THE TAIWAN AREA, THE PRC RENOUNCES THE USE OF FORCE TO achieve ITS NATIONAL POLICY OBJECTIVES WHEN THIS WOULD THREATEN INTERNATIONAL PEACE, EXCEPT IN INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE.

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1955 NOV 3 PM 12 28

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24-21
Action
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Control: 1796
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 3, 1955
2:46 P.M.

Info
RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

SS

NO: 1054, NOVEMBER 3, 6 P.M.

Act. Assigned to CAIDIR

Action Taken 1-6

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS TODAY'S MEETING.

IT WILL BE NOTED THAT ALTHOUGH I DID NOT PRESENT ANY COUNTER-DRAFT I KEPT VERY MUCH IN MIND CONSIDERATIONS MENTIONED PARA 2 TEDUL 42 AND ACCORDINGLY MY PRESENTATION FOCUSED AROUND OUR FORMULATION RENUNCIATION OF FORCE.

WANG DID NOT ATTEMPT FORCE ISSUE OF HIS DRAFT AND I WOULD CHARACTERIZE HIS DISCUSSION AS SOMEWHAT DESULTORY, GIVING AN IMPRESSION OF WILLINGNESS TO "MARK TIME" FOR TODAY. BELIEVE THIS PROBABLY RELATED TO MANEUVERS REPORTED DEPTEL 1052.

WITH RESPECT MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL SUGGEST CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO MAKING FRESH APPROACH TO MAC WHICH TAKES ACCOUNT MY EXCHANGES HERE WITH WANG ON SUBJECT. I MIGHT DROP SUBJECT FOR MEETING OR TWO HERE WHILE WE SEE WHETHER ANY PROGRESS CAN NOW BE MADE IN MAC.

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Control: 1910
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 3, 1955
5:41 PM

Action Assigned to EA/PIN
Action Taken
Type of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Routing to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1056, NOVEMBER 3, 9 PM (SECTION ONE OF FIVE).

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON.

1. I OPENED TWENTY-FOURTH MEETING TODAY BY PRESENTING PREPARED STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION OF ITEM ONE, AS FOLLOWS:

A. MR. AMBASSADOR, I WAS PLEASED TO LEARN AFTER OUR LAST MEETING THAT TWO IMPRISONED AMERICANS HAD BEEN RELEASED - MISS HARRIET MILLS AND FATHER ARMAND PROULX. IT IS ENVOURAGING TO SEE THAT APPROPRIATE MEASURES HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO PERMIT RETURN OF TWO OF 19 AMERICANS. I EARNESTLY HOPE AND EXPECT THAT RELEASE OF THESE 2 WILL BE FOLLOWED BY EXPEDITIOUS RELEASE OF THE REMAINDER AS PROVIDED IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

B. I WAS ALSO GRATIFIED TO LEARN THAT DAY BEFORE OUR LAST MEETING BRITISH CHARGE IN PEKING WAS INFORMED THAT HE COULD, IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, VISIT AND CORRESPOND WITH AMERICANS IN PRISON. THIS IS ANOTHER GRATIFYING INDICATION THAT SOME STEPS ARE BEING TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND TO ENABLE UK CHARGE TO UNDERTAKE HIS FUNCTIONS.

C. I MUST ADD, HOWEVER, THAT I WAS SURPRPSED THAT BRITISH CHARGES VISITS AND CORRESPONDENCE WITH IMPRISONED AMERICANS IS TO BE IN CONFORMITY WITH "RULES AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING PRISONERS' RECEIVING AND CORRESPONDING WITH RELATIVES." OF COURSE, BRITISH CHARGE IS NOT RELATIVE BUT OFFICIAL OF HIS GOVT CHARGED UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WITH SPECIFIC OFFICIAL FUNCTIONS. I EXPECT THAT HE WILL NOT BE RESTRICTED BY THESE REGULATIONS IN PERFORMANCE OF HIS OFFICIAL FUNCTIONS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

D. AS I

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D. AS I HAVE INFORMED YOU AT OUR PREVIOUS MEETINGS, INDIAN EMBASSY WAS FULLY AUTHORIZED TO UNDERTAKE ITS FUNCTIONS IN US IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING ISSUANCE OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. OF COURSE WE, TOO, HAVE REGULATIONS GOVERNING VISITS BY FAMILIES TO PRISONERS. HOWEVER, MY GOVT HAS AUTHORIZED ME TO INFORM YOU THAT NO RESTRICTIONS ARE IMPOSED ON INDIAN AMBASSADOR IN CARRYING OUT HIS FUNCTIONS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

E. IMPORTANT FACT, OF COURSE, IN ALL THIS DISCUSSION OF THE DETAILS OF IMPLEMENTATION IS THAT IN OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ON SEPTEMBER 10 WE STATED THAT ALL THOSE WHO WANTED TO RETURN WERE FREE TO DO SO AND THAT APPROPRIATE MEASURES COULD BE TAKEN TO ENABLE THEM TO DO SO EXPEDITIOUSLY.

2. WANG REPLIED THAT HE HAD BEEN TELLING ME FOR LONG TIME HIS GOVT WOULD BE FAITHFUL IN IMPLEMENTING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND THAT THIRD STATE WOULD BE ABLE TO CARRY OUT FUNCTIONS.

3. I CONTINUED WITH EXTEMPORANEOUS STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. I ACKNOWLEDGED RECEIPT OF REVISED ENGLISH VERSION AND STATED WE WERE CONTINUING STUDY OF HIS DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

4. I SAID RENUNCIATION OF FORCE WAS SUBJECT ON WHICH IT WAS IMPORTANT THERE BE FULL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US. IT WAS NOT AN AREA IN WHICH PROLEMS COULD BE RESOLVED BY UNCLEAR OR CLOUDY LANGUAGE THAT MAY MEAN ONE THING TO ONE SIDE, ANOTHER THING TO THE OTHER SIDE.

5. I SAID WE BOTH RECOGNIZED THAT WE FACED PRACTICAL SITUATION IN TAIWAN AREA. MY GOVT IS DETERMINED INSOFAR AS IT LIES WITHIN ITS POWERS THAT THERE BE NO HOSTILITIES. IF HIS GOVT HAS SAME DETERMINATION, QUESTION OF POSSIBILITY OF HOSTILITIES ARISING IN AREA CAN BE RESOLVED.

6. I SAID IN CONSIDERING HIS DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, I WOULD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO INFORM MY GOVT EXACTLY TO WHAT DEGREE IT MEETS POINTS RAISED IN STATEMENT I MADE AT TIME OF RAISING THIS

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RAISING THIS SUBJECT. IN THAT STATEMENT I HAD SAID TO USE FORCE TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL OBJECTIVES DOES NOT ACCORD WITH ACCEPTED STANDARDS OF CONDUCT UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW. I HAD CITED INSTANCES AND EXAMPLES IN WHICH THIS PRINCIPLE WAS ENUNCIATED. I HAD SAID US HAS IN PAST AND IS WILLING AGAIN TO ENUNCIATE THIS PRINCIPLE.

7. I SAID QUESTION I WOULD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO ANSWER TO MY GOVT IS WHETHER OR NOT DRAFT IS INTENDED INCORPORATE THIS PRINCIPLE.

8. I SAID I HAD ALSO NOTED IN DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT INCLUSION OF AGREEMENT ON MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES. THIS APPEARED TO LINK QUESTION OF DECLARATION THAT FORCE NOT BE USED TO SETTLE DISPUTES WITH A PARTICULAR FORM OF NEGOTIATIONS. THESE TWO THINGS ARE QUITE DIFFERENT FROM ONE ANOTHER. IF PRINCIPLE NON-RECOURSE TO FORCE IS SOUND, IT IS SOUND FOR ITS OWN SAKE AND NOT PROPER TO LINK IT WITH ANY PARTICULAR FORM OF NEGOTIATION. NEITHER UN CHARTER, PORTIONS OF WHICH HE HAD QUOTED, NOR ANY OTHER PRINCIPLE I KNOW OF, STATES PROBLEMS MUST BE NEGOTIATED BETWEEN FOREIGN MINISTERS OF COUNTRIES.

9. I SAID UN CHARTER AND OTHER STATEMENTS THIS SUBJECT REFER TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES. MANY WAYS OF PEACEFULLY SETTLING DISPUTES AND MANY CHANNELS THROUGH WHICH NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN GOVTS CAN BE CARRIED ON FOR PURPOSE PEACEFULLY SETTLING DISPUTES. AS WE BOTH KNEW, NORMAL CHANNEL IS BETWEEN AMBASSADORS OR BETWEEN AMBASSADOR AND FOREIGN OFFICE.

10. I SAID MY GOVT HAD SUGGESTED THE PRESENT TALKS FOR PURPOSE PEACEFULLY DISCUSSING AND SETTLING DISPUTES. I DID NOT SEE HOW QUESTION OF ANOTHER LEVEL OF TALKS AROSE UNTIL WE HAD COMPLETED THE TALKS HERE.

11. I SAID THE IMPORTANT POINT WAS THAT WHATEVER WORDS WERE USED OR WHATEVER FORM WE ADOPTED, IT BE PERFECTLY CLEAR THAT NEITHER OF US WOULD USE FORCE IN TAIWAN AREA.

12. I SAID

12. I SAID THAT IN MY ORIGINAL STATEMENT I HAD SAID WE SHOULD BOTH OF US CLEARLY RENOUNCE FORCE TO MAKE POLICIES OF EITHER OF US PREVAIL OVER THOSE OF OTHER. WE CONSIDERED THAT THIS APPLIED PARTICULARLY TO TAIWAN AREA.

13. I SAID THIS INVOLVED NO THIRD PARTIES, NOR DID IT INVOLVE JUSTICE OR INJUSTICE OF CONFLICTING CLAIMS.

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Action Assigned to C/NR
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

Control: 1950
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 3, 1955
6:50 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1056, NOVEMBER 3, 9 P.M. (SECTION TWO OF FIVE)

PRIORITY

14. I SAID I WOULD APPRECIATE HIS OBSERVATIONS ON WHETHER HIS ANNOUNCEMENT INTENDED TO COVER POINTS I HAD RAISED IN MY ORIGINAL STATEMENT, WHICH WAS PROPOSAL HIS SIDE DECLARE IT WOULD NOT RESORT TO FORCE IN TAIWAN AREA EXCEPT DEFENSIVELY. AS I HAD SAID AT TIME, US PREPARED MAKE CORRESPONDING DECLARATION.

15. I CONCLUDED THAT WHATEVER ANSWER HE MIGHT GIVE ME WOULD BE OF GREAT HELP IN CONSIDERING HIS PROPOSAL.

16. WANG REPLIED THAT HE SHARED MY VIEW THAT PURPOSE OF TALKS IS TO SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES PEACEFULLY, AND IN PARTICULAR DISPUTES IN TAIWAN AREA.

17. WANG CONTINUED WITH PREPARED STATEMENT ON THIS SUBJECT, WHICH HE ELABORATED EXTEMPORANEOUSLY. HE SAID THAT I HAD SAID AT THE PREVIOUS MEETING THAT TAIWAN HAD BEEN RESTORED TO CHINA FROM JAPAN. THAT IS EXACTLY WHAT FORMER PRESIDENT TRUMAN SAID IN STATEMENT OF JANUARY 5, 1950. NO MATTER WHAT WAS THEN CHINESE GOVT, NO ONE CAN DENY TAIWAN IS CHINESE TERRIROTY. AS THIS IS CASE, LIBERATION OF TAIWAN CANNOT BUT BE ADMITTED AS DOMESTIC AFFAIR OF CHINA.

18. WANG SAID US CANNOT COVER UP US ARMED ENCROACHMENT TAIWAN AND INTERFERENCE CHINESE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION TAIWAN AND COASTAL ISLANDS BY CONCLUDING TREATY WITH CHIANG KAI-SHEK CLIQUE. NEVERTHELESS I HAD GONE SO FAR AS TO TRY TO MIX UP CIVIL CONFLICT IN CHINA WITH INTERNATIONAL MATTERS BY INVOKING TREATY. HIS SIDE COULD NEVER ACCEPT THIS.

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WANG SAID I HAD STATED I HAD NO INTENT DEBATE CONFLICTING POLICIES TAIWAN IN ORDER TO AVOID LONG FUTILE CONTROVERSY. HOWEVER, IF WE TO DISCUSS HOW NON-RECOURSE TO FORCE MAY BE APPLIED TO SINO-US DISPUTE IN AREA, WE CANNOT EVADE FACT US RESORTING TO THREAT AND USE OF FORCE. THAT FACT GAVE RISE TO SINO-US DISPUTE IN AREA, WHICH IS PRESSING FOR SOLUTION.

20. WANG SAID HE HAD REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT THAT IN DISCUSSING PRINCIPLE OF NON-RECOURSE TO FORCE, DISTINCTION MUST BE MADE BETWEEN INTERNAL CONFLICT AND INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE. INTERNAL CONFLICT NO BUSINESS OF PRESENT TALKS. ANOUNCEMENT SHOULD NOT HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH INTERNAL MATTERS OF ANY COUNTRY.

21. WANG SAID CHINESE PEOPLE ALWAYS STRIVE FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS EVEN IN REALM OF INTERNAL MATTERS. BUT IT WAS CHIANG KAI-SHEK WHO STARTED LARGE SCLAE INTERNAL CONFLICT IN 1946, AS EVEN STATE DEPT WHITE PAPER ADMITTED. CHINESE PEOPLE COMPELLED RESORT TO WAR TO OVERTHROW CHIANG RULE AND ESTABLISH PRC.

22. WANG SAID TODAY REMNANT ELEMENTS CHIANG CLIQUE STILL HAUNT TAIWAN, WAGING DISRUPTIVE WAR AGAINST MAINLAND CHINA. NEVERTHELESS, CHINESE PEOPLE STILL WILLING, CONDITIONS PERMITTING, STRIVE LIBERATION TAIWAN BY PEACEFUL MEANS. THIS INTERNAL MATTER, NOT SUBJECT PRESENT TALKS.

23. WANG SAID US GOVT HAD INDICATED IT DOES NOT INTEND SPEAK FOR CHIANG KAI-SHEK, NOR CAN HIS SIDE ACCEPT US TO REPRESENT CHIANG IN TALKS. HE CANNOT AGREE TO A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH WOULD TOUCH ON A CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIR.

24. WANG SAID I HAD SPOKEN OF SITUATIONS OF DIVISION IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD. AS FAR AS CHINA CONCERNED, THIS METOPHOR OUT OF PLACE AND CANNOT JUSTIFY US ENCROACHMENT ON TAIWAN. ANY ATTEMPT SPLIT CHINA INTO TWO CHINAS UNACCEPTABLE TO CHINESE PEOPLE.

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25. WANG SAID HIS DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT ON BASIS UN CHARTER CALLED FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES WITHOUT RESORTING TO THREAT OR USE OF FORCE. THIS MET SPIRIT OF MY STATEMENT CONCERNING SETTLING DISPUTES BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES PEACEFULLY.

26. WANG SAID, IN ORDER REALIZE THIS DESIRE, APPROPRIATE BOTH SIDES HOLD CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS TO SETTLE QUESTION OF AND ELIMINATE TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA.

27. WANG CONCLUDED IF US GENUINELY SEEKING PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, THERE NO REASON WE CANNOT AGREE MAKE SUCH ANNOUNCEMENT. NO JUSTIFICATION FOR STALLING IN ISSUING SUCH ANNOUNCEMENT.

28. I REPLIED THAT I DID NOT SEE HOW HIS REMARKS ADVANCED THE SITUATION VERY MUCH. WAS I TO TAKE IT AS HIS POSITION THAT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES COULD BE CARRIED ON ONLY AT THE FOREIGN MINISTERS' LEVEL?

29. WANG REPLIED THAT HIS SIDE REGARDED DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA AS GRAVEST EXISTING DISPUTE BETWEEN CHINA AND US, AFFECTING NOT ONLY RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND US BUT ALSO SECURITY AND PEACE IN FAR EAST. THEREFORE IT HIS VIEW THAT IT WOULD BE MORE PRACTICAL REFER SUCH GRAVE PROBLEM TO CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

30. WANG SAID IF I CONSIDERED MYSELF FULLY AUTHORIZED AND ABLE ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR SETTLING QUESTION OF WITHDRAWAL US ARMED FORCES FROM TAIWAN AREA, HE WOULD JOIN ME IN DISCUSSING THIS QUESTION HERE.

31. I REPLIED THAT I UNDERSTOOD THEN THAT NEGOTIATIONS COULD BE CARRIED ON AT LEVEL OTHER THAN FOREIGN MINISTER.

32. WANG SAID THAT IF I HAD POWER SETTLE QUESTION TO WHICH HE HAD REFERRED, HE WOULD JOIN ME IN DISCUSSING THE PROBLEM. HE WAS NOT TRYING TO EVADE DISCUSSION OF THE QUESTION.

33. I SAID THAT NEXT QUESTION I WISHED TO RAISE WAS ONE I HAD RAISED BEFORE. WE HAVE DIFFERENT VIEWS WITH RESPECT NATURE OF DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA. DID HE AGREE THAT FIRST AND MOST

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IMPORTANT ASK IS MAKE SURE DIFFERENT VIEWS DO NOT LEAD US TO WAR? WE RECOGNIZED THERE IS PRACTICAL SITUATION IN AREA. OVERWHELMINGLY IMPORTANT QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE WAS THAT PRACTICAL SITUATION SHOULD NOT LEAD US TO WAR.

34. I SAID HE HAD REFERRED TO SITUATION AS INTERNAL MATTER AND HAD SAID "CONDITIONS PERMITTING" HIS SIDE WOULD STRIVE FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. AS I HAD POINTED OUT AT LAST MEETING, THAT IS VERY DIFFERENT FROM SAYING FORCE WILL NOT BE RESORTED TO IN AREA EXCEPT DEFENSIVELY.

35. I SAID OBLIGATION TO SEEK PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND NOT TO RESORT TO FORCE DID NOT REVOLVE ABOUT THE QUESTION OF INTERNAL MATTER OR INTERNATIONAL MATTER. QUESTION IS WHETHER USE OF FORCE WOULD ENDANGER INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

36. I SAID HE HAD QUOTED PROTIONS OF UN CHARTER. I WOULD LIKE TO QUOTE ANOTHER PORTION THAT HAS PERTINENCE TO THE SITUATION. I READ PARAGRAPH 1, ARTICLE 33, CHAPTER VI, OF CHARTER.

37. I SAID TEST IS NOT WHETHER QUESTION IS INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL, BUT WHETHER IT AFFECTS INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. SAME POINT MADE IN ARTICLE 1 OF CHARTER, WHICH REFERS TO "SITUATIONS WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO BREACH OF PEACE".

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Control: 2024

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9:58 PM

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1056, NOVEMBER 3, 9 PM (SECTION THREE OF FIVE)

PRIORITY

38. I SAID MY PURPOSE IS NOT TO GET INTO LEGALISTIC ARGUMENT OVER INTERPRETATION OF CHARTER. I SIMPLY MEAN TO POINT OUT THAT CHARTER IS ONE OF PLACES WHERE PRINCIPLE WAS ENUNCIATED THAT IT IS CONTRARY ACCEPTED STANDARDS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS USE FORCE IN SITUATIONS LIKELY TO ENDANGER INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

39. I SAID I WAS NOT ASKING HIM ACCEPT PROPOSITION THAT PROBLEM IN TAIWAN AREA IS NOT INTERNAL. TO SAY FORCE WILL NOT BE RESORTED TO IN TAIWAN AREA DOES NOT PREJUDICE HIS POSITION IN REGARD TO NATURE OF DISPUTE. I WAS NOT SUGGESTING HE SAY ANYTHING THAT WOULD PREJUDICE HIS POSITION. I WAS SIMPLY ASKING WHETHER IT IS INTENT OF HIS DRAFT TO MAKE CLEAR THAT FORCE WILL NOT BE RESORTED TO EXCEPT DEFENSIVELY.

40. I SAID IT WAS OF EXTREME IMPORTANCE THAT WE BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR BETWEEN OURSELVES ON THIS. IT WOULD BE MOST UNFORTUNATE AND DISCUSSIONS HERE WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE IF WE PRODUCED WORDS THAT MEANT ONE THING TO HIM AND ANOTHER THING TO US.

41. I SAID THAT I WAS HONESTLY NOT CLEAR WHAT HIS POSITION WAS.

42. WANG REPLIED THAT HIS SIDE "USED TO MAINTAIN" IN DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN US THAT US SHOULD WITHDRAW ITS ARMED FORCES TO EXPRESS ITS SINCERITY. I HAD REPEATEDLY URGED THAT A STATEMENT BE ISSUED TO EFFECT THAT ALL DISPUTES SHOULD BE SETTLED PEACEFULLY WITHOUT RESORTING TO FORCE. DRAFT WAS INTENDED TO SATISFY THIS REQUEST BY OUR SIDE.

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-2- 1056, NOVEMBER 3, 9 P.M. (SECTION THREE OF FIVE) FROM GENEVA, CONTROL 2024

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43. WANG SAID ANY DRAFT MUST REPRESENT COMMON POINT OF VIEW BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. HIS DRAFT CONTAINED THREE POINTS SUITABLE TO BOTH OF US:

A. FIRST, IT CONTAINED ARTICLE FROM UN CHARTER ON WHICH HE WAS SURE WE COULD HAVE NO DIFFERENCE OF OPINION. NEARLY EVERYONE HAS LEARNED STIPULATIONS OF UN CHARTER BY HEART.

B. SECOND, DRAFT PROVIDED FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES WITHOUT RESORTING TO FORCE. HE WAS SURE WE COULD AGREE ON THIS POINT. DRAFT PROVIDED THAT BOTH CHINA AND US WILL NOT RESORT TO FORCE.

C. THIRD, DRAFT SUGGESTS CONFERENCE AT HIGHER LEVEL SHOULD BE HELD TO SETTLE QUESTION OF TENSION TAIWAN AREA. EVEN SOME RESPONSIBLE PERSONAGES IN US HAD EXPRESSED HIS DESIRE.

44. WANG SAID IT SEEMED THEREFORE HIS DRAFT PROPOSAL WAS REASONABLE AND ABLE TO FACILITATE OUR TALKS. THE POSITION OF HIS SIDE WAS QUITE CLEAR, AND IF I HAD INTENT TO UNDERSTAND IT, I WOULD BE ABLE TO DO SO.

45. WANG SAID HIS SIDE WAS IN FULL AGREEMENT WITH PROVISION UN CHARTER I HAD QUOTED. ARTICLES QUOTED PROVIDE FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES WITHOUT RESORTING TO WAR. THAT IS WHAT HIS SIDE IS STRIVING FOR. HOWEVER IN THESE ARTICLES AND IN OTHER PORTIONS OF UN CHARTER THERE ARE NO PROVISIONS PERMITTING ONE COUNTRY TO INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER.

46. WANG SAID THAT IS WHY HE HAD STATED WE MUST NOT MIX UP TWO DISTINCT PROBLEMS. DISTINCTION MUST BE MADE BETWEEN INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. FIRST POINT WE MUST BE CLEAR ON IS THAT INTERNAL CONFLICT IS NOT MIXED UP WITH INTERNATIONAL.

47. WANG SAID SECOND POINT IS QUESTION OF INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES. FACT THAT US HAS USED ARMED FORCE AGAINST TAIWAN HAS BROUGHT US TOGETHER IN PRESENT TALKS. WE SHOULD DISCUSS QUESTION OF INTERFERENCE IN CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS ON PART OF US. IF AMERICAN ARMED FORCE IS

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WITHDRAWN FROM TAIWAN AND US AVOIDS INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CHINA, A NEW PAGE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND US WOULD EMERGE.

48. WANG SAID IF US COULD MEET TWO POINTS MENTIONED ABOVE, QUESTION HOW CHINESE PEOPLE WILL DEAL WITH CHIANG CLIQUE IS MATTER OF CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. CHINESE PEOPLE HAVE CONSISTENTLY EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS DEAL WITH CHIANG BY PEACEFUL MEANS. THAT IS TO SAY, CHINA ALSO WILLING SETTLE INTERNAL ISSUES BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

49. WANG SAID IN SAME MANNER HIS SIDE WILLING SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN US AND CHINA. HE WAS SURE HE HAD MADE HIS POSITION QUITE CLEAR.

50. WANG SAID ANY SOVEREIGN STATE MUST AND SHOULD ADOPT SUCH POSITION. IN PAST US ALWAYS STATED ITS DESIRE MAINTAIN TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY CHINA. US EVEN MADE PLEDGE IT WOULD NOT INTERFERE CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THESE TWO STATEMENTS IN US HISTORY ARE QUITE JUST AND WELCOMED BY CHINESE PEOPLE. GRAVE TEST FACING US IS IMPLEMENTING NOW TWO SOLEMN PLEDGES MADE IN PAST.

51. WANG SAID US HAS STATED HISTORY OF CHINA FULL OF HUMILIATIONS, FOREIGN OCCUPATION, SPECIAL PRIVILEGES ON PART OF FOREIGNERS, AND ENCROACHMENT ON TERRITORY. FOREIGN COUNTRIES ENCROACHED ON AND OCCUPIED TERRITORY INCLUDING TAIWAN AND MANCHURIA AND EXPLAINED AS FOREIGN ENCROACHMENTS CHINESE SOVEREIGNTY CONTRARY TO UN CHARTER.

52. WANG SAID SUCH STATEMENT ON PART OF US WAS IN ACCORD WITH HISTORY OF CHINA. HOWEVER, BREACHES OF CHINESE SOVEREIGNTY AND INTEGRITY OF CHINESE TERRITORY HAVE NOW BECOME MATTERS OF CHINESE HISTORY AND THESE COULD ONLY BE INFLICTED ON A WEAK GOVERNMENT. HUMILIATION COULD ONLY BE INFLICTED UPON WEAK STATE SUCH AS OLD CHINA OF PAST. THINGS HAVE CHANGED ENTIRELY. TODAY GREAT, STRONG CHINA WILL NEVER ALLOW THAT HISTORY TO REPEAT ITSELF.

53. WANG SAID HIS PRESENT REQUIREMENT IS A MINIMUM ONE. WHAT HE SOUGHT WAS TO PRESERVE SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF HIS COUNTRY. SUCH WAS HIS POSITION. HE HOPED I WOULD UNDERSTAND HIS POSITION.

DULLES

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Control: 2034
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10:31 P.M.

Info

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

RMR

NO: 1056, NOVEMBER 3, 9 P.M., (SECTION FOUR OF FIVE).

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PRIORITY

54. I REPLIED THAT IT WAS GETTING LATE AND THAT I HAD TWO OTHER MATTERS I WISHED TO TAKE UP. THE DISCUSSION SO FAR HAD BEEN HELPFUL. I WOULD LIKE TO ASK ONE QUESTION, NOT IN AN ARGUMENTATIVE SPIRIT BUT TO SEE WHETHER WE WERE GETTING CLOSER TOGETHER. DID THE AMBASSADOR AGREE WITH ME THAT WHATEVER OUR DIFFERENCES OF INTERPRETATION AND VIEWS IN REGARD TO TAIWAN SITUATION MAY BE, PRESENT FACTUAL SITUATION IS SUCH THAT RESORT BY EITHER SIDE TO FORCE IN AREA WOULD ENDANGER INTERNATIONAL PEACE?

55. WANG REPLIED THAT HE AGREED SO LONG AS CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS WERE NOT INVOLVED, SO LONG AS DISPUTES BETWEEN CHINA AND US DID NOT INVOLVE CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. IN SAME SPIRIT HIS PREMIER HAD STATED CHINESE PEOPLE AND AMERICAN PEOPLE WERE FRIENDLY, CHINESE PEOPLE DO NOT WANT TO FIGHT AMERICAN PEOPLE, PROVIDED BOTH RESPECT SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF OTHER SIDE. HIS SIDE WAS WILLING TO REACH A RECONCILIATION WITH US. HE HOPED US WOULD ALSO SHOW ITS RECONCILIATION BY ACTUAL DEEDS.

56. WANG SAID I HAD STATED THAT NO THIRD PARTIES WERE INVOLVED.

57. I REPLIED THAT HE HAD NOT QUITE GRASPED MY QUESTION. MY QUESTION WAS WHETHER OR NOT THE AMBASSADOR AGREED THAT FACTUAL SITUATION TAIWAN AREA WAS SUCH THAT INITIATION OF HOSTILITIES BY EITHER SIDE WOULD ENDANGER INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

58. WANG REPLIED THAT OF COURSE INTERNATIONAL PEACE WAS BEING ENDANGERED. IT WAS NOT QUESTION OF RESORT TO FORCE BY BOTH SIDES. IN FACT US ALREADY USING FORCE IN AREA.

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59. WANG SAID HE WAS SURE ALL HIS STATEMENTS TODAY WERE INTENDED ANSWER MY QUESTIONS. IF I WOULD STUDY HIS REMARKS I WOULD GET MY ANSWERS.

60. I REPLIED THAT I COULD NOT AGREE THAT US USING FORCE IN AREA BUT THAT I WAS TRYING TO AVOID CONTROVERSY THIS POINT. I HAD PRESENTED VIEWS OF MY GOVERNMENT AT PRECEDING MEETING AND WOULD NOT TAKE TIME TO REPEAT. I WOULD STUDY WHAT HE HAD SAID AND WOULD DISCUSS THIS SUBJECT FURTHER AT SUBSEQUENT MEETING.

61. I THEN PRESENTED PREPARED STATEMENT ON MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL AS FOLLOWS:

A. AT LAST MEETING WHEN I RAISED QUESTION OF MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL, YOU USED PHRASE "NON-EXISTENT". I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER YOU INTERPRET THIS TO MEAN MISSING MEN ARE NOW NON-EXISTENT OR WERE NON-EXISTENT.

B. I MENTIONED MR. CRAIG AT OUR LAST MEETING. EVIDENCE INDICATES HE WAS ALIVE AND IN YOUR HANDS AT ONE TIME. I WANT TO ASSURE YOU OUR PURPOSE IS NOT TO EMBARRASS OR MAKE CHARGES BUT SIMPLY TO OBTAIN INFORMATION FOR FAMILIES OF THESE MEN. I WOULD LIKE TO MENTION ANOTHER NAME IN LIST I DISCUSSED LAST WEEK. NAME IS CORPORAL RUSSEL F. MORRIS OF US ARMY. CORPORAL MORRIS' NAME WAS LISTED AS PRISONER OF WAR IN SHANGHAI NEWS OF JUNE 30, 1951. AUGUST 1951 ISSUE OF CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW ALSO LISTED HIS NAME.

C. IN LISTING HIS NAME ALONG WITH OTHERS, CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW STATES LIST COMPILED ON BASIS NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY LIST OF POW'S WHO HAVE BROADCAST STATEMENTS OVER PEKING RADIO OR WHO HAVE ASKED CHINESE CORRESPONDENTS IN KOREA TO PUBLISH THEIR NAMES SO THAT THEIR FAMILIES MAY LEARN THAT THEY ARE PRISONERS.

D. IN REGARD TO YOUR STATEMENT LAST WEEK, I WANT TO ASK WHETHER THIS MEANS THAT RESPONSIBLE CORRESPONDENTS OF YOUR SIDE IN KOREA WOULD TAKE NAMES OF MISSING AMERICANS AND STATE THAT THEY ARE POW'S IN ORDER TO MISLEAD THEIR FAMILIES? WOULD YOUR AUTHORITIES PERMIT SUCH FALSE INFORMATION TO BE CIRCULATED BY NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY? IT IS DIFFICULT FOR ME TO BELIEVE THAT THIS IS CASE.

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11/5/55, 8:55 A.M.
CORRECTED PAGE 3

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-3- 1056, NOVEMBER 3, 9 P.M., (SECTION 4 OF 5), FROM GENEVA CN 2034

IF IT IS NOT CASE, THIS MAN WAS ALIVE AS PRISONER OF WAR OF YOUR SIDE. HE WAS NOT RETURNED, NO REPORT OF HIS DEATH HAS EVER BEEN RECEIVED, HIS BODY HAS NOT BEEN RETURNED. I AM SIMPLY ASKING THAT YOUR AUTHORITIES INVESTIGATE CASE AND TELL US WHAT HAPPENED TO HIM. THERE MUST BE SOME RECORD OF WHAT HAPPENED TO CORPORAL MORRIS AFTER AUGUST 1951. THERE SURELY CAN BE NO OBJECTION TO INFORMING WHAT THAT RECORD IS SO THAT HIS FAMILY CAN BE INFORMED. IN SPITE OF OUR EFFORTS, WE SIMPLY HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO FIND OUT. THIS IS ALL I AM ASKING. JUST AS IN CASE OF CORPORAL MORRIS, I DO NOT SEE WHY THIS CANNOT BE DONE ALONG WITH OTHER NAMES.

E. THIS MATTER IS ONE OF DEEP CONCERN TO FAMILIES OF MISSING MEN, TO ALL AMERICANS, AND TO MY GOVERNMENT. IT IS CLEARLY MATTER AT ISSUE BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS.

62. WANG REPLIED THAT HE HAD MADE HIS POSITION CLEAR AT LAST MEETING AND COULD NOT ACCEPT DISCUSSION THIS MATTER. AS ALL CASES ENUMERATED HAPPENED IN 1951, THEY HAPPENED DURING KOREAN WAR. THERE IS A MILITARY ARMISTIC COMMISSION WHICH SPECIALLY DEALS WITH PRISONERS AND MISSING PERSONNEL. AMERICAN SIDE HAS SOME MEN MISSING AND NOT ACCOUNTED FOR. ON PART OF CHINESE AND KOREAN SIDE IN SAME MANNER THERE ARE MISSING MEN NOT ACCOUNTED FOR. IF HE WERE TO ASK FOR INFORMATION CONCERNING THESE MEN, THESE REQUESTS COULD ONLY BE REFERRED TO ARMISTIC COMMISSION IN KOREA. THESE MATTERS WITHIN SCOPE OF KOREAN WAR.

63. WANG SAID AS TO AMERICANS IN CHINA, HE HAD IN SPIRIT CONCILIATION GIVEN ME INFORMATION ON ALL AMERICANS IN CHINA. HE BELIEVED I COULD HAVE NO DOUBT CONCERNING HIS GOOD WILL THIS REGARD. FACTS IN PAST HAVE BORNE THIS OUT.

64. WANG SAID HE COULD NOT ACCEPT DISCUSSION OF MATTER OF MISSING PERSONNEL IN KOREAN WAR. EVEN SECRETARY OF STATE DULLES STATED IN AUGUST 5 PRESS CONFERENCE THAT LIST OF MISSING PERSONNEL MUST NOT CAUSE HOPE ANY THESE MEN STILL ALIVE.

65. I REPLIED THAT WAS CORRECT. I HAD NOT ALLEGED THESE MEN WERE ALIVE - I WAS MERELY ASKING THAT IF THEY HAVE DIED WE BE TOLD THAT.

66. WANG REPLIED HE HAD ALREADY INFORMED US OF WHAT HE KNEW. WHAT HE DID NOT KNOW HE COULD NOT TELL US. IF I AGREED WITH SECRETARY DULLES CONCERNING FATE THESE MEN AND THAT LIST MUST NOT CAUSE HOPE THAT THEY ARE ALIVE, HE DID NOT SEE WHY I RAISED QUESTION NON-EXISTENT MEN.

DULLES

SW:LFS/6

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Control: 2077
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 4, 1955
7:35 AM

FROM: GENEVA

RMR

TO: **Secretary of State**

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SP
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NO: 1056, NOVEMBER 3, 9 PM (SECTION FIVE OF FIVE)

PRIORITY

67. WANG SAID HE SYMPATHIZED WITH FAMILIES THESE MEN. THEY MUST BLAME THE CRIMINAL WAR. THE SUFFERING AND LOSSES OF CHINESE AND KOREAN PEOPLE WERE EVEN MORE SEVERE.

68. I REPLIED THAT HIS REMARKS CONCERNING KOREAN WAR WERE ENTIRELY UNCALLED FOR BUT THAT I DID NOT INTEND TO DEBATE MATTER.

69. I ASKED WHETHER HIS LINKING OF QUESTION OF OUR PERSONNEL WITH QUESTION OF HIS SIDE'S PERSONNEL MEANT THAT HIS AUTHORITIES DID HAVE INFORMATION THAT THEY WOULD UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES BE WILLING TO FURNISH.

70. WANG REPLIED THAT HE WOULD NOT HAVE MADE REMARKS ABOUT KOREAN WAR HAD THIS ISSUE NOT BEEN PUT FORWARD. HE HAD NO INTENT DISCUSS QUESTION. HE HAD NO INFORMATION TO GIVE CONCERNING MEN ENUMERATED.

71. I REPLIED THAT HE DID NOT EVEN KNOW NAMES OF MEN. ALL I WAS ASKING THAT HE TAKE NAMES AND ASK FOR INFORMATION. IMMATERIAL WHETHER ANSWER SUPPLIED HERE OR IN MAC. ALL I ASKED WAS THAT HE TAKE NAMES, ASK HIS AUTHORITIES TO LOOK INTO MATTER. IF INFORMATION IS THAT MEN ARE NOT LIVING WE SHOULD BE TOLD.

72. WANG REPLIED THAT SINCE THIS QUESTION HAD BEEN RAISED IN KOREA, IT SHOULD BE PUT THROUGH THE SAME CHANNEL. HE DID NOT THINK THIS WAS PROPER PLACE TO DISCUSS. HE HAD NO INTENT ENGAGE IN DEBATE WITH ME.

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73. I ASKED HIM WHETHER HIS GOVERNMENT WAS WILLING INSTRUCT ITS REPRESENTATIVE IN MAC TO DISCUSS QUESTION THERE. IT WAS PRECISELY BECAUSE HIS SIDE HAD REFUSED TO DISCUSS MATTER AND ACCEPT NAMES THERE THAT IT HAD BECOME NECESSARY RAISE MATTER HERE.

74. WANG REPLIED THIS WAS NOT SUITABLE PLACE RAISE QUESTION.

75. I SAID I WOULD NOT PURSUE THE MATTER FURTHER THIS MORNING; THAT I WISHED TO RAISE ANOTHER MATTER. I THEN PRESENTED PREPARED STATEMENT ON SUBJECT OF TRADE, AS FOLLOWS:

A. MR. AMBASSADOR, AS I HAVE INDICATED TO YOU, WE ARE CONTINUING OUR STUDY OF YOUR DRAFT STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FRANCE. I BELIEVE OUR DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT THIS MORNING HAS BEEN USEFUL.

B. I FULL WELL RECOGNIZE, AND I AM SURE YOU DO, THAT THE FORMULATION OF ANY DECLARATION ON THIS SUBJECT AGREEABLE TO BOTH OF OUR GOVERNMENTS IS GOING TO BE A MATTER OF DELICACY THAT WILL REQUIRE SOME THOUGHT AND TIME.

C. AT OUR LAST MEETING YOU SUGGESTED THAT, FOLLOWING ANY AGREEMENT WE MAY BE ABLE TO REACH ON A RENUNCIATION OF FORCE STATEMENT, WE SHOULD UNDERTAKE DISCUSSION OF WHAT YOU TERM TRADE EMBARGO.

D. I AM GLAD THAT YOU HAVE THUS RECOGNIZED THE INHERENT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO SUBJECTS AND THAT MY RESPONSE TO THE QUESTIONS WHICH YOU MAY RAISE UNDER YOUR ITEM OF TRADE EMBARGO MUST GREATLY DEPEND UPON THE DEGREE OF AGREEMENT WHICH WE ARE ABLE TO REACH WITH RESPECT TO RENUNCIATION OF FORCE.

E. THE TWO SUBJECTS ARE FUNDAMENTALLY RELATED AS THE MEASURES WHICH THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER LIKE-MINDED COUNTRIES HAVE TAKEN WITH RESPECT TO TRADE WITH YOUR COUNTRY ARE IN RESPONSE TO CONSIDERATIONS OF NATIONAL SECURITY AND MUST BE CONSIDERED IN THAT LIGHT.

F. HOWEVER, WHILE THE QUESTION OF RENUNCIATION OF FORCE IS BEING CONSIDERED, I WOULD, IN THE INTEREST OF EXPEDITING OUR

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DISCUSSIONS, BE GLAD TO HEAR WHATEVER VIEWS YOU DESIRE TO PUT FORWARD WITH RESPECT TO TRADE.

G. I DO THIS WITH REGARD TO YOUR SUBJECT EVEN THOUGH YOU HAVE THUS FAR REFUSED SERIOUSLY TO DISCUSS OR EVEN CONSIDER WITH ME THE QUESTION OF MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL WHICH IS A SUBJECT OF DEEP INTEREST TO MY GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE AND WHICH CLEARLY IS A MATTER AT ISSUE BETWEEN US. I ALSO SAY TO YOU THAT I WOULD NOT CONSIDER IT WITHIN THE SPIRIT OF THESE TALKS TO REFUSE TO ACCEPT ANY MATERIAL WHICH YOU MAY DESIRE TO GIVE ME WITH RESPECT TO YOUR SUBJECT.

H. IN DISCUSSING THE MATTER OF TRADE AT OUR MEETING OF SEPTEMBER 14 YOU REFERRED TO WHAT YOU TERMED "ECONOMIC BLOCKADE AND EMBARGO IMPOSED BY U.S.". I AM NOT CLEAR AS TO WHAT YOU HAVE IN MIND IN THIS REGARD. I KNOW OF NO BLOCKADE AND I KNOW OF NOTHING IMPOSED BY THE U.S. ON ANYONE ELSE.

I. I DO KNOW OF VARIOUS SOVEREIGN MEASURES TAKEN BY MY GOVERNMENT WITH RESPECT TO ECONOMIC INTERCOURSE BETWEEN MY COUNTRY AND YOUR COUNTRY. I ALSO KNOW OF COMMON MEASURES TAKEN BY SEVERAL OTHER COUNTRIES IN CONSULTATION WITH EACH OTHER AS WELL AS WITH THE UNITED STATES CONCERNING THE EXPORT TO YOUR COUNTRY OF STRATEGIC MATERIALS. I ALSO KNOW OF THE RESOLUTION OF MAY 18, 1951 BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS RECOMMENDING AN EMBARGO ON THE SHIPMENT TO YOUR COUNTRY OF ARMS, AMMUNITION, IMPLEMENTS OF WAR AND OTHER STRATEGIC MATERIALS.

J. THEREFORE, WHEN YOU PRESENT THE VIEWS OF YOUR GOVERNMENT, I HOPE THAT YOU WILL CLARIFY EXACTLY WHAT ASPECTS OF THIS MATTER YOU HAVE IN MIND.

76. WANG REPLIED THAT AT THE LAST MEETING A HE HAD STATED THAT AFTER DISCUSSION OF QUESTION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, WE SHOULD GO ON TO QUESTION OF EMBARGO. HE HAD NOT SAID THERE WAS ANY CONNECTION BETWEEN THESE QUESTIONS.

77. WANG SAID HE HAD NEVER INTENDED CREATE IMPRESSION THAT DISCUSSION OF CERTAIN SUBJECT IS PRECONDITION FOR DISCUSSION ANOTHER. QUESTION OF EMBARGO IS PRECISELY ONE OF ISSUES BETWEEN US AND CHINA. IT IS EXACTLY ONE OF ITEMS WHICH SHOULD BE DISCUSSED. DISCUSSION AND SOLUTION OF THESE ISSUES AIMED AT IMPROVING RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES.

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78. WANG SAID HE REGARDED EMBARGO UNREASONABLE BY PRINCIPLE. SUCH POLICY RUNS AGAINST PEACEFUL TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIONS. THEREFORE IT IS HIS VIEW THAT TO IMPROVE RELATIONS POLICY OF EMBARGO MUST BE ABOLISHED. ABOLITION OF EMBARGO POLICY IS IN ACCORD WITH DESIRES AND WISHES ALL PEOPLE INCLUDING US PEOPLE.

79. WANG SAID HE RESERVED FURTHER DISCUSSION AT NEXT MEETING. HE ASKED WHETHER HE COULD BE GIVEN A COPY OF MY STATEMENT SINCE THEY HAD NOT TAKEN COMPLETE NOTES.

80. WE AGREED THAT A COPY WOULD BE SENT THIS AFTERNOON.

81. WANG ASKED WHETHER IT WOULD BE CONVENIENT THAT THE NEXT MEETING BE ADVANCED TO TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 8.

82. I EXPLAINED THAT I HAD MADE PLANS WHICH IT WOULD BE SOMEWHAT DIFFICULT FOR ME TO CHANGE SO AS TO BE ABLE TO MEET WITH HIM ON NOVEMBER 8, BUT SAID I WOULD BE AGREEABLE TO MEETING ON FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 11.

83. WANG INDICATED HE WOULD PREFER TO MEET ON THE REGULAR SCHEDULE ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 10. WE CONFIRMED THAT THE USUAL PRESS STATEMENT WOULD BE MADE. MEETING ENDED AT 12:50.

DULLES

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8:25 A.M.

Info
RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1061, NOVEMBER 4, NOON

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

1. SUGGEST THAT AT NEXT MEETING I PRESENT COUNTERDRAFT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE ALONG LINES MYTEL 1048. WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S SUGGESTIONS ON ANY ADDITIONAL POINTS I MIGHT MAKE IN THIS REGARD.

2. REQUEST DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS ON TRANSMITTING AFTER NOVEMBER 10 MEETING COPIES OUR ORIGINAL RENUNCIATION FORCE STATEMENT TOGETHER WITH COPIES OUR COUNTERDRAFT TO NEHRU THROUGH COOPER, TO UK THROUGH EMBASSY WASHINGTON, AND WHETHER AND BY WHAT MEANS TO SOVIETS.

3. WANG WILL PRESUMABLY MAKE STATEMENT ON TRADE TO WHICH I WILL MAKE NO REPLY AT THIS MEETING, EXCEPT TO ASK ANY QUESTIONS THAT MIGHT APPEAR USEFUL.

4. SUGGEST THAT REGARDLESS OF ACTION THAT IS TAKEN ON RECOMMENDATION LAST PARA MYTEL 1054 FOR FRESH APPROACH TO MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL ITEM IN MAC, THAT I MAKE NO MENTION THIS ITEM AT NEXT MEETING. CONSIDER IT MUCH MORE EFFECTIVE TO DROP THIS ITEM FOR MEETING OR TWO AND THEN RETURN TO IT RATHER THAN INVARIABLY BRING UP EACH MEETING WITH RESULT IT TENDS TAKE ON ASPECT ROUTINE MATTER. BELIEVE SAME CONSIDERATION APPLIES TO IMPLEMENTATION, PARTICULARLY UNTIL O'NEILL HAS TIME MORE FULLY TO TEST HIS ABILITY TO [illegible].

GOWEN

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

CA

WPM

Mr Schaub -

I agree we should advise Hammarskjold of our request for accounting [illegible] -

Bureau of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
NOV 21 1955
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

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UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
1955
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

November 4, 1955

~~WPM~~
~~WSR~~
~~WJS~~
WPM

See note, page 3.

OFFICIAL -- INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 17

Dear Walter:

I have received your letters of October 29 and November 2.

I first want to say that I greatly regret that it was impossible to discuss your TEDUL 42, in particular paragraph 2, with the Secretary until just prior to my meeting yesterday morning. The Secretary's Madrid trip and then the extreme pressure of his other appointments here made it impossible even to discuss it Wednesday night, so Herman and I were not able to get to him until 8:45 yesterday morning. We talked for about 30 minutes and then I got off my very short 1044 to you before going to the meeting so as to let you know as quickly as possible what had happened. I had prepared for the meeting on the basis of asking ~~him~~ many questions, and with the shift of emphasis I had no time to prepare anything else and so talked entirely extemporaneously. I don't feel I made any bad slips and, on the whole, it was probably more effective than sitting and reading a prepared statement.

Our redraft here of the Agreed Announcement is, as you will recognize, simply a plagiarized and adapted version of the opening statement on the subject, which, however, it seems to me, well lent itself to the purpose. It seems to me that all the added "spinach" gives us something with much more political sex appeal and much more to talk about.

In the meeting yesterday I tried to partially lay the ground for introduction of some such draft and, particularly, to try to make the point to Wang that they need not sacrifice their position on Taiwan being a domestic issue by accepting our formula.

In view of the longer gap now between meetings, I plan to send my next summary report by priority rather than niact, and the

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

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full report by routine. Let me know if this does not work out satisfactorily from your standpoint.

You are entirely right that I would be very reluctant to lose Ekvall. We are used to working with each other and he does very well at a very difficult job, particularly when I start extemporizing and get myself wound up, as I often do, in long involved sentences which are by no means easy to put into Chinese. I also value his judgment, and particularly his assessment of reactions of the other side. I have had to change every member of my little group here except Ekvall. I would be very reluctant to have any more changes at this time.

I am having to go up to Prague this week-end because of a personnel emergency arising in the staff up there. As I mentioned in my telegram, I plan, as usual, to come back on Tuesday. I talked it over with Rod and Herman, as I could, if essential, have come back on Sunday, but I think that that will give us plenty of time. The Secretary is going to be away in Vienna and Yugoslavia over the week-end.

I sent off to you today my thoughts with regard to the next meeting and will presume that by Tuesday evening we will have your instructions, which I can, if necessary, Rod assured me, discuss with the Secretary Tuesday evening in time to get something back to you before Thursday's meeting.

My travel to Prague has now been complicated by the fact that they have taken off the early morning plane from Geneva to Zurich, which means there is no way for me to get there except to go up to Zurich Friday evening by train and stay overnight and take the plane to Prague the next morning. However, I can still come back directly, arriving here at 3:45 p.m. Tuesday afternoons.

I was very interested in the conversation with Mehta. It does not shed any light on whether or not they have actually thus far "assisted" anyone, but I would presume from the conversation that they have not done so.

Yesterday and today I have quickly and firmly knocked down several press rumors -- one to the effect that yesterday I agreed with Wang on a Foreign Ministers' meeting, and another today to the effect that the Secretary and Chou have recently exchanged letters.

I will have to cut this short in order to make the pouch, but you can be sure that we will continue to try to keep things

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under control.

I assume the Department will do whatever it considers necessary to keep Hammarskjold informed of our discussion on missing military personnel.

Regards to all.

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

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ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

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WASHINGTON

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OFFICIAL-INFORMAL
AIR MAIL
SECRET

November 4, 1955

Dear Alex:

I have been wanting to write to you for some considerable time, but as Walter McConaughy has been doing the corresponding, I thought it best to keep all the "official informals" in his hands. Furthermore, I feel sure that, as an old hand on this job, you have some idea of the harrassment under which the occupant of my seat usually operates.

However, I do wish to tell you that I feel you are doing a beautiful job in handling the negotiations with Wang. Having had some experience with the Soviets in Japan, I know what it means to face up to the difficult problems such as you have week after week, never knowing when the end will come or, in fact, just what the negotiations will lead up to. In any event, I hope you know that you have our complete confidence and full support.

Now down to business. On the question of the Agreed Announcement concerning renunciation of force, I have carefully gone over the proposed text which you sent along in your 1048 and the following are my preliminary remarks. We will send the Department's comments by telegram.

As a matter of form, I believe that this draft too closely presents the two "governments" as determining or recognizing, jointly, certain policies or principles. It seems to me that this results in giving greater stature to the PRC than is desirable. It also brings the Announcement close to an agreement.

The draft also seems to place emphasis upon the divergence between the U.S. and PRC views as the source of tension. It would

seem

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
c/o American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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seem preferable to shift the emphasis simply to a desire to remove tensions. It also appears to accept the theory that the problem is international, thereby affording some leeway to the PRC to claim that the civil strife between them and the GRC is not comprehended within the Announcement.

I am also concerned with the apparent wordiness of the draft which I believe should be as brief and direct as possible. I agree that it might be preferable to have some bargaining points built into any draft which we present, but we should bear in mind that it will come into comparison with Wang's draft which is ostensibly simple and direct.

While you have already mentioned the point (in your 1056) that the UN Charter does comprehend domestic matters if they affect international peace and security, I think we must be extremely careful in our draft not to give the PRC the slightest peg on which to hang the argument that the renunciation of force applies only to international matters. You have noted, I am sure, that the UN Charter provisions quoted by Wang are designed to place this problem on an international plane. For this reason I would prefer relating the renunciation of force to the Taiwan area rather than to a renunciation between the two parties.

Paragraph 3 of your draft is difficult to understand and would seem to give a good ground for argument that Taiwan is entirely excluded and hence that force could be used against it with impunity.

In paragraph 4 the phrase "if it constitutes a threat, etc." raises the question, who decides? And what about domestic affairs if they should constitute a threat to peace?

Paragraph 5 seems to limit the declaration to the two parties and again seems not to preclude the use of force against the GRC. In paragraph 6 the clause "when this would threaten international peace" seems to provide an escape clause in the Taiwan situation. Paragraph 6 also appears to be inconsistent and in conflict with paragraphs 2 and 5.

Entirely informally and without the slightest pride of authorship, I am sending along a draft which incorporates my views as to a possible "Agreed Announcement". If you think the approach of this draft has merit, you might wish to discuss it with Herman Phleger and possibly the Secretary. Alternatively, it may be that some of the language of this draft could be used to overcome some of the apparent objections mentioned above.

This letter is written in a great rush and late in the day,

so

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so I hope you will pardon any shortcomings.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

William J. Sebald

Enclosure:

Draft Agreed Announcement (3 copies)

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343

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 9/4/55

5-46

R

November 4, 1955

OFFICIAL INFORMAL
SECRET

Letter No. 24

Dear Alex:

There is enclosed a copy of a letter from General Erskine to Mr. Robertson concerning the possibility of rendering an accounting to Wang of Chinese personnel from the Korean War should he demand it. As you will note, General Erskine says that we are still prepared to render such an accounting if Wang will respond to our demands. He also refers to suggestions being prepared in Defense regarding a possible position for us to take in the Geneva talks. We will study these when they arrive and pass along to you any that may seem useful.

We have your report on the November 3 meeting, but haven't yet had the time to give it and your draft Agreed Announcement the study that they deserve. As usual, everybody is swamped around here. I expect that Bill Sebald, Walter McConaughy and I will get together tomorrow (Saturday) morning and discuss future moves. Walter hopes to get a letter off to you Monday morning which you should receive when you return from Prague.

Best regards,

Ralph N. Clough
Deputy Director for Chinese Affairs

Enclosure:

Letter from General Erskine,
November 1, 1955.

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

(344)

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

02638

1955 NOV 5 PM 9

DC/R
Central Files
DC/

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1136

Origin

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Info:

Your 1048. 611.93/11-355

Consider redraft too wordy, opening door to variety of undesirable possible interpretations and implications. Also question wisdom of abandoning original concept of separate, unilateral declarations in favor joint declaration. Specific comments by paragraph follow:

2) Undesirable because places U.S. in position of publicly acquiescing in PRC's right to hold any policy objective, even though we might consider such objective inimical to survival of free world. It seems to us we cannot, even implicitly, accept the PRC's right to hold such policy objectives as, for example, subversion of free governments.

3) Statement that renunciation of force does not involve interests of third parties could be construed as leaving Communists free to attack offshore islands, which not specifically covered by Mutual Defense Treaty.

Dist. Desired (Offices Only)

4) Provides loophole for Communists to insist this does not apply to Taiwan, which domestic matter.

5) Contains too strong an implication that U.S. willing enter upon [illegible] far-reaching negotiations if Communists renounce force.

6) and 7) Inclusion phrase "when this would threaten international peace" again provides loophole for Communists to argue Taiwan domestic matter and only

611.93/11-355

SECRET FILE

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:mfh 11/5/55

Clearances:

FE - Mr. Sebald (in draft)

Final transmission and classification approved by: FE - Walter S. Robertson

CA - Mr. McConaughy

11079

SECRET
Classification

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611.93/11-355

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threat to international peace arises from U.S. "use of armed force" against it.

Believe we should strive for simple wording which pins Communists down clearly and unmistakably not to use force in Taiwan area. They obviously seeking meaningless wording which would not tie their hands. We would rather, if necessary, face up to Communist refusal to agree to clearcut statement, provided latter appeared reasonable to most of world, than get their agreement to ambiguous document which they would then proceed to evade.

For reasons set forth paragraph 3 TEDUL 42 as well as above considerations believe draft contained DepteL 915 most satisfactory produced to date. If considered too bare, it might be prefaced by reference to general principles to which all civilized nations subscribe, without using exact UN Charter language in Wang's draft. Would be interested in Phleger's comments this telegram.

Repeat to Secretary.

Acheson

HOOVER

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INDICATE COLLECT CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

[redacted]

0267 428

1955 NOV 5 PM 7 47

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1140

Origin

Info:

EYES ONLY FOR JOHNSON FROM ROBERTSON

Reference Deptel 1048, Sebald's draft of renunciation of force pouched to you with personal letter from him November 5 had not been staffed. Sebald now agrees should not be used as basis for negotiation.

Hoover
ACTING

HOOVER

611.93/11-5 55

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

5/31/83

Drafted by: FE:WSRobertson:fr 11/5/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: WSRobertson

Clearances:

S/S - Mr. McAuliffe

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346

431

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OMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

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Action

Info

RMR

Control: 3803
Rec'd: November 7, 1955
2:10 pm

Action Taken

FROM: Prague

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 161, November 7, 4 pm.

PRIORITY.

SENT DEPARTMENT 161, REPEATED INFORMATION GENEVA 14.

GENEVA FOR PHLEGER AND FORMAN.

RE DEPTEL 1136 to Geneva.

Did not consider draft MYTEL 1048 departed from concept separate unilateral declarations but only that preamble lengthened over draft in DEPTEL 915 in order give document more "political appeal" better to meet CHICOM maneuvers with GOI, UK and Soviets as well as give us better public position if publicity becomes necessary.

It does not seem to me bare more or less legalistic language draft DEPTEL 915 is best for this purpose. It is also best answer to inclusion UN charter language in CHICOM draft.

Draft contains nothing we have not already said to CHICOMS in our formal opening statement on renunciation force copy of which was given Wang.

Specific comments by paragraph:

2. Do not see question "right to hold" policy objective is involved. Paragraph simply states unquestioned fact two sides do have policy objectives and that in certain respects these incompatible. Do not believe anyone could interpret paragraph as US recognition right PRC hold such policy objectives as subverting free government.

3. In view publicly stated US attitude toward off-shore islands and specific reference to "Taiwan area" in paragraph 7 seems to me difficult construe statement as whole as leaving CHICOMS free attack those islands. While it seems to me preferable include some disclaimer re third parties, could delete this paragraph without weakening statement.

4. It seems

611.93/11-755

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-2-, 161, November 7, 4 pm, from Prague.

4. It seems to me difficult to enunciate principle that use of force in purely internal matters is not permissable. Police in all countries continuously use force maintain internal order. Whereas we strongly disagree with some of policy objectives internal police use force Communist countries it clearly becomes international matter only when international peace, security and justice involved. Test is not whether country considers matter domestic or international, but rather whether in fact use of force would endanger international peace. In view existence GRC and US treaty relationship thereto there can be no question that use force against GRC constitutes threat to international peace however PRC regards matter. It will be seen that at last meeting I strongly pursued this point with Wang.

5. Implication is no stronger than in original statement I made to Wang. Entire context discussion renunciation force has been willingness discuss "other matters" in these talks if PRC renounced force in satisfactory terms. If this removed there is little left in my negotiating position. We have made clear our refusal discuss any matters involving rights and interest GRC.

With different emphasis and of course for opposite reasons Wang has also disclaimed any intent discuss GRC matters with US.

6. and 7. See comments on paragraph 4 above.

Entirely concur penultimate paragraph DEPTEL 1136 to Geneva. Question is formulating a document that accomplishes both purposes of tying them down and appearing reasonable to world if negotiations break on this point. In my opinion draft in DEPTEL 915 accomplishes former purpose but not latter.

JOHNSON

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
NOV 8 AM 7 08

VHD:WM:6

TELEGRAM 347

Department of State

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1955 NOV 7 PM 4 29

DC/T

SENT TO: Amembassy LONDON PRIORITY 2561

LIT INFO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1142
FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info:

~~LIMITDISTRIBUTION~~
Your
~~Embtel~~ 1877.

Cable priority unclassified to Johnson full text Daily Worker story.

Repeat Department.

Hoover
ACTING
(W P McC) HOOVER

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611.93/11-755

CS/A

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Drafted by: FE:CA:HDClough:ek 11/7/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

BNA-Mr. Beale
(Cleared in draft)

S/S-CR
NOV - 7 1955 PM

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (348)

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Classification

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1955 NOV 7 PM 6 01

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1143

FOR JOHNSON

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Daily Worker story referred to our 1142 is Communists' most flagrant violation to date of agreement that substance of talks will not be revealed without prior agreement or notification. Obvious purpose is to take initiative this subject away from US. You should promptly deliver strong written protest to Wang. You may wish ~~to~~ mention numerous earlier violations ~~of~~ agreement by leaks to NCNA correspondent which we refrained from protesting in interest progress ~~of~~ talks, but this last leak too glaring to overlook. Matter should be taken up with Wang at November 10 meeting, but protest should be delivered ~~soon as possible~~ soonest to show Wang how seriously we regard his breach and forestall if possible further Communist efforts publicly exploit this subject prior next meeting.

Department neither confirming nor denying ~~that~~ Wang has proposed joint declaration renouncing use of force.

Repeat to Secretary.

Hoover
ACTING

HOOVER

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DC/B
Mail 55
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Cat

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:ek 11/7/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

CA - Mr. McConaughy

FE - Mr. Sebald

Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
NOV - 7 1955
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

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S/S-CR
NOV 7 1955 P.M.

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(349)

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

ACTION COPY

432

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 4625
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 8, 1955 5:46 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1096, NOVEMBER 8, 9 PM

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT TELEGRAM 1143.

IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING MY RETURN FROM PRAGUE THIS AFTERNOON I SENT THE FOLLOWING LETTER TO WANG:

1. ON MY RETURN FROM PRAGUE THIS AFTERNOON MY ATTENTION WAS CALLED TO A NEWSPAPER STORY IN THE LONDON DAILY WORKER OF MONDAY, NOVEMBER 7, BY SAM RUSSELL FROM GENEVA.

2. I WAS MOST SERIOUSLY DISTURBED TO NOTE THAT THIS STORY CONTAINED A DETAILED AND ACCURATE REPORT OF THE SUBSTANCE AND EVEN SOME OF THE EXACT WORDING OF THE PROPOSAL WHICH YOU MADE TO ME IN OUR MEETING OF OCTOBER 27.

3. THIS VERY CLEAR AND EXPLICIT VIOLATION OF THE UNDERSTANDING THAT WE HAVE WITH RESPECT TO THE PRIVACY OF OUR MEETINGS CANNOT BUT CAUSE MY GOVT TO HAVE GRAVE DOUBTS CONCERNING THE INTENT OF YOUR GOVT WITH RESPECT TO OUR TALKS.

4. I WOULD APPRECIATE BEING PROMPTLY INFORMED WHAT ACTION WILL BE TAKEN TO RECTIFY THIS SITUATION WHICH INEVITABLY PREJUDICES THE HOPE FOR PROGRESS IN OUR TALKS.

GOWEN

CRH

E-3-H
Action
FE
Info
RMR
SS

Action Assigned to AID/I
Action Taken
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

E11.93/11-855

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BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
NOV 9 AM 7 00
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FEB 19

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350

433

23-H
Action
FE
Info
RMR
SS

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Control: 4626
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 8, 1955
5:46 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1097, NOVEMBER 8, 9 P.M.

FROM JOHNSON

FOLLOWING FROM [redacted] CORRESPONDENT, FROM SOURCE IN CHICOM EMBASSY IN EAST GERMANY: WANG PING-NAN UNDER INSTRUCTIONS CONTINUE GENEVA TALKS AS LONG AS NECESSARY; CHICOMS WILLING CONTINUE TALKS FOR POSSIBLY A YEAR. ACCORDING TO SOURCE, AT LAST MEETING WANG INFORMED JOHNSON THAT PEIPING PREPARED NEGOTIATE WITH CHIANG KAI-SHEK, WILLING GRANT TAIWAN "AUTONOMOUS AREA" STATUS UNDER CHIANG FOR A PERIOD OF TIME.

GOWEN

OW

Action Assigned to CA/DIR
Action Taken
Symbol

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1955 NOV 9 FEB 17 1959
BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

611.93/11-855

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1

19 B

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Action FE

Info RMR

Control: 4550
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 8, 1955
3:23 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1099, NOVEMBER 8, 7 P.M.

NIACT

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FROM JOHNSON

FOLLOWING IS REDRAFT OF RENUNCIATION OF FORCE STATEMENT WHICH TAKES ACCOUNT OF COMMENTS DEPTEL 1136. SUBJECT TO DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS, IT HAS CONCURRENCE OF PHLEGER AND THE SECRETARY. WOULD HOPE I WOULD BE ABLE INTRODUCE THIS AT THURSDAY'S MEETING.

1. THE AMBASSADOR OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICAN AND THE AMBASSADOR OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA DURING THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSIONS OF PRACTICAL MATTERS AT ISSUE HAVE EXPRESSED THE DETERMINATION THAT THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES SHALL NOT LEAD TO ARMED CONFLICT.

2. THEY RECOGNIZE THAT THE USE OF FORCE TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL OBJECTIVES DOES NOT ACCORD WITH THE PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER OR WITH GENERALLY ACCEPTED STANDARDS OF INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT.

3. THEY FURTHERMORE REGOGNIZE THAT THE RENUNCIATION OF THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE IS ESSENTIAL TO THE JUST SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES OR SITUATIONS WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO A BREACH OF THE PEACE.

4. THEREFORE, WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE PURSUIT BY EACH SIDE OF ITS POLICIES BY PEACEFUL MEANS THEY HAVE AGREED TO ANNOUNCE THE FOLLOWING DECLARATIONS:

5. AMBASSADOR WANG PING-NAN INFORMED AMBASSADOR U. ALEXIS

Copy 7 Sent to FE 2/20/54

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JOHNSON THAT:

6. IN GENERAL, AND WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE TAIWAN AREA, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA RENOUNCES THE USE OF FORCE, EXCEPT IN INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF DEFENSE.

7. AMBASSADOR U. ALEXIS JOHNSON INFORMED AMBASSADOR WANG PING-NAN THAT:

8. IN GENERAL, AND WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE TAIWAN AREA, THE UNITED STATES RENOUNCES THE USE OF FORCE, EXCEPT IN INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF DEFENSE.

GOWEN

BD

Note: Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 11/8/3:47 pm EMB (CWO)

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1955 NOV 8 PM 4 25
DEPT. OF STATE
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

352

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1955 NOV 8 PM 5 07

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

28-H

SECRET

Action FE

Info RMR

Control: 4563

Rec'd: NOVEMBER 8, 1955 4:13 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1101 NOVEMBER 8, 8 P.M.

1-6

NIACT

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FROM JOHNSON

RENEW RECOMMENDATIONS MY 1061 EXCEPT AS FOLLOWS:

1. PURSUE QUESTION OF CHICOM PRESS LEAK SUBJECT TO WHATEVER REPLY IF ANY I HAVE RECEIVED TO MY TODAY'S LETTER.

2. MAKE BRIEF STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION.

3. WHILE CHICOM PURPOSE IN DAILY WORKER LEAK CLEAR AND I WILL CONTINUE VIGOROUSLY PURSUE VIOLATION BY WANG PRIVATE NATURE OUR TALKS BELIEVE WE SHOULD OURSELVES RECOGNIZE IT HAS SOME COMPENSATING ADVANTAGES. BY LEAK CHICOMS HAVE TENDED CREATE PUBLIC IMPRESSION THEY HAVE RENOUNCED FORCE SUBSTANTIALLY ON OUR TERMS. THEY NOW FACE PROBLEM OF ATTEMPTING PUBLICLY TO EXPLAIN "FINE PRINT" OF THEIR CONDITIONS AND RESERVATIONS AND WE SHOULD NOT HLEP THEM IN THIS.

GOWEN

OW

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FE 2/10/59 PD

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FEB 10 1959

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Action Taken

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OUTGOING TELEGRAM 353

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Department of State

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03364 434

1955 NOV 8 PM 1 17

DC/T

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611.93/11-855

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 1152

FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info:

ChiCom propaganda during ~~the~~ week ending November 6 contained little direct reference ~~to~~ ambassadorial talks and comment on Taiwan was slight ~~as~~ compared ~~to~~ previous two weeks. Major attention during week ~~was~~ focussed on Big Four Foreign Ministers' Conference, ~~the~~ Middle Eastern situation, and the problem of increasing contacts between ~~the~~ East and West.

~~The~~ ambassadorial talks ~~were~~ mentioned only in passing, ~~in~~ connection with ~~the~~ question of trade controls. NCNA noted ~~that the~~ question of the embargo had been raised at Geneva, and expressed ~~the~~ hope that ~~a~~ solution to ~~the~~ problem could be reached. Comments on Taiwan ~~were~~ confined to internal developments/ and avoided international aspects. ~~An~~ NCNA broadcast to Taiwan November ~~2~~ 2 reported ~~an~~ interview with Chien Hsueh-sen, ~~a~~ former Cal Tech scientist who arrived ~~in~~ Peiping ~~on~~ October 28.

NCNA commentary on ~~the~~ Big Four Ministers Conference adopted ~~the~~ line ~~that the~~ conference was ~~a~~ test of ~~the~~ Western powers, and that ~~the~~ success of ~~the~~ talks was imperilled by ~~a~~ "counter-current" of Western opinion which favored continuation of ~~the~~ Cold War. Peiping strongly supported ~~the~~ Soviet proposal on collective security, and endorsed ~~the~~ Soviet proposal ~~that~~ both Germanys be represented at Geneva. Peiping also urged that ~~the~~ Ministers Conference work out measures to remove obstacles to international trade.

Peiping propaganda

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Drafted by: DRF/C:FLDawson;mvw 11-7-55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: OIR/DRF/C:HWJacobson

Clearances: IAD CA

S/S-CR
NOV - 8 1955 P.M.

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Peiping propaganda paid considerable attention to problem of increasing East-West contacts, including trade. People's Daily November 3 supported Soviet proposal on East-West contacts and attacked alleged US and Western effort to restrict area of contact. It cited US "embargo" policy as chief obstacle to increased East-West contact. Other NCNA comments focussed US ban to travel to Communist China, accusing State Department of setting up "iron curtain" between China and US, in order to prevent Americans from learning truth about New China.

NCNA commentary on Middle Eastern crisis accused US of stimulating arms race between Israel and Arab states, and infringing on Egyptian sovereignty. Peiping viewed growing "unity" and "neutrality" among Arab states as factors which would deal a setback to US policy.

Peiping radio continued to stress need for normalization of Sino-Japanese relations, while at same time denouncing Japanese Government for detaining Japanese nationals and "forcibly" sending them to Taiwan. NCNA continued to criticize Shigemitsu for dragging out Japanese-Soviet talks in London, and placed blame on "US manipulation."

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (354)

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03741

1955 NOV 8 PM 8 01

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1162

Origin

Info:

FOR JOHNSON

Instructions for 25th meeting.

1. Tax Wang severely with violation secrecy agreement represented by Daily Worker article.

2. Department considers your revised draft renunciation of force statement (your 1099) excellent. You should present it this meeting unless Secretary instructs otherwise.

3. By introducing draft renunciation of force statement first followed by Daily Worker leak Communists have taken initiative from us on this subject. Their violation agreement on private nature talks makes essential for us to regain initiative and provides opportunity place our case graphically before world. Subject to Secretary's concurrence you should inform Wang that unilateral release by his side of substance last meeting leaves you no recourse but to set record straight by releasing explanatory statement together with our draft renunciation of force declaration (your 1099) immediately following meeting. While publication our statement would tend to freeze our negotiating position, in our view there is nothing Wang could seriously object to in paragraphs one through four, and paragraphs six and eight are so tightly drawn, we could not accept change in any case. Explanatory statement mentioned above would be substance of statement.

Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

Drafted by: FE:WPMcConaughy:RNClough:evc 11/8/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald

Clearances:

FE-Mr. Robertson

S/S

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11081

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6/11/93/11-855

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DEPTEL 789 as amended DEPTEL 805 with minor revisions. Department's suggested text will follow Wednesday.

4. Implementation Agreed Announcement. You should remind Wang that two months have passed since PRC declared it would adopt appropriate measures permit Americans expeditiously return. Only two of nineteen Americans permitted depart during this lengthy period. Letter from only one of remaining seventeen so far has been received by British Charge and Charge has not ~~yet seen~~ BEEN PERMITTED SEE any of them. US Govt and people will judge dependence to be placed on PRC promises by its performance.

5. Military Personnel. Concur your omitting subject this meeting. Department exploring with Defense possibility raising again in MAC, but this complicated by fact that in past lists presented there included all missing UN personnel, not just American.

6. Embargo. Listen to what Wang has to say but refrain from substantive discussion this subject.

Repeat to Secretary.

Hoover, acting
= HOOVER).

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355

5-47

B-B

November 8, 1955

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL
CONFIDENTIAL

Letter No. 25

Dear Alex:

I enclose a copy of the latest communication from O'Neill dated November 4.

We have told the British Embassy that we would like O'Neill to visit Downey as soon as possible unless he feels that it would constitute a precedent and actually interfere with his plans to visit all prisoners. We have said that of course O'Neill himself is the best judge of this and that we would leave the decision to him. Naturally, we want him to visit all prisoners whether they write him or not if the Chinese will permit him. We have just heard from the British Embassy that O'Neill requested an appointment with Chang Han-fu for Monday November 7 in order to turn over to him the letters to the 17 prisoners and to request permission to visit prisoners. However, he was told that Chang could not see him on that day. He has requested an appointment for November 8 and if that should also be turned down, he proposes to act by letter instead.

I hope

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

Lot 72 D 415

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Declassified
Release as shown
Deny
Downgrade to
Review Again
Reviewer Date 5/19/83

I hope to get off a longer letter to you by pouch tomorrow, but am preparing this first so that it will not be delayed in case I am prevented from doing the other letter.

Sincerely yours,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosure:

Communication from O'Neill,
November 8, 1955.

Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

COPY

CONFIDENTIAL

Message from Mr. O'Neill dated November 4

AMERICANS IN CHINA

I am now preparing letters to the 17 prisoners. I propose enclosing text of agreed announcement and to avoid danger impugning Chinese good faith by saying that I understand that the Chinese have already communicated the text to the prisoners, but I am attaching a copy for their convenience. The letters will then draw attention to my functions under the agreement and say that I am ready to help in any way I can, and that I hope the prisoners will not hesitate to communicate with me as I understand the Chinese authorities agree they may. The letters will end by saying that the Chinese authorities have agreed that members of my staff should visit the prisoners and that I hope to arrange this soon.

2. With reference to paragraph 3 of my telegram of October 27, the Chinese were not complaining of any restrictions placed on the Indian Ambassador. I think that, before implementing a concession which went rather beyond the letter of the agreement (in not insisting on some initiative by the American prisoners before I could contact them) /I they will require a formal assurance of reciprocity 1/ If the Chinese raise this again I shall say that I understand that no restrictions are imposed on the Indian Ambassador in carrying out his functions under the agreement. But they may yet require a more specific assurance before they deliver the letter or authorise visits. The Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs on October 26 was particularly insistent that the arrangements he proposed were subject to reciprocity.

3. My chief reason for suggesting that I should not arrange immediate visit to Downey was that which the State Department give in asking me to do so: namely that no distinction should be made between any of the detained Americans. Moreover, if I now ask to visit Downey only this might give the Chinese the impression that I shall only ask to visit the prisoners who have succeeded in communicating with me. I am anxious not to prejudice the wider concession now made by the Chinese that my staff may visit all the prisoners, whether or not they write to me first. No other prisoners have so far written. If the State Department agree I suggest that I should ask the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at once to arrange visits by members of my staff to Downey and any other United States prisoners at present in Peking. This would meet my point.

4. The

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4. The letters will probably not be ready for delivery till Monday November 7. It would be convenient if the State Department could authorise by then simultaneous requests for visits as proposed above.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON, D.C.

November 5, 1955

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356

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

439

11-13

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Action FE

Control: 5084
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 9, 1955
11:30 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

Info RMR

TO: **Secretary of State**

SS

NO: 1108, NOVEMBER 9, 2 P.M.

SD

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611.93/11-955

FROM JOHNSON

EKVALL INFORMED BY M.A. BERN HIS ORDERS AS NOW AMENDED EXPIRE NOVEMBER 26 AND CANNOT UNDER ARMY REGULATIONS BE FURTHER EXTENDED AS TDY. ON BASIS INFO FROM DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS WOULD BE MADE BETWEEN DEPARTMENT AND DEFENSE WHICH WOULD PERMIT HIM BRING FAMILY TO GENEVA, EKVALL HAD MADE PRELIMINARY ARRANGEMENTS WITH REGARD TO HOME AND PERSONAL PROPERTY AND ANY CHANGE AT THIS TIME WILL CAUSE HIM CONSIDERABLE FINANCIAL LOSS.

AS DEPARTMENT KNOWS I WOULD BE MOST RELUCTANT BE REQUIRED CHANGE INTERPRETERS AT THIS TIME AND WOULD NOT CONSIDER IT IN INTEREST MY MISSION DO SO. THEREFORE HOPE SOMETHING CAN PROMPTLY BE WORKED OUT THAT WILL ENABLE ME RETAIN EKVALL AND ALSO RESOLVE HIS REASONABLE DESIRE CONCERNING HIS ASSIGNMENT ON AN INDEFINITE OR LONG TERM BASES.

GOWEN

LFS

Assigned to CA
Taken noted

Action
Office Symbol CA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1955 NOV 9 PM 3 17
BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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DEC 30 1955
LWC

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357

~~INCOMING TELEGRAM~~ **Department of State** ACTION COPY

440

16-13

CONFIDENTIAL

Action

FE

Info

RMR

SS

Control: 4983
Rec'd: November 9, 1955
9:52 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1110, November 9, 2 p.m.

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

In private background discussions with press here we are taking general line of Secretary's letter to U Nu transmitted by separate telegram and suggest Department may desire do same.

GOWEN

GEM/5

Action Assigned to Capai

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

611.93/11-955

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FEB 19 19

1955 NOV 9 PM 2 25

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

1955 NOV 9 PM 2 26

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (358)

INDICATE IF COLLECT CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

04160 438

1955 NOV 9 PM 6 51

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For DC/T only

611.93/11-955

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA ~~PRIORITY~~ NIACT 1183
FOR JOHNSON

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Following is suggested explanatory statement mentioned last sentence paragraph 3 our 1162:

One of ~~XXX~~ practical matters which ~~XXX~~ United States has introduced for discussion at ~~XXX~~ Geneva talks is ~~XXX~~ proposal that both ~~XXX~~ United States and ~~XXX~~ Peoples Republic of China renounce ~~XXX~~ use of force to achieve their policies when they conflict. The two Governments confront each other with policies which are in certain respects incompatible. This fact need not, however, mean armed conflict and the most important single thing to do is first of all to be sure that it will not lead to armed conflict.

Then and only then can other matters causing tension between the parties in the Taiwan area and ~~XXX~~ Far East be hopefully discussed.

Neither side wants to negotiate under ~~the~~ threat of force. ~~XXX~~ Free discussion of differences, and their fair and equitable solution, become impossible under ~~XXX~~ overhanging threat that force may be resorted to when one party does not agree with ~~the~~ other.

~~The~~ United States as ~~a~~ member of ~~the~~ United Nations has agreed to refrain in its international relations from ~~the~~ threat or use of force.

This

William J. Sebald
~~Walter S. Robertson~~

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:ck 11/9/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

DC/D Rec'd 55

Cat

CA - Mr. McConaughy

FE - Mr. Sebald

S/S-CR NOV 9 1955 P.M.

SECRET FILE

611.93/11-955

LWC

11083

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Classification

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SECRET
Classification

This has been its policy for many years and is its guiding principle of conduct in the Far East, as throughout the world.

The use of force to achieve national objectives does not accord with accepted standards of conduct under international law.

The Government of the League of Nations, the Kellogg-Briand Treaties, and the Charter of the United Nations reflect the universal view of the civilized community of nations that the use of force as an instrument of national policy violates international law, constitutes a threat to international peace, and prejudices the interests of the entire world community.

There are in the world today many situations which tempt those who have force to use it to achieve what they believe to be legitimate policy objectives. Many countries are abnormally divided or contain what some consider to be abnormal intrusions. Nevertheless, the responsible governments of the world have in each of these cases renounced the use of force to achieve what they believe to be legitimate and even urgent goals.

The acceptance of this principle does not involve third parties, or the justice or injustice of conflicting claims. It only involves recognizing and agreeing to abide by accepted standards of international conduct.

In order to accomplish the end outlined above, Ambassador Johnson has today presented to Ambassador Wang Ping-nan the following draft declaration on renunciation of the use of force and proposed that it be accepted.

HOOVER

Hoover, ACTING

11084

SECRET
Classification

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359

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer [illegible] Date 7/1/5

November 9, 1955

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL
OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Dear Doug:

I would have written sooner after I returned, but I have been confronted with so many not-too-familiar problems since returning to CA that I have had my hands full. Part of the time, of course, I have devoted to working from this end on the task you face in dealing with the wily Wang, but there is just not the same amount of time here for thoughtful meditation that there was in Geneva. Dave Osborn has been on leave the last two weeks, which has also complicated things somewhat.

You have a direct personal interest in Dave's leave, since we suggested he take it now with the thought in mind that he might be sent to replace you around December 1. Final decision on that will have to be up to Alex, of course, and I want to set down our thinking on this so that you can discuss it with him.

As you know, Walter and I both feel that officers in CA profit considerably from this rare experience of first-hand contact with the Chinese Communists, and we would like Dave to have that experience. He has been informed on the talks from the beginning and we would see that he is brought closely into the planning from now until he leaves. This experience at the Departmental end of the wire should be helpful to Alex. As you know, Dave is a highly competent officer and has had

much

Douglas N. Forman, Esquire,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

much longer service in the Department than either you or I. Walter placesgreat confidence in him and I am sure Alex would find him a worthy replacement for you. His only disadvantage is his limited knowledge of Chinese. Whether that disadvantage would be serious enough to rule him out would be up to Alex to decide. If he believes it essential to have at least one of his advisers fully qualified in Chinese, we would send Steve Conisbey in Dave's place. Steve is also a very reliable and capable officer, although he is somewhat younger and less experienced than Dave. We would like to have Alex's reaction to this proposal as soon as possible so we would know which man to bring into the planning for the talks. Walter will probably mention this also in his next letter.

We had quite a hassle last week with Defense over Bob Ekvall. After Bern turned us down on the proposal to make him Assistant Military Attache, Defense was practically ready to recall him and we were considering sending Al Harding or John Stanley from [illegible] to replace him. However, we knew Alex would be very reluctant to change interpreters and Mr. Robertson finally had a talk with Codell, in which the latter indicated it would be possible to assign Bob somewhere else in Europe and detail him to Geneva. This would enable him to bring his family over and remain in Geneva as long as the talks lasted. Mr. Robertson sent a letter to General Erskine formally requesting that this be done, but we have not yet had a reply. Tell Bob not to think he is the forgotten man, because at least 20 people in Washington have been involved in some aspect of the discussions concerning him during the past week.

We have a staff meeting coming up and I want to get this into today's pouch, so I will stop here. Best regards and keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

Ralph N. Clough

FE:CA:RNClough:ek

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(360)

445

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OMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

16-13
Action
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Info
RMR

CONFIDENTIAL

1955 NOV 10 AM 10 31

Control: A5534
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 10, 1955
4:10 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

NO: 1115, NOVEMBER 10, 9 AM

Action Assigned to Capper

Date of Action

Action Taken Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

611.93/11-1055

PA

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FROM JOHNSON

THIS MORNING I RECEIVED THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM WANG:

I WISH TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE RECEIPT OF YOUR LETTER OF NOVEMBER 8. OUR SIDE DOES NOT BEAR ANY RESPONSIBILITY IN CONNECTION WITH THE NEWS REPORT MENTIONED IN YOUR LETTER. THE GROUNDLESS CHARGES IN YOUR LETTER ARE UNACCEPTABLE AT ALL. HOWEVER, SINCE REFERENCE HAS BEEN MADE IN YOUR LETTER OF LEAKAGE OF THE CONTENTS OF OUR TALKS I AM INCLINED TO POINT OUT THAT IT IS PRECISELY AMERICAN OFFICIAL QUARTERS AND WESTERN NEWS AGENCIES WHICH HAVE ON MANY OCCASIONS MADE DISCLOSURES OF THE VONTENTS OF OUR TALKS. DURING THE COURSE OF OUR DISCUSSIONS ON THE FIRST ITEM OF THE AGENDA AS WELL AS AFTER AGREEMENT ON THAT ITEM WAS REACHED THE SPOKESMAN OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND WESTERN NEWS AGENCIES HAD BEEN MAKING SIDE DISCLOSURES ON CERTAIN SUBSTANCE OF OUR DISCUSSIONS ON THE FIRST AGENDA ITEM AS WELL AS ON THE UNITED STATES ATTITUDE IN REFUSING TO UNDERTAKE DISCUSSION OF OTHER MATTERS UNDER THE PRETEXT OF IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENT.

YOU WILL CERTAINLY RECALL WHEN ON SEPTEMBER 14 YOU VIOLATED THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN BOTH SIDES ON THE PUBLICATION OF INFORMATION BY OPENLY MAKING A STATEMENT DISCLOSING THE POINTS AT ISSUE IN THE TALKS. SINCE WE ENTERED INTO THE DISCUSSITN OF AGENDA ITEM TWO THE DISCLOSING OF THE CONTENTS OF OUR TALKS BY AMERICAN OFFICIAL QUARTERS AND WESTERN NEWS AGENCIES HAVE ASSUMED AN EVEN MORE SERIOUS NATURE. FOLLOWING YOUR PROPOSAL AT OUR MEETING OF OCTOBER 8 FOR BOTH SIDES TO MAKE A STATEMENT ON THE RENUNCIATION OF FORCE TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL OBJECTIVES, THE U. S. SECRETARY OF STATE MR. DULLES IN A SPEECH DELIVERED BEFORE THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE

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AMERICAN LEGION ASKED THAT CHINA ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE THAT "MILITARY FORCE SHOULD NOT BE USED AGGRESSIVELY TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL GOALS". THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WAS THUS IMPLICITLY AND INTENTIONALLY LEAKING THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR TALKS THROUGH ITS SECRETARY OF STATE. AT A PRESS CONFERENCE ON OCTOBER 18 MR. DULLES MADE YET ANOTHER DISCLOSURE OF THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR TALKS. HE NOT ONLY STATED THE INTENTION OF THE UNITED STATES WITH REGARD TO THE FIRST ITEM OF THE AGENDA BUT ALSO DISCLOSED THAT OUR TALKS WERE ALREADY DISCUSSING THE QUESTION OF RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. IN VIEW OF THE REPEATED DISCLOSURE OF THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR TALKS BY AMERICAN OFFICIAL QUARTERS AND WESTERN NEWS AGENCIES WHICH HAS ALREADY CREATED AN EXTREMELY CONFUSED IMPRESSION IN PUBLIC OPINION, THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IS THEREFORE CONSIDERING A CLARIFICATION OF ITS POSITION TO THE PUBLIC.

GOWEN

BD

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361

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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446

5-L
Action
FE

Info
RMR
SS

SECRET

Control: 5535
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 10, 1955
4:10 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1116, NOVEMBER 10, 10 AM

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

RE PARA 3 DEPTEL 1162, SECRETARY HAS INSTRUCTED THAT I NOT REPEAT NOT MAKE PUBLIC RELEASE OF EXPLANATORY STATEMENT OR OUR DRAFT RENUNCIATION OF FORCE DECLARATION.

WITH REFERENCE TO WANG'S THREAT CONTAINED IN LAST SENTENCE HIS LETTER TO ME THIS MORNING TO MAKE OFFICIAL PUBLIC STATEMENT, I WILL OF COURSE AT THIS MORNING'S MEETING TRY TO TIE THIS DOWN AND UNLESS HE CLEARLY REAFFIRMS PRIVATE NATURE OF TALKS, WILL RESERVE OUR POSITION ON ALSO MAKING PUBLIC STATEMENT. HOWEVER FEELING HERE IS THAT WE SHOULD WAIT UNTIL HE ACTUALLY MAKES STATEMENT BEFORE RELEASING ANY STATEMENT OF OUR OWN.

GOWEN

HER

Action Assigned to CAIDIR

Action Taken

Symbol

Direction to DC/R

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611.93/11-1055

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447

16-13

Action

FE

Info

RMR

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Control: 5677
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 10, 1955
8:43 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1122, NOVEMBER 10, 2 P.M.

PRIORITY

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION.

FROM JOHNSON

1. THIS MORNING'S MEETING TWO HOURS AND TEN MINUTES. I OPENED ON PRESS LEAKS, REFERRING TO UNSATISFACTORY NATURE HIS REPLY MY LETTER, ASKING FOR REAFFIRMATION OUR AGREEMENT ON PRIVACY TALKS, REQUESTED CLARIFICATION STATEMENT HIS LETTER THEY CONSIDERING ISSUING PUBLIC STATEMENT, AND NOTIFIED HIM THAT IF THEY DID SO I RESERVED MY RIGHT PROMPTLY REPLY BY PUBLIC STATEMENT. THERE ENSUED ONE HOUR'S DISCUSSION ON THIS SUBJECT WITH CHARGES AND COUNTER-CHARGES DURING WHICH I REFERRED TO LEAKS BY NCNA CORRESPONDENT AS SOURCE MANY PRESS STORIES. BELIEVE NET RESULT WAS REAFFIRMATION AGREEMENT ON PRIVACY TALKS AND DO NOT BELIEVE HE IS GOING TO ISSUE ANY STATEMENT, BUT SOME INDICATION DECISION IS NOT ENTIRELY HIS.

2. HE THEN MADE LONG PREPARED STATEMENT ON THEIR DRAFT RENUNCIATION OF FORCE REPEATING USUAL ARGUMENTS BUT SOMEWHAT STRONGER IN TONE, PARTICULARLY AS TO THEIR UNWILLINGNESS EVER TO RECOGNIZE "US ENCROACHMENT IN TAIWAN", STATUS QUO, OR THAT TAIWAN WAS NOT DOMESTIC MATTER. SOMEWHAT MORE EMPHASIS UPON WITHDRAWAL OF US FORCES FROM TAIWAN AREA.

3. I THEN MADE SHORT STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION TO EFFECT BY NO STRETCH OF IMAGINATION OR INTERPRETATION CAN THEIR PERFORMANCE BE CONSIDERED EXPEDITIOUS, AND THAT THIS SITUATION CLOSELY RELATED TO OTHER ASPECTS OUR TALKS AND MY GOVERNMENT'S VIEW OF RELIANCE WHICH CAN BE PLACED ON COMMITMENTS BY HIS GOVERNMENT.

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-2- 1122, NOVEMBER 10, 2 PM, FROM GENEVA

4. I THEN MADE STATEMENT INTRODUCING OUR DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE, GIVING HIM COPY. MEETING ADJOURNED AFTER FEW "PRELIMINARY COMMENTS" BY HIM ALONG EXPECTED LINES.

5. HE MADE NO STATEMENT ON TRADE EMBARGO EXCEPT FOR PASSING REFERENCE IN HIS OPENING GENERAL STATEMENT TO EFFECT UNACCEPTABLE THAT DISCUSSION OF TRADE BE CONDITIONED UPON ISSUANCE RENUNCIATION OF FORCE STATEMENT.

6. NEXT MEETING THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 17.

GOWEN

FLW

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1955 NOV 10 AM 11 19
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
CONFIDENTIAL
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

(363)

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

448

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Action Assigned to EA/DIR

24-H

Action FE

Info RMR

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Action Taken

Control: 6090

Rec'd: November 10, 1955 5:32 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1125, November 10, 4 p.m.

Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

SENT DEPARTMENT 1125; REPEATED INFORMATION TOKYO 6

FROM JOHNSON

Haguiwara (Japanese Ambassador in Bern) called on me yesterday evidently under instructions to obtain information concerning progress in my talks with Wang particularly with respect to trade and to sound me out on our views on relaxing CHINCOM controls.

I spoke to him in general terms of present status with respect renunciation of force and said no discussion yet of trade. In response his further questions concerning our attitude on trade if CHICOM give satisfaction on renunciation of force, pointed out I could not speak for Department on this subject but set forth personal view of close relationship between strategic trade controls and estimate of intentions other side in which satisfactory renunciation of force would be only one factor. Assumption we would not consider relaxation CHINCOM controls until satisfactory CHICOM renunciation of force appeared be implicit in his question.

As in past I gave him current information with respect CHICOM performance re release of Americans. He gave me copy November 5 letter from CHICOM Consul General here to Japanese Consul General replying latter's letters August 29 and October 20 on return Japanese from China which I will transmit by despatch. Purport appears be this and other matters could be better handled if diplomatic relations established and proposes Japanese Government "send delegation to Peking to begin talks on question promoting normalization relations".

GOWEN

611.93/11-1055

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE 1955 NOV 11 AM 9:43

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24-H

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FE

Info

RMR

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Control: 5969
Rec'd: November 10, 1955
2:02 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1126, November 10, 3 p.m.

FROM JOHNSON

With reference Taipei's 426 to Department repeated Geneva 104, assumption here has been Koo has been kept generally informed principal developments my talks with Wang and it should therefore come as no surprise to GRC that renunciation of force declaration being discussed. GRC should also be well aware of this from Secretary's speeches and other public statements on subject.

GOWEN

JAK-6

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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28-H
Action
FE

Info
RMR

Control: 5930
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 10, 1955
2:14 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1132, NOVEMBER 10, 4 P.M.

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

HAVE NOT YET HAD OPPORTUNITY DISCUSS TEXT DEPTEL 1183 WITH THE SECRETARY OR PHLEGER BUT MY THOUGHT IS THAT UNLESS IN ANY STATEMENT THEY MAKE CHICOMS INCLUDE TEXT THEIR DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT WE SHOULD AVOID RELEASING OUR TEXT. AM NOT SURE EVEN IF THEY RELEASE THEIR TEXT IT WOULD SERVE OUR INTERESTS TO RELEASE OUR TEXT. RELEASE OF TEXTS WOULD SO FREEZE POSITIONS THAT FURTHER NEGOTIATION THEREON WOULD BECOME VERY DIFFICULT.

AS DECISION IS WE MAKE NO RELEASE UNLESS CHICOMS FIRST DO SO, OUR STATEMENT WOULD PROBABLY REQUIRE SOME TAILORING TO MEET CHICOM STATEMENT. IF RELEASE MADE BY WANG HERE, STATEMENT IN REPLY SHOULD COME FROM ME; BUT IF RELEASE BY PEIPING, BELIEVE REPLY SHOULD COME FROM WASHINGTON.

SUBJECT TO FOREGOING CONCUR GENERAL LINES STATEMENT CONTAINED 1183 BUT CONSIDER THAT IF TEXT OUR DRAFT NOT RELEASED, MENTION SHOULD BE MADE IN STATEMENT OF IMPORTANCE THAT RENUNCIATION SPECIFICALLY APPLY TO TAIWAN AREA. OTHERWISE TO CASUAL READER WANG'S PROPOSAL WOULD APPEAR ALMOST COMPLETELY TO MEET TEXT STATEMENT IN DEPTEL 1183. SUGGEST ADDITION OF "INCLUDING SPECIFICALLY THE TAIWAN AREA" AT END FIRST SENTENCE. ALSO BETTER TO MEET CHICOM FONMIN MEETING POINT BELIEVE WE SHOULD BE SOMEWHAT MORE EXPLICIT CONCERNING OUR WILLINGNESS DISCUSS "OTHER MATTERS" FOLLOWING RENUNCIATION OF FORCE DECLARATION. SUGGEST THIS BE DONE BY ADDITION OF FOLLOWING SENTENCES AFTER END SECOND PARA STATEMENT DEPTEL 1183:

"THE UNITED

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FE 2/20/59 HB

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"THE UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR HAS MADE CLEAR HIS WILLINGNESS WITHIN THE AGREED SCOPE OF THESE TALKS TO DISCUSS THESE OTHER MATTERS AT THAT TIME. IT IS THE UNITED STATES VIEW THAT UNTIL BOTH SIDES HAVE EXHAUSTED A FULL AND HONEST EFFORT TO RESOLVE THESE PROBLEMS THROUGH THIS ALREADY ESTABLISHED AND NORMAL CHANNEL, THE QUESTION OF OTHER CHANNELS OR OTHER MEETINGS DOES NOT ARISE."

GOWEN

LJ

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COMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

ACTION COPY

452

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28-H

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Action

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Info

RMR

Control: 5970
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 10, 1955
2:04 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: ~~5970~~ 1133, NOVEMBER 10, 4:00 P.M.

1 - 6

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

RE PARA 4 DEPTEL 1186 AND DEPTEL 1187.

IF CHICOMS REFUSE DELIVER O'NEILL'S LETTERS AS PRESENTLY DRAFTED I WOULD THINK THERE WOULD STILL BE VALUE, AT LEAST FROM STANDPOINT IMPRISONED PERSONS' MORALE IN SIMPLY TRANSMITTING COPY AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT UNDER COVER LETTER FROM O'NEILL.

GOWEN

JMD

611.93/11-1055

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Assigned to CA/DIR

Action Taken

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FE 2/20/59

1955 NOV 10 PM 5 47

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NCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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28
Action
FE

Info
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SS

CORRECTION 11/15/55 9:05 p.m.

Control: 5970
Rec'd: November 10, 1955
2:04 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1133 November 10, 4 p.m.

The serial number of this SECRET message recorded as 5970 should be corrected to read 1133.

This Document Must Be Returned to RM/R Central Files

FW 611.93/11-1055

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Action Taken Correction
Date of Action 11/16
Action Officer Symbol CA
Name of Officer
Direction to

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3 1
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Control: 6150
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 10, 1955
8:09 PM

FE
Info
RMR
SS
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IOP

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1135, NOVEMBER 10, 10 PM (SECTION ONE OF THREE)

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. I OPENED TWENTY-FIFTH MEETING TODAY WITH DISCUSSION OF PRIVACY OF TALKS. I ACKNOWLEDGED WANG'S LETTER (CONTEL 1115) AND TOLD HIM I COULD NOT AGEE THAT HIS SIDE BORE NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR LONDON DAILY WORKER REPORT. THE DAILY WORKER ARTICLE CONTAINED FIRST REPORT CONCERNING SUBSTANCE OF TALKS IN THEIR PRESENT STAGE AND CONSTITUTED FULL EXPOSITION OF CHINESE COMMUNIST POSITION. IT COULD HAVE ORIGINATED ONLY FROM HIS SIDE.

2. I SAID THAT AS RESULT OF ARTICLE, RASH OF SPECULATION HAD BROKEN OUT IN PRSSS. I WOULD HAVE BEEN JUSTIFIED IN MAKING PUBLIC POSITION OUR SIDE BUT DID NOT FEEL THIS IN INTERESTS OF TALKS. HAVE MADE EVERY EFFORT DISCOURAGE FURTHER PRESS SPECULATION.

3. I SAID THAT IN SPITE OF MY EFFORTS SPECULATION HAS CONTINUED. I HAD HOPED HE WOULD HAVE FOUND IT POSSIBLE TAKE ACTION THAT WOULD QUIET THIS SPECULATION.

4. I SAID THAT WE MUST KEEP IN MIND DISTINCTION BETWEEN DISCUSSION NATIONAL POLICIES BY GOVERNMENTS AND EITHER OF US MAKING AVAILABLE TO REPORTERS SUBSTANCE OF TALKS. HIS PRESS, RADIO, AND PUBLIC OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN MAKING STATEMENTS ON ASPECTS OF NATIONAL POLICY SOME OF WHICH IMPINGE ON SUBSTANCE OF TALKS. I DID NOT RAISE QUESTION IN THAT REGARD. I CONSIDERED THAT QUITE DIFFERENT FROM PUBLISHING SPECIFICS OF TALKS BETWEEN US HERE.

5. I SAID MY GOVERNMENT'S OFFICIALS ALSO MAKE STATEMENTS CONCERNING

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CONCERNING NATIONAL POLICIES BUT THEY CAREFULLY REFRAINED FROM MAKING AVAILABLE TO PRESS SUBSTANCE OF DISCUSSION IN THIS ROOM. HE SHOULD NOTE THAT SECRETARY DULLES, IN OCTOBER 18 PRESS CONFERENCE WANG HAD REFERRED TO IN HIS LETTER, CAREFULLY AVOIDED DISCUSSION SUBSTANCE TALKS.

6. I THEN READ EXCERPTS FROM SECRETARY'S OCTOBER 18 PRESS CONFERENCE DEALING WITH TALKS.

7. I SAID SECRETARY HAD SAID ABSOLUTELY NOTHING BUT WHAT WAS KNOWN OR MADE AVAILABLE BY WANG'S SIDE. FACT TRADE EMBARGO AND HIGHER LEVEL MEETING HAD BEEN RAISED WAS MADE PUBLIC BY HIS SIDE SEPTEMBER 14. IT WAS WELL-KNOWN FACT EVEN BEFORE TALKS STARTED THAT US DESIRED DISCUSSION RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. SECRETARY MERELY CONFIRMED THESE WERE SUBJECTS OF TALKS AND REFUSED ENTER INTO SUBSTANCE OF MEETINGS.

8. I SAID I CITED THIS BECAUSE I WANTED HIM TO UNDERSTAND HOW CAREFULLY WE TRIED KEEP AGREEMENT CONCERNING PRIVACY OF TALKS. WE WERE DISTURBED BY LAST SENTENCE WANG'S LETTER, IN WHICH HE APPARENTLY INDICATED INTENT MAKE FURTHER INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO PRESS. I ASKED WHETHER THIS WAS IN FACT INTENDED.

9. WANG REPLIED HE HAD MADE HIS POSITION CLEAR IN HIS LETTER. HE COULD NOT ACCEPT CHARGES I HAD MADE. IN FACT, IT WAS HIS SIDE THAT WAS DISSATISFIED REGARDING SECRECY OF TALKS.

10. WANG SAID AT BEGINNING OF TALKS HE HAD TAKEN STAND TALKS SHOULD BE OPEN. I HAD PROPOSED SECRECY, AND AS CONCESSION HIS SIDE HAD ACCEPTED. SUBSEQUENTLY UNDERSTANDING REACHED THAT PRIOR TO PUBLIC STATEMENT EITHER SIDE, OTHER SIDE SHOULD BE INFORMED. THUS IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE HAVE FULL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS TO FIND SOLUTION TO DISPUTED MATTERS.

11. WANG SAID HIS SIDE HAS ALWAYS FOLLOWED THIS LINE. CHINESE PRESS HAS COMMENTED ONLY MATTERS ON WHICH AGREEMENT REACHED OR WHICH WERE MADE PUBLIC. HAS NEVER GONE INTO SUBSTANCE OF TALKS.

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12. WANG SAID MEMBERS OF HIS GROUP ENGAGED IN TALKS HAVE HAD NO CONTACTS WITH PRESS. NEVERTHELESS THERE HAD BEEN DISCLOSURES TO PRESS. HE WISHED TO CITE A FEW CASES. FOLLOWING MEETING OF OCTOBER 27, AT WHICH HIS SIDE PUT FORWARD DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, PRESS BEGAN TO TALK ABOUT IMPORTANT STATEMENT BY CHINESE SIDE IN WHICH FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE WAS ENVISAGED.

13. WANG SAID THAT EVEN THIS MORNING HE HAD NOTED STORY IN NOVEMBER 8 NEW YORK TIMES QUOTING OFFICIAL AMERICAN SOURCES AND REPORTING PRINCIPAL IDEAS HIS DRAFT AND US POSITION. THERE WERE MANY MORE EXAMPLES HE COULD CITE.

14. WANG SAID HIS SIDE TURNED DOWN ALL REQUESTS FOR INTERVIEWS WITH PRESS AND EVEN REFUSED POSE FOR PICTURES. HE WAS DISSATISFIED WITH WHAT APPEARED IN PRESS. THIS APPLIED EVEN TO STORY IN LONDON DAILY WORKER. HE COULD NOT ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR STORY MANY POINTS OF WHICH NOT SATISFACTORY TO HIM.

15. WANG SAID EVEN DULLES IN PRESS CONFERENCE I HAD QUOTED FROM HAD MENTIONED THAT IN TALKS WE WERE ENGAGED IN DISCUSSIONS RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. HE CONSIDERED THIS DISCLOSURE OF WHAT WAS GOING ON IN TALKS.

16. WANG SAID THERE HAD BEEN DISTORTED PRESS REPORTS CONCERNING PROCEEDINGS HERE AND THAT HIS SIDE COULD BEAR NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR THESE. HIS SIDE WAS THEREFORE CONSIDERING CLARIFYING ITS POSITION.

17. I SAID THAT I WAS GLAD HE HAD MENTIONED PRESS REPORTS FOLLOWING OCTOBER 27 MEETING. I DID NOT QUESTION HIS STATEMENTS CONCERNING HIS RELATIONS WITH PRESS. HE MAY BE UNAWARE OF SITUATION. I WOULD MENTION IT ONLY IN PRIVACY OF THIS ROOM, BUT NCNA CORRESPONDENT WHO STANDS OUTSIDE THIS ROOM HAS FOR LONG PERIOD OF TIME HAD REMARKABLY ACCURATE INFORMATION WHAT GOES ON INSIDE. HE HAS NOT BEEN DISCREET IN DISCUSSING THIS INFORMATION WITH OTHER CORRESPONDENTS. I WAS NOT TEN MINUTES BACK IN MY OFFICE AFTER OCTOBER 27 MEETING WHEN WESTERN CORRESPONDENTS INDICATED NCNA CORRESPONDENT HAD SAID WANG

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HAD PRESENTED IMPORTANT STATEMENT RENEWING PROPOSAL FOR HIGHER LEVEL MEETING.

18. I SAID I AND MEMBERS OF MY STAFF REFUSED DISCUSE REPORT WITH PRESS. NEVERTHELESS, PLACES ME IN DIFFICULT POSITION. I WAS COMPLETELY SATISFIED THAT THIS AND OTHER REPORTS HAVE OFTEN COME FROM SAME SOURCE.

19. I SAID I HAD NOT SEEN NOVEMBER 8 NEW YORK TIMES REPORT. IF IT CONTAINED DETAILS OF HIS PROPOSAL, IT WAS DOUBTLESSLY OBTAINED FROM DAILY WORKER ARTICLE. AS FOR DAILY WORKER ARTICLE, IT CLEARLY DID NOT ORIGINATE WITH US.

20. I SAID RATHER THAN CONTINUE DISCUSSION THIS SUBJECT, COULD WE NOT AGREE DO OUR BEST PREVENT PRESS SPECULATION. I DID NOT INTEND MAKE STATEMENT OR REPLY TO DAILY WORKER ARTICLE. HOWEVER, IF WANG MADE STATEMENT AS INITIMATED IN LETTER I OF COURSE RESERVED MY RIGHT MAKE REPLY.

21. I SAID I HOPED WE WOULD NOT BE REDUCED DEBATING IN PUBLIC. PROGRESS SO FAR DUE IN LARGE PART TO FACT WE ABLE DISCUSS FRANKLY WITHOUT PUBLIC DEBATE.

22. I SAID I DID NOT RECALL THAT WANG HAD PROPOSED OPEN TALKS. I DID PROPOSE PRIVATE TALKS BUT DID NOT RECALL ANY COUNTER-PROPOSAL FROM WANG. DID WANG REAFFIRM HIS AGREEMENT TO PRIVATE TALKS?

23. WANG REPLIED THAT HE COULD NOT ACCEPT MY STATEMENT CONCERNING NCNA CORRESPONDENT. HE OFTEN RECEIVED TELEPHONE CALLS FROM WESTERN CORRESPONDENTS WHO SAID AMERICAN DELEGATION HAD SAID SOMETHING AND REPORTERS ASKED FOR COMMENTS. HE HAD NEVER MADE ANY REPLY TO SUCH INQUIRIES.

24. AFTER OCTOBER 27 HE REQUESTED ASSISTANCE NCNA CORRESPONDENT IN TRACING LEAK, BUT REPORTER RESPONSIBLE FOR INFORMATION REFUSED DISCLOSE SOURCE. IT WAS THUS GROUNDLESS TO CHARGE ORIGIN OF LEAK WAS ON HIS SIDE.

-5-, 1135, NOVEMBER 10, 10 PM (SECTION 1 OF 3) FROM GENEVA

25. WANG SAID CONCERNING NOVEMBER 8 NEW YORK TIMES STORY HE DID NOT REGARD IT AS OBJECTIVE ATTITUDE ON MY PART TO PRESUPPOSE ORIGIN OF STORY WITHOUT HAVING READ IT. WRITER OF STORY ATTRIBUTED IT TO "US OFFICIALS". IT COULD NOT BE CONCLUDED THAT THESE OFFICIAL WERE STAFF OF LONDON DAILY WORKER.

COWEN

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7:11 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1135, NOVEMBER 10, 10 PM (SECTION TWO OF THREE)

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26. I ASKED HIM WHETHER HE INTENDED ISSUE STATEMENT.

27. WANG REPLIED THAT DISTORTED REPORTS MAKE IT NECESSARY CONSIDER THIS STEM.

28. I ASKED WHETHER THIS CONSTITUTED NOTIFICATION STATEMENT WOULD BE ISSUED.

29. WANG SAID THE MATTER WAS UNDER CONSIDERATION.

30. I ASKED WHETHER I WOULD BE NOTIFIED PRIOR TO ANY STATEMENT.

31. WANG SAID HE COULD NOT SAY AT THE PRESENT MOMENT.

32. I SAID THAT I DID NOT INTEND TO ISSUE A STATEMENT UNLESS HE DID, IN WHICH CASE I RESERVED MY RIGHT TO MAKE A REPLY.

33. WANG NEXT PRESENTED A PREPARED STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. HE SAID TWO MONTHS HAD PASSED SINCE AGREEMENT ON AGENDA ITEM ONE. FOLLOWING AGREEMENT HIS SIDE HAD INTRODUCED TWO SUBJECTS: EMBARGO AND HIGHER LEVEL MEETING. IN VIEW OF OUR RAISING QUESTION OF RENUNCIATION OF FORCE, HE HAD SUBMITTED ON OCTOBER 27 A DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT RECOMMENDING SETTLING DISPUTES BETWEEN CHINA AND US WITHOUT THREAT OR USE OF FORCE IN ACCORDANCE WITH PROVISIONS OF UN CHARTER. IN ORDER TO MATERIALIZE THIS PRINCIPLE DRAFT PROPOSED CONVENING CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS TO SETTLE THROUGH NEGOTIATION QUESTION OF RELAXING AND ELIMINATING TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA.

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34. WANG SAID AFTER REPEATED EFFORTS ON HIS PART MY RESPONSE SO FAR HAD NOT BEEN SATISFACTORY. AT LAST MEETING I HAD RAISED QUESTION WHETHER HIS DRAFT INCORPORATED RENUNCIATION OF FORCE TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL OBJECTIVES, AS I HAD PROPOSED. SUCH GENERAL TERM AS NATIONAL OBJECTIVES CONFUSES INTERNAL WITH INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

35. WANG SAID IN PRACTICAL TERMS RENUNCIATION OF FORCE TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL OBJECTIVES CONSTITUTED DEMAND HIS SIDE RENOUNCE SOVEREIGNTY AND RECOGNIZE STATUS QUO OF US INTERFERENCE INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND OCCUPATION CHINA'S TERRITORY OF TAIWAN.

36. WANG SAID IN REGARD TO TAIWAN, CHINA'S NATIONAL OBJECTIVE IS TO LIBERATE ISLAND. THIS LIES WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF CHINA'S XOVEREIGNTY AND INTERNAL AFFAIRS. CHINA HAS REPEATEDLY STATED THAT CONDITINS PERMITTING IT WILL STRIVE LIBERATE TAIWAN BY PEACEFUL MEANS. MEANS BY WHICH TAIWAN IS LIBERATED, HOWEVER, IS MATTER CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND US HAS NO RIGHT INTERFERE. THIS CANNOT BE MADE SUBJECT SINO-AMERICAN TALKS.

37. WANG SAID ON OTHER HAND US NATIONAL OBJECTIVE TAIWAN AREA IS TO CONTINUE ENCROACHMENT CHINA'S TERRITORY OF TAIWAN AND CONTINUE INTERFERENCE CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS. US HAS ALREADY USED FORCE AND THREAT OF FORCE ATTAIN SUCH AGGRESSIVE NATIONAL OBJECTIVE.

38. WANG SAID I HAD SKIPPED OVER THIS FACT AND REFUSED DISCUSS SUCH CONCRETE ISSUE AS WITHDRAWAL US ARMED FORCE TAIWAN AREA. AT SAME TIME US HAS DEMANDED THROUGH USE OF GENERAL TERM NATIONAL OBJECTIVES CHINA RECOGNIZE STATUS QUO IN TAIWAN AREA, CONTINUED US ENCROACHMENT CHINESE TERRITORY TAIWAN AND US INTERFERENCE IN CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THIS CAN IN NO WAY BE COMPLIED WITH.

39. WANG SAID AT LAST MEETING I HAD ASKED WHETHER INTENT OF HIS DRAFT WAS THAT FORCE NOT BE USED EXCEPT IN SELF-DEFENSE. TAIWAN IS CHINESE TERRITORY AND US USE OF FORCE IN THAT AREA PLACES CHINA IN DEFENSIVE POSITION. JUST AS CHINA CANNOT GO TO HONOLULU TO PUT UP DEFENSES IN RESPECT TO US, SO US HAS NO GROUNDS PUT UP DEFENSES IN TAIWAN AREA IN RESPECT TO CHINA.

40. WANG SAID IN SPITE THIS SITUATION CHINA PORPOSES SETTLE THROUGH HIGHER LEVEL NEGOTIATION QUESTION RELAXATION AND ELIMINATION OF TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA. IF IT IS INTENT THAT CHINA AND US SETTLE DISPUTES IN TAIWAN AREA BY PEACEFUL MEANS, THIS INTENT FINDS EXPRESSION IN HIS DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. HOWEVER, IF IT IS INTENT THAT CHINA RENOUNCE EXERCISE SOVEREIGN RIGHT OVER TAIWAN AND RECOGNIZE US ENCROACHMENT, THIS SIMPLY WILL NOT DO.

41. WANG SAID I HAD SUGGESTED THAT POINT WAS NOT WHETHER A SITUATION WAS INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL BUT WHETHER FORCE PREJUDICED INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. HIS SIDE COULD NOT ACCEPT CONFUSION OF DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES.

42. WANG SAID EVERYONE KNEW CHINESE PEOPLE HAD LIBERATED MAINLAND AND MANY COASTAL ISLANDS INCLUDING HAINAN, IN PROCESS OF WHICH THEY HAD NOT AT ANY TIME THREATENED INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. ON CONTRARY, VICTORY HAD INDISPUTABLY PROMOTED STABILITY OF SITUATION IN FAR EAST AND MADE IMMENSE CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. ON OTHER HAND, US HAD ENCROACHED ON TAIWAN AND INTERFERED WITH LIBERATION TAIWAN AND COASTAL ISLANDS, GIVING RISE TO SITUATION WHICH THREATENED INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

43. WANG SAID IT WAS FOR SAKE OF SAFEGUARDING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY THAT HE HAD PROPOSED SINO-US MEETING ON HIGHER LEVEL TO SETTLE THROUGH NEGOTIATION QUESTION OF RELAXING AND ELIMINATING TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA. YET I HAD AT LAST MEETING OBJECTED TO LINKING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS.

44. WANG SAID THIS IS PROOF US INTENT IS TO REQUIRE HIS SIDE TO RENOUNCE EXERCISE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS IN REGARD TO CHINA'S TAIWAN AND TO ACCEPT STATUS QUO OF US ENCROACHMENT ON TAIWAN AND INTERFERENCE IN CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS BY ARMED FORCE. HE WISHED CATEGORICALLY TO REPEAT THAT HIS SIDE COULD NOT AGREE TO THIS.

45. WANG SAID HE HAD STATED BEFORE THAT MERE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLE FORCE WILL NOT BE USED IN RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND US WITHOUT PROVIDING STEPS TO REALIZE THAT PRINCIPLE WOULD

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MAKE US INCONSISTENT IN WORDS AND DEEDS, WOULD NOT CONTRIBUTE SETTLEMENT TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA, AND WOULD BE LIKELY GIVE RISE TO MISUNDERSTANDING THAT CHINA ADMITTING TO US ENCROACH-. MENT IN TAIWAN AND INTERFERENCE IN CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

46. WANG SAID HE HAD ON MANY OCCASIONS RAISED QUESTION OF WITHDRAWAL OF US ARMED FORCE FROM TAIWAN AREA. HOWEVER, I HAD FAILED TO MAKE ANY ANSWERS THIS PROVED E[illegible]IRELY NECESSITY OF HOLDING CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS.

47. WANG SAID AT LAST MEETING I HAD SAID THAT RESPONSE TO QUESTION OF EMBARGO HUST DEPEND ON DEGREE OF AGREEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. THE POLICY OF EMBARGO WAS ITSELF UNREASONABLE AND HENCE MUST BE LIFTED. THAT WAS EXACTLY HIS INTENT IN THE QUESTION OF EMBARGO AND THAT IS UNANIMOUS DEMAND OF PEOPLE OF WHOLE WORLD. IF US AFTER USING FORCE IN ENCROACHING ON TAIWAN SHOULD FURTHER DEMAND CHINA RECOGNIZE STATUS QUO AND RENOUNCE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN BEFORE US SIDE WOULD CONSIDER LIFTING EMBARGO, HIS SIDE COULD NOT ACCEPT.

48. WANG SAID HIS DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT REPRESENTED GREAT EFFORT SEEK CONCRETELY APPLY UN CHARTER TO THE SITUATION. IF OUR SIDE WERE GENUINELY DESIROUS OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT THERE IS NO REASON WHY OUR SIDE COULD NOT AGREE TO HIS DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

49. I REPLIED THAT HE HAD PROPERLY POINTED OUT THAT IT IS NOW TWO MONTHS SINCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ON RETURN OF CIVILIANS WAS ISSUED. ONLY TWO OF THOSE WHO REMAINED IN PRISON AT THAT TIME HAVE RETURNED. AT THIS RATE IT PRESUMABLY WOULD BE 17 MONTHS UNTIL ALL HAVE RETURNED.

50. I SAID THAT BY NO STRETCH OF THE IMAGINATION OR ANY INTER-PRETATION CAN THIS BE CONSIDERED "EXPEDITIOUS" OR FULFILLMENT OF COMMITMENT MADE BY HIS GOVERNMENT IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

51. I SAID CONTINUATION OF THIS SITUATION WOULD INEVITABLY INFLUENCE MY GOVERNMENT'S VIEW OF RELIANCE WHICH CAN BE PLACED

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ON COMMITMENTS MADE BY HIS GOVERNMENT AND THUS PROFOUNDLY INFLUENCE OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR TALKS.

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Rec'd: NOVEMBER 10, 1955
9:32 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1135, NOVEMBER 10, 10 PM (SECTION 3 OF 3)

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

52. I THEN PRESENTED PREPARED STATEMENT ON OUR COUNTER-DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AS FOLLOWS:

A. I HAVE LISTENED CAREFULLY TO YOUR STATEMENT THIS MORNING. MY GOVERNMENT HAS ALSO GIVEN CAREFUL STUDY TO DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH YOU GAVE TO ME AT OUR MEETING OF OCTOBER 27. IT HAS ALSO TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION OUR DISCUSSIONS OF SUBJECT AT OUR LAST TWO MEETINGS. I AM TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION YOUR STATEMENTS THIS MORNING.

B. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WE ARE IN AGREEMENT THAT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OUR TWO SIDES SHALL NOT LEAD TO ARMED CONFLICT. HOWEVER, AS I SAID AT OUR LAST MEETING, THIS IS SUBJECT TOO VITALLY IMPORTANT TO OUR TWO PEOPLES AND TO PEACE OF THE WORLD TO LEAVE TO CLOUDY LANGUAGE THAT MAY MEAN ONE THING TO ONE SIDE AND SOMETHING ELSE TO OTHER SIDE. I CONSIDER IT ESSENTIAL THAT WE BOTH NOT ONLY FULLY UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER BUT THAT ANY FORM OF WORDS THAT WE USE PUBLICLY TO ANNOUNCE WHATEVER UNDERSTANDING WE REACH BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR.

C. IN STUDYING YOUR DRAFT IT DOES NOT SEEM TO ME THIS PURPOSE IS FULLY ACCOMPLISHED. FOR EXAMPLE, WHILE YOU CITE IN YOUR DRAFT SOME OF SOUND AND FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT SET FORTH IN CHARTER OF UNITED NATIONS, IT IS QUITE CLEAR FROM OUR DISCUSSION THAT WE HAVE DIFFERING VIEWS WITH RESPECT TO APPLICABILITY OF THESE PARTICULAR PRINCIPLES TO SITUATION IN TAIWAN AREA. AS I NOTED AT OUR LAST MEETING, THERE ARE ALSO OTHER UNITED NATIONS PRINCIPLES WHICH MAY BE CONSIDERED ALSO TO HAVE APPLICABILITY TO THAT SITUATION. THERE ARE MANY OTHER EQUALLY APPROPRIATE CITATIONS IN UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS. HOWEVER, IT DOES NOT SEEM TO ME PROFITABLE TO ATTEMPT TO CITE OR INCLUDE IN ANY PUBLIC STATEMENT UPON WHICH WE MAY AGREE

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ALL OF PROVISIONS OF UNITED NATIONS CHARTER OR OTHER DOCUMENTS WHICH MAY BE APPLICABLE TO SITUATION.

D. I DO CONSIDER IT IMPORTANT THAT WE MAKE PERFECTLY CLEAR IN WHATEVER WE AGREE PUBLICLY TO SAY, THAT WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO OUR DIFFERING VIEWS OR POLICIES WITH RESPECT TO THE SITUATION IN THE TAIWAN AREA, WE ARE DETERMINED IT SHALL NOT LEAD TO ARMED CONFLICT.

E. I THINK IT ALSO DESIRABLE THAT WHATEVER WE SAY WE MAKE IT CLEAR THAT NEITHER ONE OF US IS RENOUNCING RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE, WHICH IS RECOGNIZED BY UNITED NATIONS CHARTER.

F. ALSO, AS I SAID AT OUR LAST MEETING, I DO NOT CONSIDER WE CAN CONDITION OUR ENUNCIATION OF SUCH FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE UPON ANY PARTICULAR FORM OF NEGOTIATION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. I REPEAT STATEMENT WHICH I MADE AT OUR MEETING OF OCTOBER 8, THAT SUCH DECLARATIONS WOULD MAKE IT APPROPRIATE TO PASS ON TO DISCUSSION OF OTHER MATTERS WITH BETTER HOPE OF COMING TO CONSTRUCTIVE CONCLUSIONS. I HAVE ALREADY INDICATED MY WILLINGNESS TO HEAR YOUR VIEWS WITH RESPECT TO WHAT YOU TERM TRADE EMBARGO IF FOLLOWING OUR ISSUANCE OF SUCH DECLARATION THERE ARE OTHER MATTERS PROPERLY WITHIN THE SCOPE OF OUR TALKS WHICH YOU DESIRE TO BRING UP, I WILL ALSO BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THEM WITH YOU.

G. YOU AND I HAVE AGREED THAT OUR DIFFERENCES IN TAIWAN AREA SHOULD NOT LEAD TO ARMED CONFLICT. WE ARE ALSO IN AGREEMENT THAT PUBLIC STATEMENT SHOULD BE MADE IN THIS REGARD. I HAVE THEREFORE PREPARED DRAFT WHICH I BELIEVE FULLY TAKES INTO ACCOUNT VIEWS OF BOTH SIDES AND CLEARLY EXPRESSES THIS INTENT.

H. YOU WILL NOTE FROM THIS DRAFT THAT, ALTHOUGH MY ORIGINAL PROPOSAL HAD IN MIND SEPARATE DECLARATIONS, I HAVE ADOPTED YOUR SUGGESTION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SIMILAR IN FORM TO THAT WHICH WE MADE ON SEPTEMBER 10.

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1. YOU WILL ALSO NOTE FROM THIS DRAFT THAT I HAVE TAKEN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AS WELL AS OUR DIFFERING VIEWS ON THE SITUATION IN TAIWAN AREA. WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO YOUR STATEMENTS THIS MORNING, YOU WILL NOTE THAT THIS DRAFT IS CAREFULLY DRAWN SO AS NOT TO REQUIRE YOUR GOVERNMENT IN MAKING THIS STATEMENT TO RENOUNCE OR TO PREJUDICE ITS VIEWS IN THIS REGARD. YOU WILL ALSO NOTE THAT DRAFT SPECIFICALLY REFERS TO RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE AND THAT IT PROVIDES FOR STATEMENTS BY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO BE IDENTICAL. THAT IS, IT IS NOT BEING SUGGESTED YOUR GOVERNMENT SAY ANYTHING BUT WHAT MY GOVERNMENT IS WILLING TO SAY.

J. I WOULD HOPE WE COULD AGREE ON THISDRAFT, ISSUANCE OF WHICH WOULD MEAN SO MUCH NOT ONLY FOR PROGRESS OF OUR TALKS BUT FOR WORLD LONGING FOR ASSURANCE OF PEACE.

53. AFTER READING DRAFT IN ENGLISH ORIGINAL AND HAVING IT INTERPRETED WANG REPLIED THAT HE HAD SOME PRELIMINARY COMMENTS. WE ALL RECOGNIZED EXISTENCE CONTRADICTIONS IN POLICIES AND DISPUTES BETWEEN OUR GOVERNMENTS. THESE DISPUTES MUST BE SETTLED CONFORMITY ACCEPTED AND RECOGNIZED STANDARDS INTER-NATIONAL CONDUCT. THAT WHY ENTIRELY NECESSARY AS IN HIS DRAFT HAVE SPECIFIC QUOTATIONS PROVISIONS UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, INDICATING INTENT SETTLE DISPUTES ACCORDANCE QUOTED PROVISIONS.

54. WANG SAID WE WERE IN AGREEMENT THAT PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT SHOULD BE MADE. HOWEVER, HE COULD NOT AGREE THAT ISSUANCE SUCH ANNOUNCEMENT SHOULD BE A PREREQUISITE FOR DISCUSSION OF OTHER MATTERS.

55. WANG SAID HE NOTED THAT MY DRAFT OMITTED TWO PARAGRAPHS UNITED NATIONS CHARTER HE HAD QUOTED. MY DRAFT ALSO OMITTED PRMPISION CONCERNING HOLDING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING. MY DRAFT CONTAINED REFERENCE TO "NATIONAL OBJECTIVES". AS HE HAD SAID THIS MORNING, SUCH A CATCHALL TERM AS "NATIONAL OBJECTIVES" COULD SOLVE NOTHING.

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56. WANG SAID QUESTION ARISES WHAT OBJECTIVES ARE MEANT BY TERM. IN 1941 AFTER PEARL HARBOR UNITED STATES JOINED IN WAR AGAINST AGGRESSION ON BASIS NATIONAL OBJECTIVE WHICH WAS SELF-DEFENSE. USE OF FORCE TO ACHIEVE SUCH NATIONAL OBJECTIVE JUSTIFIED.

57. WANG SAID OTHER NATIONAL OBJECTIVES CONCERN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF COUNTRY. NATIONAL OBJECTIVE OF SELF-DEFENSE IS QUITE JUST.

58. WANG SAID HE NOTED THAT DRAFT REFERS TO UNITED STATES SELF-DEFENSE IN CONNECTION WITH TAIWAN AREA. HE COULD NOT SEE HOW UNITED STATES HAS RIGHT TO PUT UP SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWUM AREA.

59. WANG SAID THAT DRAFT MENTIONS DESIRE SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO SIDES BY PEACEFUL MEANS. THIS IN CONFORMITY WITH MAIN IDEA OF HIS DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT.

60. WANG RESERVED FURTHER COMMENT FOR NEXT MEETING.

61. MEETING ENDED AT 12:10. NEXT MEETING THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 17. SAME PRESS RELEASE.

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1140, NOVEMBER 11, 4 PM

FROM JOHNSON.

PRESUMABLY AT NEXT MEETING WANG WILL HAVE PREPARED STATEMENT COMMENTING ON RENUNCIATION FORCE PROPOSAL I INTRODUCED YESTERDAY. I WILL REPLY AS APPROPRIATE REITERATING ARGUMENTS ALREADY MADE. BELIEVE MY ATTITUDE SHOULD BE ONE OF WILLINGNESS CONSIDER REASONABLE AMENDMENTS IN PREAMBLE OF FIRST FOUR PARAGRAPHS BUT COMPLETE FIRMNESS ON PARAGRAPHS 6 AND 8.

WHILE STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION WILL SOMEWHAT DEPEND ON DEVELOPMENTS IN PEIPING AND VIEWS OF UK, IN GENERAL, BELIEVE I SHOULD PLACE MAJOR EMPHASIS ON RELEASE AND IF BROUGHT UP KEEP O'NEILL'S DIFFICULTIES IN FUNCTIONING IN SECONDARY POSITION. BELIEVE THERE IS SOME ADVANTAGE TO US IN PRESENT TREND OF HAVING O'NEILL'S FUNCTIONS DEVELOP INTO UK-PRC CONTROVERSY.

IF WANG MAKES STATEMENT ON TRADE I WOULD AVOID SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION BUT MIGHT ASK ANY QUESTIONS THAT WOULD SEEM USEFUL.

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COMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

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25

Action

FE

Info

RMR

SECRET

Control: 6513

Rec'd: NOVEMBER 11, 1955 1:31 PM

1 -

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1141, NOVEMBER 11, 5 PM

Action Assigned to

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

REMYTEL 1132

1. I HAVE BEEN RECONSIDERING QUESTION OF TEXT OF ANY PUBLIC STATEMENT WE SHOULD ISSUE IF PRC MAKES STATEMENT. IT NOW APPEARS TO ME TEXT IN DEPTEL 1183 WOULD NOT BE BEST ANSWER TO PROBABLE TYPE OF STATTEMENT PRC COULD BE EXPECTED.

2. THERE IS GIVEN BELOW MY THOUGHT ON GENERAL LINES OF WHAT MIGHT BE SAID HERE IF WANG ISSUES STATEMENT, OR IT COULD BE MODIFIED FOR ISSUANCE IN WASHINGTON IF PRC RELEASE WAS FROM PEIPING. IT WILL BE NOTED THIS DRAFT ATTEMPTS TO MAKE OUR POINTS WITHOUT BECOMING INVOLVED IN SPECIFIC SUBSTANCE OF MEETINGS OR DRAFTS WHICH I FEEL SHOULD IF POSSIBLE BE AVOIDED.

A. IT IS A MATTER OF DISAPPOINTMENT AND CONCERN THAT AMBASSADOR WANG HAS CHOSEN TO ISSUE A PUBLIC STATEMENT AT THIS TIME. AS HE AND I AGREED WHEN THESE TALKS STARTED PROGRESS CAN BEST BE MADE BY NOT GIVING OUT DETAILS OF OUR EXCHANGES UNTIL UNDERSTANDINGS CAN BE ANNOUNCED, AS WHEN WE MADE THE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 10 WITH REGARD TO THE RETURN OF CIVILIANS.

B. SOME TIME AGO I PROPOSED, IN ORDER TO TAKE PROGRESS IN THE DISCUSSION OF OTHER PRACTICAL MATTERS ARISING BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES, THAT BOTH SIDES SHOULD DECLARE THAT THEY RENOUNCED THE USE OF FORCE.

C. AMBASSADOR

Copy 7 ~~[illegible]~~ sent to FE 7/20/59

SECRET

611.93/11-1155

PA

SECRET FILE

FEB 1959

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62-1141. NOVEMBER 11, 5 PM, FROM GENEVA

C. AMBASSADOR WANG APPEARS TO HAVE ACCEPTED THIS PRINCIPLE AND WE HAVE SINCE THAT TIME BEEN DISCUSSING AN APPROPRIATE FORM FOR THIS DECLARATION. SUCH A DECLARATION MUST MAKE IT CLEAR THAT FORCE IS BEING RENOUNCED AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POLICY IN GENERAL AND ALSO WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE TAIWAN AREA. MY GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT AN UNQUALIFIED DECLARATION IN THIS REGARD, SUCH AS THE UNITED STATES IS WILLING TO MAKE, WOULD BE A MAJOR STEP IN ASSURING PEACE IN THE FAR EAST AND PERMIT HOPEFUL DISCUSSION OF OTHER PROBLEMS.

D. I AM PLEASED TO NOTE THAT AMBASSADOR WANG'S STATEMENT APPEARS PUBLICLY TO INDICATE THAT THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS IN FACT WILLING TO RENOUNCE THE USE OF FORCE. I HOPE THAT AGREEMENT CAN SOON BE REACHED ON AN UNQUALIFIED DECLARATION IN THIS REGARD.

E. HOWEVER, THE EXTREME SLOWNESS AND APPARENT RELUCTANCE WITH WHICH AMBASSADOR WANG'S GOVERNMENT IS NOW IMPLEMENTING ITS COMMITMENT OF SEPTEMBER 10 TO PERMIT ALL AMERICANS IN CHINA DESIRING TO RETURN EXPEDITIOUSLY TO DO SO IS A SOURCE OF SERIOUS CONCERN. ALTHOUGH MORE THAN TWO MONTHS HAVE NOW PASSED SINCE THE ISSUANCE OF OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 10, 17 AMERICANS STILL REMAIN IN JAIL.

F. IT IS MY HOPE THAT COMMUNIST CHINA WILL NO LONGER DELAY IN DEMONSTRATING ITS WILLINGNESS FULLY TO CARRY OUT ITS FREELY ASSUMED COMMITMENTS.

GOWEN

JJ

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1955 NOV 12 AM 7 46
BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

370

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GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 1/6/77

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL November 11, 1955

SECRET

Dear Bill:

Thank you very much for your thoughtful and generous letter of November 4. I know that you fully appreciate my problems, but I must say I could not ask for better support. As I have told McConaughy previously, and have repeated here to the Secretary and Herman, I feel my instructions have consistently been excellent and have enabled me to go to meetings with a feeling of confidence in having sufficient elbow room to meet any likely situation. However, as I also told Herman, I would be very happy if someone else were dealing with this renunciation of force item. Prisoners was a subject upon which I could really get my hands and bulldog, but with renunciation of force I sometimes feel as if I am punching at clouds or grabbing at eels which slip out just when I think I have hold. However, I will try to do my best.

It is hard to tell what will happen in the next few weeks. As far as substance is concerned, there is quickly not going to be much more to talk about. It is going to simply come down to a refusal by them to renounce force against Taiwan and our insistence that they do so. I am convinced they are not going to do so unless they get something they want very badly. The Foreign Ministers' meeting is obviously in this category but whether even this would be sufficient is somewhat doubtful in my mind.

It will then come down to whether they are willing to keep these talks going for their own sake. This might be the case, and the louder that Taiwan screams about their continuation, the more it serves to convince Chou that it would be useful to keep them going.

Another aspect is that even if they desire to break off the talks, I believe we have them in a position that makes it difficult for them to do so. They will realize that we would be able to present it as a refusal on their part to renounce force, which would carry with it implications that would be difficult for them to handle.

As you

The Honorable
William J. Sebald,
Deputy Assistant Secretary,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

As you can see from my telegrams I still feel it is a mistake to bring up implementation at every meeting. On the one hand it tends to become routine (I have run out of any new ways of saying it), and on the other hand I think it is counterproductive in that it makes it a little harder for them to release them. However, I think we should take advantage of every opportunity to put the heat on them through U Nu, Nehru and others. I know, however, that I am in a minority of one on the former point.

I am having serious personnel difficulties in Prague and, hence, I have been trying recently to get up there as often as possible to lend a hand, but it is becoming more difficult with the uncertainties of flying here in the winter and the curtailed schedules.

Tell Walter Robertson that he need not worry that I will ever do anything rash with ideas that are exchanged in personal letters with any of you. I would hope that I could continue to correspond on a purely informal basis, as I have in the past, and pass ideas back and forth without commitment by anyone.

Tell McConaughy I have, just as I was writing this, received his letter of November 8 and will not be writing him today.

My best to all.

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

P.S. I have just read Hong Kong's despatch 579 of October 3 on the release of Buol. I would be interested in knowing from our friends whether there is any probable basis for the report Buol mentions that three Americans missing from the 1951 Li Mi operation are imprisoned.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 371

INDICATE COLLECT CHARGE

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

05421

1955 NOV 12 PM 1 03

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 1219

Origin

Info:

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FOR JOHNSON

611.93
11-1055

Re your 1135, para. 25, N.Y. Times article November 8 could not RPT not have been based on any responsible U.S. official source. We have no indication as to origin, although internal evidence points strongly to Daily Worker article as chief inspiration.

HOOVER
Hoover
ACTING
(WPMcC)

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611.93/11-1055

CS/6 11.93/11-1055

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Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:lh 11/12/55 WPMcC

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy WPMcC

Clearances: FE - Mr. Sebald (in draft) WPMcC

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ORIGINAL TELEGRAM (372)

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SECRET
Classification

1955 NOV 15 PM 8 09

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1247
FOR JOHNSON

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Guidance for November 17 meeting.

1. Renunciation of force. Concur your agreeing to consider ad referendum Department reasonable amendments to preamble our draft declaration, while maintaining completely firm position paragraphs 6 and 8, as proposed your 1140. Reject Wang's continued accusations US "armed occupation" Taiwan and reiterate US position outlined Deptel 996. [redacted] You should not hesitate to state our position as forcefully as Wang states his, but pointing out that clash of views need not become clash of arms if both sides accept principle that force will not be used resolve differences.

2. Implementation

11096

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:ek 11/15/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances: FE - Mr. Sebald

CA - Mr. McConaughy

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2. Implementation. Agree with your view that major emphasis should be kept upon PRC's failure carry out express commitment to release Americans, with O'Neill's difficulties secondary. Department will obtain from British latest developments Peiping and send guidance this aspect later.

3. Embargo. Concur your 1140.

4. Military personnel. Defense has requested UNCMAC to present lists again. Since reply not yet received from UNCMAC you should omit subject this meeting.

Pass to Secretary.

HOOVER
ACTING

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11097

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373

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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459

Action Assigned to CA/DIR

Action Taken Reply

Control: 8 4

Rec'd: NOVEMBER 16, 1955 5:58 P.M.

Date of Action 11/17

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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611.93/11-1655

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-21

Action FE

Info RMR

SS

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1186, NOVEMBER 16, 9 P.M.

FROM JOHHNSON

FOLLOWING IS TEXT ARTICLE MY TALKS PREQARED BY WESLEY PEDERSON USIA FOR PAUL FORD COLUMN IPS ON FRIDAY IF POSSIBLE. SUBJECT TO DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS I BELIEVE RELEASE THIS TYPE ARTICLE AT THIS TIME WOULDSBE USEFUL AND CONCUR IN TEXT. IF DEPARTMENT CONCURS REQUEST TEXT BE TRANSMITTED USIA WASHINGTON.

GENEVA -- THE UNITED STATES IS PRESSING VIGOROUSLY FOR FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF COMMUNIST CHINA'S SEPTEMBER TENTH PLEDGE TO PERMIT AMERICANS IN CHINA "EXPEDITIOUSLY" TO RETURN HOME.

SEVENTEEN AMERICAN CIVILIANS ARE STILL IMPRISIONED ON THE CHINA MAINLAND, DESPITE THE PROMISE GIVEN IN GENEVA NINE WEEKS AGO TO THE U.S. AMBASSADOR TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA, U. ALEXIS JOHNSON, BY PEIPING'S AMBASSADOR TO POLAND, WANG PING-NAN.

JOHNSON AND WANG HAVE BEEN HOLDING TALKS IN GENEVA SINCE AUGUST FIRST. THEY MET FOR THE TWENTY-SIXTH TIME THURSDAY. THERE ARE TWO ITEMS ON THEIR AGENDA: THE RETURN OF CIVILIANS, AND "OTHER PRACTICAL MATTERS AT ISSUE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES."

WHILE WAITING FOR PEIPING TO RELEASE THE SEVENTEEN AMERICANS, THE AMBASSADORS ARE DISCUSSING THE QUESTION OF A MUTUAL RENUNCIATION OF FORCE, PARTICULARLY IN THE TAIWAN AREA. THEY HAVE NOT (REPEAT NOT) CLOSED THEIR TALKS ON ITEM ONE, HOWEVER, AND IT IS CLEAR THAT IN DISCUSSIONS ON ALL OTHER MATTERS THE UNITED STATES WILL TAKE INTO ACCOUNT PEIPING'S IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SEPTEMBER TENTH PLEDGE AS WELL AS ITS WILLINGNESS TO ASSURE THE WORLD OF ITS INTENT NOT TO START A WAR.

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FILED DEC 6 1955

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- 2 - 1186, NOVEMBER 16, 9 P.M. FROM GENEVA.

IN ITS BROADCASTS PEIPING IS ALLEGING THAT IN SPITE OF ITS FREELY MADE COMMITMENT OF SEPTEMBER TENTH THE RETURN OF IMPRISONED AMERICANS DEPENDS UPON WHAT THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS TERM "IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS." THIS IS AN AMAZINGLY FRANK ADMISSION THAT PEIPING CONSIDERS THESE PERSONS AS POLITICAL HOSTAGES TO BE BARGAINED FOR POLITICAL ENDS. IT ALSO CANNOT ESCAPE NOTICE THAT PEIPING HAS CAREFULLY TIMED ITS RELEASES THUS FAR WITH POLITICAL EVENTS - THE ELEVEN IMPRISONED FLYERS WERE RELEASED THE DAY THE AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL TALKS OPENED, TEN CIVILIAN PRISONERS WERE FREED THE DAY THE AMBASSADORS ISSUED THEIR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ON THE RETURN OF CIVILIANS, AND TWO MORE ON THE DAY PRIOR TO THE OPENING OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING IN GENEVA. NO OTHER PRISONERS HAVE YET BEEN RELEASED AND 17 STILL REMAIN.

HOWEVER, THE UNITED STATES STILL HOPES THAT THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS WILL, EVEN IF BELATEDLY, FULLY CARRY OUT THEIR COMMITMENT TO PERMIT ALL AMERICANS WHO DESIRE TO DO SO TO RETURN.

THE CINESE COMMUNISTS HAVE PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED THE TWO MATTERS THEY WOULD LIKE TO TAKE UP ARE PREPARATIONS FOR A HIGHER LEVEL MEETING AND THE QUESTION OF TRADE EMBARGO.

SECRETARY OF STATE DULLES SAID IN A PRESS CONFERENCE ON OCTOBER EIGHTEENTH THAT THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE MEETING OF THE AMBASSADORS SHOULD BE FULLY EXPLORED AND EXHAUSTED BEFORE THERE IS CONSIDERATION GIVEN TO A POSSIBLE SECOND MEETING AND THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE WILLING TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF TRADE EMBARGO AT THE AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL. HOWEVER, IT HAS BEEN MADE CLEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES IS NOT PREPARED TO MAKE ANY ARRANGEMENTS WHICH WOULD PREJUDICE THE RIGHTS OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA OR OTHER THIRD PARTIES.

THE MEETINGS HERE ARE CONDUCTED IN SECRET BECAUSE IT IS THE U.S. BELIEF THAT THERE IS A BETTER POSSIBILITY OF PROGRESS IF PROBLEMS CAN BE DISCUSSED FRANKLY, WITHOUT THE DANGER OF THE TALKS BEING DISTORTED FOR PROPAGANDA PURPOSES. WHATEVER RESULTS ARE ACHIEVED, HOWEVER, WILL OF COURSE BE MADE PUBLIC, JOHNSON HAS EMPHASIZED.

THERE WILL, IN OTHER WORDS, BE NO (REPEAT NO) SECRET AGREEMENTS. END.

DEC 2 1955

GOWEN

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374

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14

CONFIDENTIAL

Action FE

Info RMR

SS

Control: 9221 CA/OIR

Rec'd: NOVEMBER 17, 1955

9:11 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1192, NOVEMBER 17, 2 P.M.

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

Direction to DC/R file

1. TWO HOUR MEETING THIS MORNING DEVOTED ENTIRELY TO DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE EXCEPT FOR STATEMENT BY ME ON IMPLEMENTATION TO WHICH HE DID NOT REPLY. DISCUSSION CENTERED ALMOST ENTIRELY AROUND OUR DRAFT.

2. WANG OPENED MEETING WITH LONG AND UNCOMPROMISING PREPARED STATEMENT REJECTING OUR DRAFT AS "TOTALLY UNJUSTIFIABLE AND ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE" AND DEMANDING ACCEPTANCE HIS DRAFT. STATEMENT REITERATED PREVIOUS POSITIONS ON TAIWAN, GRC, US OCCUPATION, ETC. MUCH EMPHASIS UPON OUR DRAFT REQUIRING THEM TO ACQUIESCE MAINTENANCE OF STATUS QUO, US ARMED INTERFERENCE LIBERATION TAIWAN AND US ENCROACHMENT ON CHINESE TERRITORY TAIWAN.

3. I REPLIED WITH LONG EXTEMPORANEOUS STATEMENT REJECTING HIS IMPLICATION US NOT SEEKING PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT BY REFERRING US PROPOSAL THESE TALKS, STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE, AND WILLINGNESS DISCUSS OTHER MATTERS. I RESTATED OUR POSITION WITH RESPECT GRC, DEFENSE TREATY, ETC. PRINCIPAL POINT WAS NOT NOW ATTEMPT RECONCILE THESE DIFFERENCES BUT ASSURE WILL NOT LEAD TO WAR. I THEN WENT THROUGH OUR DRAFT PARAGRAPH BY PARAGRAPH, ASKING HIM SPECIFICALLY TELL ME WITH WHAT THEY DID NOT AGREE.

4. HIS REPLY AND SUBSEQUENT GIVE AND TAKE WAS VERY NOTICEABLY MILDER THAN PREPARED STATEMENT BUT DID NOT ADD ANYTHING SUBSTANTIVE

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SUBSTANTIVE.

5. I PERSISTED IN ATTEMPT OBTAIN MORE CONCRETE EXPRESSION SPECIFIC OBJECTIONS OUR DRAFT WHICH HE AVOIDED BY REFERRING HIS OPENING STATEMENT WHICH I CHARACTERIZED AS GENERALIZED AND NOT HELPFUL IN ARRIVING AT AGREEMENT ON TEXT. I POINTED OUT OUR DRAFT SEEMED TO MEET HIS THREE PRINCIPAL REQUIREMENTS: A) NO VIOLATION SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, B) BASED ON UN PRINCIPLES, AND C) CONCRETE ARRANGEMENTS FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT ALREADY PROVIDED FOR BY THESE TALKS. IN REPLY HE CONTINUED REFER BACK TO HIS PREPARED STATEMENT.

6. MEETING CLOSED ON THIS INCONCLUSIVE NOTE. NEXT MEETING WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 23.

GOWEN

LJ

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1955 NOV 17 PM 12 23

BUREAU OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

375

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

462

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Control: 9430
Rec'd: November 17, 1955
1:48 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1197, November 17, 7 p.m.

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FROM JOHNSON

Before today's meeting NCNA correspondent was "expressing opinion" to western correspondents that these talks cannot go on much longer.

GOWEN

MEJ/2

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NOV 17 PM 5 11

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1955 NOV 17 PM 7 49
DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 1272

FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info

Your 1186

AP Tokyo reports Peiping broadcast November 17 announcing release Mrs. Bradshaw, White and Garvey. No confirmation yet but presume will be confirmed due course. View this news believe inadvisable use text article your 1186 Ford column Friday. It would require extensive revision and would be considerably weakened well as overshadowed by news of release three Americans.

Hoover
(Wm Hoover)

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611.93/11-1655

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Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:
FE/P - Mr. Lindbeck
FE - Mr. Robertson
FE-WJSebald

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Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
NOV 17 1955
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

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OMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

15

SECRET

Action
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Info
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Control: 9995
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 18, 1955
10:45 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1203, NOVEMBER 18, 4 P.M.

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

1. IT WILL BE NOTED WANG'S PREPARED STATEMENT AT YESTERDAY'S MEETING WAS VERY HARD AND UNTIL LAST SENTENCE I HAD FEELING HE WAS PREPARING GROUND FOR BREAK. HOWEVER, SHOULD ALSO BE NOTED HE HAS NOT YET ACCEPTED MY INVITATION AT NOVEMBER 3 MEETING TO GIVE THEIR VIEWS ON TRADE. THEY HAVE IMPOLITICLY ACCEPTED OUR POSITION RENUNCIATION FORCE FIRST AND MOST IMPORTANT ITEM ALTHOUGH THEY OF COURSE CONTINUE LINK IT WITH FONMIN MEETING.

2. WHILE THEY HAVE DROPPED IMMEDIATE DEMAND FOR WITHDRAWAL US FORCES FROM TAIWAN THEY ARE OF COURSE TRYING TO MANEUVER US INTO POSITION OF ISSUING STATEMENT WHICH WOULD PROVIDE STRONG BASIS FOR DEMANDING OUR WITHDRAWAL. AT SAME TIME THEY HAVE INTERPRETED REFERENCE TO "INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE" IN JUXTAPOSITION TO TAIWAN AREA IN OPERATIVE PARA OUR DRAFT AS REQUIRING RECOGNITION BY THEM, ON ONE HAND, OF US RIGHT UNILATERALLY TO DEFEND TAIWAN, AND, ON OTHER HAND, VALIDITY OF US DEFENSE TREATY WITH GRC. FROM THIS IT WOULD FOLLOW THAT THEY ARE PRECLUDED FROM EVEN RAISING QUESTION WITHDRAWAL US FORCES FROM TAIWAN" AS WELL AS ABANDONING THEIR OVER-ALL POSITION OF GRC AND TAIWAN. THEREFORE, IT IS EMPTY TO SPEAK OF NOT PREJUDICING THEIR POLICIES. STRIPPED OF POLEMICS BELIEVE THIS IS GENUINE POSITION THEY WERE SETTING FORTH IN PARAS 8 AND 11. WANG'S STATEMENT (MYTEL 1200) AND THAT FROM THEIR STANDPOINT IT HAS CONSIDERABLE POINT.

3. DO NOT

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1955 NOV 18 PM 2 34

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3. DO NOT SUGGEST ANY AMENDMENT OUR DRAFT AT THIS TIME BUT BELIEVE WE SHOULD BE CONSIDERING HOW POINT MIGHT BE MET IF IT APPEARS DESIRABLE ATTEMPT DO SO.

4. ALSO SUGGEST WE BE CONSIDERING WHETHER AND HOW OUR DRAFT COULD BE AMENDED CONSISTENT WITH OUR OVER-ALL POSITION SO THAT IT WOULD MAKE SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO INTENT BOTH PARTIES SETTLE DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL MEANS. WHAT I HAVE IN MIND IS POSSIBILITY INCLUSION SOME GENERAL STATEMENT INTENT BOTH SIDES PEACEFULLY NEGOTIATE DISPUTES INCLUDING POSSIBLY SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO TAIWAN AREA WHICH WOULD SERVE AS SUBSTITUTE THEIR PARA ON FONMIN MEETING WITHOUT COMMITMENT AS TO ANY PARTICULAR FORM OF NEGOTIATION. BELIEVE IF SOMETHING ALONG THIS LINE COULD BE FORMULATED IT WOULD SUBSTANTIALLY STRENGTHEN PRESENT DRAFT AND MIGHT SLIGHTLY INCREASE ITS ACCEPTABILITY.

5. HOWEVER, AS DEPARTMENT IS AWARE IT IS MY CONSIDERED VIEW THAT WE CANNOT NOW ANTICIPATE CHICOMS WILL PUBLICLY MAKE SUCH MAJOR SHIFT IN POSITION AS WOULD BE INVOLVED IN ISSUANCE ANY STAISFACTORY RENUNCIATION OF FORCE DECLARATION IN TAIWAN AREA WITHOUT RECEIVING WHAT THEY WOULD CONSIDER SATISFACTORY ASSURANCE SUBSTANTIAL VALUE IN RETURN.

6. NEXT MEETING WILL BE "MY TURN" SPEAK FIRST AND IT WILL BE IMPORTANT I HAVE CAREFULLY PREPARED AND CONSIDERED STATEMENT. WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S SUGGESTIONS ON ADDITIONAL POINTS I MIGHT MAKE OR THOSE MADE IN PAST WHICH DEPARTMENT BELIEVES WOULD BE MOST USEFUL EMPHASIZE.

GOWEN

WEB

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(378)

Rec'd 5-19

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to ____
☐ Review Again ____
☐ Reviewer ____ Date 9/4

November 18, 1955

SECRET

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

Letter No. 26

Dear Alex:

You are not the forgotten man despite the rather long interval between letters recently. With our forces rather widely scattered, there has not been much that I could give you which would add to what you were getting in the official telegrams. That is still essentially the case. So this letter will be rather short. I have just checked with both Mr. Robertson and Bill Sebald. They have no special sidelights on messages to convey and suggest that I defer any long letter until early next week. We are meeting with Herman Phleger at noon today. By Monday we should be able to take his views and the latest thinking of the Secretary into account.

We have a feeling that we may be getting into a fairly tight corner on the renunciation of force item although basically our position is unquestionably sound. It seems to us in FE that we are suffering from our inability to state our precise position fully and frankly to key friendly governments; from the necessity of [need to] pull our verbal punches to some extent at Geneva in order to insure the continuation of the talks; from the increasingly serious misgivings of the Chinese Government (see Taipei's 463 of Nov. 17 transmitting the note of Foreign Minister Yeh to the Secretary); from the clever way in which the Chinese Communists are

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

attempting to seize the initiative on the renunciation of force item and masquerade as the real sponsors of the renunciation of force concept. We are getting an increasing number of queries as to where we expect to go if the Chinese Communists should unexpectedly agree to sign some form of textually acceptable renunciation of force declaration? Taipei clearly believes that the Communists might be willing to sign some such form of declaration with no intention of observing it longer than it served their purposes. Taipei knows that no such declaration can be self-enforcing and they believe the Chinese Communists would not hesitate to try to rationalize a violation of any wording which might be proposed. Taipei is asking with increasing insistence, "Where would you go after you got an agreed announcement on renunciation of force?" We are drafting a message to Rankin which spells out to some extent the rationale behind the Geneva Ambassadorial talks. There may be some tendency on the part of our people out there to look at the problem almost exclusively in military terms. More of all this next week.

On the repatriation question, I am enclosing a copy of an Aide Memoire we are giving the British which answers some of their questions on the stand we would like for O'Neill to take in regard to letters and visits to prisoners, the obstruction issue, and the special responsibility resting on the Chinese Communists to establish contact between O'Neill and the prisoners in view of the inability of the prisoners to take any initiative without the consent and assistance of Chinese Communist authorities. We are enclosing a copy of the report of the interview with Downey on November 15. We are also sending you apparately a copy of the memo of conversation between Indian Ambassador Mehta and Mr. Robertson which took place yesterday.

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We are working on a revision of the draft public statement (your 1141). Presumably there will be no occasion to use this right away but we hope to have some concrete suggestions for you before the next meeting. It seems to me that there are various little straws indicating that the Chinese Communists may be laying the ground work for a resort to the public forum later. The casual suggestion of Tuesday for the next meeting is one such straw.

I hope you will find our proposal to substitute Dave Osborn for Doug Forman acceptable. Doug's family situation seems to call for his early return. Dave is outstanding and will bring considerable originality, resourcefullness and fertility of mind as well as a good basic knowledge, both general and particular. His report of current thinking here, such as Doug brought you in mid-August, will also be valuable to you.

We are working hard on the Ekvall case and hope to have a solution although it is too early for you to take this for granted. The bureaucratic hurdles encountered on such a seemingly simple problem are wall-nigh incredible. I was glad to get your letter No. 17 of Nov. 4 (which took 10 days in transit). Bill Sebald appreciated your letter of Nov. 11 and asked me to acknowledge it in his behalf.

Regards and good wishes,

Walter P. McConaughy

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379

Department of State

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08584

1955 NOV 19 PM 2 51

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1281

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FOR JOHNSON

Guidance for November 23 meeting.

1. Implementation. Acknowledge release three American prisoners, but emphasize 14 remain and we continue to be concerned over PRC's failure carry out commitment permit them expeditiously return. Inform Wang we also concerned over fact British Charge still unable perform his functions with respect these prisoners. Thirteen of fourteen still have not written Charge and since PRC has special responsibility provide facilities for prisoners' communication, if they have not written can only be assumed they prevented from writing. It is obviously absurd to imagine any person confined in prison would not seek to take full advantage Charge's efforts to remove impediments to freedom if given opportunity. (We believe this point should be made for the record.)

Requirement that Charge interview Americans only in accordance rules for relatives is arbitrary and unreasonable. It is obvious attempt defeat purpose of Agreed Announcement. No restrictions whatsoever on freedom of Chinese in US to communicate with Indians nor freedom of Indians to interview Chinese who appeal to them accordance Agreed Announcement.

US

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:apt 11/19/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

Cleared with - Mr. Sebald - FE
Mr. Phleger - L (in substance)
Mr. McConaughy - CA

11100

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US cannot accept contention of PRC Vice Minister that question of encountering obstruction in leaving country does not arise in case imprisoned Americans. (Deptel 1248) Imprisonment is self-evident and incontrovertible form of obstruction to departure. Since more than two months have passed since PRC pledged Americans could expeditiously return, it is apparent they encountering obstruction in leaving.

FYI O'Neill being asked make above points in Peiping. Use of preceding paragraph subject to British concurrence which we hope to have not later than November 22. END FYI.

2. Renunciation of Force. Continue emphasize, as in pargraphs 39 and 40 your 1200, that Wang has agreed with you that differences in policy should not lead to war and that statement should be made by both sides renouncing use of force. Department considers argumentation your 1200 admirable and believes you should hold to same general line.

3. Department puzzled by Wang's failure to bring up embargo last meeting. Would like your views as to reason.

4. Important keep meetings at least week apart.

Dulles

" DULLES "

11101

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Control: 11300
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 21, 1955
6:22 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1210, NOVEMBER 21, 6 PM

Action Assigned to CA/DIR

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Direction to RM/R file

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FROM JOHNSON

RE PARA 3 DEPTEL 1281

1. I HAVE NO VERY FIRM THOUGHTS ON WHY WANG HAS NOT YET FURTHER BROUGHT UP EMBARBO.

2. HOWEVER, IT IS POSSIBLE THEY SUSPECT TRICK OF SOME KIND LIES BEHIND OUR INVITATION PRESENT THEIR VIEWS WHICH OBVIOUSLY CAUGHT THEM BY SURPRISE.. THEY MAY HAVE BEEN CONFUSED BY OUR LINKING OF RENUNCIATION OF FORCE WITH EMBARGO AND HAVE NOT DECIDED HOW IT CAN BEST BE HANDLED. THEY MAY ALSO SUSPECT OUR MENTION CHICOM AND UN RESOLUTION WAS SOLELY TO GIVE BASIS FOR REJECTION ANY DISCUSSION THESE ITEMS AS OUTSIDE SCOPE THESE TALKS.

3. RELATED TO FOREGOING IS POSSIBILITY THAT HAVING LINKED RENUNCIATION OF FORCE TO THEIR IMMEDIATE MAJOR OBJECTIVE OF FONMIN MEETING THEY DO NOT WISH TO GIVE US ANY BASIS FOR DELAY IN BRINGING FONMIN MEETING TO DECISION BY DIVERSIONARY DISCUSSION ON SECONDARY ITEM OF EMBARGO.

4. THEY MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN AWAITING OUTCOME TRADE DISCUSSION IN BIG FOUR FONMIN MEETING BEFORE MAKING UP MIND WHETHER PRESS OR HOW TO HANDLE EMBARGO. LACK RESULTS BIG FOUR MEETING MAY DISCOURAGE THEM FROM PRESSING AT LEAST FOR TIME BEING.

Copy 7 - Sent to WM FE 2/20/59 JPA

GOWEN

611.93/11-2155

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FEB 19 1959

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 381

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08951

1955 NOV 21 PM 7 21

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 1289

FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info:

Chinese Communist propaganda during past week contained only one direct reference to Ambassadorial talks, and comment on Taiwan remained at low ebb. Major attention devoted ~~to~~ Big Four talks and other issues.

Ambassadorial talks. Commentary by "Observer" in People's Daily, November 18 charged that US is continuing delay progress of talks. Cited UP report November 9 quoting US officials in Washington to effect ~~that~~ US would not be party to agreements until all Americans released from China; contrasted problem of remaining 14 Americans with situation ~~of~~ Chinese nationals in US "long prevented from returning" to China. Concluded by saying ~~that~~ talks at ambassadorial level cannot "be prolonged indefinitely," and called on US to stop fabricating "pretexts" and "honestly sit down and negotiate."

Taiwan. NCNA November 13 commented briefly on Far Eastern trip Air Force General Twining, alleging his discussions with Nationalist leaders concerned strengthening air defenses in Taiwan Strait. Special article People's Daily November 12 commented on "aggressive maneuvering" US Seventh Fleet in Taiwan area. Broadcasts to Taiwan featured speech by ex-Nationalist official Li Ming-yang addressed to government leaders on Taiwan.

Big Four

DC/B
Mail 55

Drafted by: DRF/C:FLDawson;mvw 11-21-55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: OIR/DRF:JAYager

Clearances:

IAD CA

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Big Four Conference. NCNA commentary on closing of Foreign Ministers' Conference sought to place blame for failure on Western powers. Accused US of "torpedoing European peace and poisoning international atmosphere." Concluded ~~that~~ "great deterrents still exist to relaxation of tensions," but took position that failure ~~of~~ Big Four Conference ~~to~~ reach agreement did not rule out possibility of more fruitful talks in future.

East-West Contacts. Issue of enlarging East-West contacts continued ~~to~~ receive considerable Peiping attention. NCNA November 17 stated main question is problem of developing normal economic relations, and cited "growing demand" for abolition ~~of~~ trade controls. Alleged "certain circles" in West were unwilling give up Cold War policies, and viewed expansion ~~of~~ cultural ties as opportunity for pursuing Cold War further.

Korea. People's Daily November 18 endorsed Nam Il's October 31 statement demanding North Korean representation UN GA discussions of Korean Question, and advocated general Far Eastern conference on Korean issue with "wide representation" for Asian countries. Editorial also raised issue of Chinese POWs, stating US had never given proper accounting.

Japan. Kutayama mission to Peiping continued ~~to~~ receive considerable attention. Joint Sino-Japanese communique issued November 16, based on interview between Chou and Katayama November 15, called for restoration ~~of~~ diplomatic relations, and settlement ~~of~~ all outstanding issues through peaceful negotiations. Meanwhile, Peiping continued ~~to~~ berate Japanese Government for deportation ~~of~~ Chinese nationals to Taiwan.

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Indonesia. Peiping radio November 17 commented favorably on Sukarno speeches of November 10 and 13, in which he charged connections between the Darul Islam movement and "foreign imperialism," and called for vigilance against danger of "imperialist" efforts to subvert Indonesian Republic. NCNA pledged Chinese support for Indonesians in their struggle against imperialism, with specific reference to West Irian.

Dulles
JJ

" DULLES "

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18-D

Action
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Control: 12336
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 23, 1955
10:12 A.M.

Assigned to
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1212, NOVEMBER 23, 2 P.M.

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. TWO HOUR AND FIFTY MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING. NO PROGRESS WHATEVER.

2. TOWARDS END OF MEETING WANG PRESSED ME VERY HARD WITH SOME OBVIOUS BUT UNKNOWN PURPOSE IN MIND TO COMMIT MYSELF TO DISCUSSION HIS DRAFT AT NEXT MEETING WHILE FLATLY AND CATEGORICALLY REJECTING OUR DRAFT AS ANY BASIS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION. ALTHOUGH PURPOSE UNKNOWN I WAS QUITE CLEAR THAT HE HAD SOME SPECIFIC MOVE IN MIND IF I HAD GIVEN FLAT NEGATIVE REPLY. I OF COURSE AVOIDED ANY COMMITMENT, REPEATEDLY REPLYING IN RESPONSE TO HIS DEMANDS FOR FLAT YES OR NO THAT I HAD BEEN AND WOULD CONTINUE STRIVING FOR AGREEMENT ON A TEXT WHILE EXPRESSING DISAPPOINTMENT LACK HIS CONCRETE RESPONSES TO SPECIFIC QUESTIONS CONCERNING WORDING TO WHICH THEY OBJECTED IN OUR DRAFT.

3. I OPENED MEETING WITH STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION ACCORDANCE PARA ONE DEPTEL 1281 TO WHICH HE MADE BRIEF REPLY ALONG USUAL LINES.

4. I FOLLOWED WITH LONG PREPARED STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION. ONLY SOMEWHAT NEW POINT I MADE WAS THAT THESE TALKS WERE NORMAL AND NATURAL WAY DISCUSSING AND SETTLING DIFFERENCES. I SAID THAT IF HIS GOVERNMENT IS AS DESIROUS OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES AS MY GOVERNMENT, IT WILL ENABLE HIM MAKE FULL AND HONEST EFFORTS NEGOTIATE AND DISCUSS DIFFERENCES HERE BEFORE

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RAISING QUESTION TERMINATING THESE TALKS AND SUBSTITUTING ANOTHER METHOD OF NEGOTIATION. "WHEN WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN RESOLVING QUESTIONS WE ARE CALLED UPON TO DEAL WITH HERE, THEN OUR GOVERNMENTS WILL NATURALLY BE IN BETTER POSITION CONSIDER WHAT FURTHER STEPS MIGHT BE TAKEN."

5. WANG REPLIED WITH LONG PREPARED STATEMENT REPEATING FORMER ARGUMENTS REJECTING OUR DRAFT, ADDING NOTHING NEW. HOWEVER HE INCLUDED STATEMENT WITH RESPECT TO TRADE EMBARGO REJECTING "US PROPOSAL FOR LIFTING TRADE EMBARGO IN EXCHANGE FOR PRC AGREEMENT US DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE."

6. IN MY REPLY AND DURING MUCH GIVE AND TAKE I ATTEMPTED KEEP DSICUSSION FOCUSSED UPON CONCRETE DISRUSSION OUR DRAFT BUT HE AVOIDED ALL DISCUSSION OUR DRAFT BEYOND THAT CONTAINED HIS ORIGINAL PREPARED STATEMENT AND INSISTED ON COMING BACK HIS DRAFT.

7. NEXT MEETING THURSDAY, DECEMBER 1.

8. DEPARTING FOR PRAGUE THIS EVENING, RETURNING TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 29.

GOWEN

BD

1955 NOV 23 PM 1 25

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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24-L
Action
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Control: 12621
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 23, 1955
5:07 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1214, NOVEMBER 23, 10 P. M.

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ALTHOUGH IT IS HARD FOR ME TO BELIEVE PRC WOULD BE WILLING TO BREAK TALKS OR WITHOUT BREAKING TALKS GO TO PUBLIC ON THEIR PRESENT POSITION, WANG'S PERFORMANCE AT END TODAY'S MEETING NEVERTHELESS LEFT ME WITH FEELING THAT THEY MAY WELL HAVE ONE OR OTHER IN MIND. BRIEFLY, I AM NOT CONFIDENT CONTINUATION OF TALKS CAN BE ASSURED BEYOND NEXT MEETING UNLESS SOME NEW ELEMENT IS INTRODUCED.

MY PRESENT THINKING WITH RESPECT NEXT MEETING WOULD BE TO OPEN WITH VERY STRONG ATTACK ON ULTIMATUM ASPECTS HIS PRESENT TACTICS, BRIEF BUT STRONG ATTACK ON HIS DRAFT AND THEN INTRODUCE NEW DRAFT WHICH WOULD BE ESSENTIALLY SAME AS OUR PRESENT DRAFT BUT GIVE APPEARANCE OF SOMETHING NEW. I AM ALSO INCLINED TO INCLUDE IMPLICATION WILLINGNESS SEE RESPECTIVE POSITIONS MADE PUBLIC BUT WITHOUT EXPRESS THREAT TO DO SO.

WITH RESPECT TO HIS DRAFT MY PRINCIPAL POINT WOULD BE THAT WHILE GIVING APPEARANCE OF RENOUNCING FORCE, WHAT IT IN FACT DOES IN MAINTAIN THREAT OF HOSTILITIES IN TAIWAN AREA UNLESS THERE IS FOREIGN MINISTER MEETING AND SUCH MEETING RESULTS IN SETTLEMENT SATISFACTORY TO THEM.

BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF NEW DRAFT COULD MEET POINTS RAISED IN PARAGRAPHS 2 AND 4 MY TELEGRAM 1203 AND CONSIDER PARAGRAPH 5 THAT TELEGRAM STILL VALID..

I WILL TRANSMIT VIEWS ON TEXT NEW DRAFT IN SUBSEQUENT TELEGRAM.

GOWEN

AB-AB

NOTE: MR. WADDELL (FE) NOTIFIED 11/23/55 5:55 PM (EH)

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6-H
Action
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Control: 12723
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 23, 1955
9:41 PM

Info
RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

SS
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NO: 1215, NOVEMBER 23, MIDNIGHT (SECTION ONE OF FIVE)

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FROM JOHNSON

1. I OPENED 27TH MEETING TODAY WITH PREPARED STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION AS FOLLOWS:

A. SINCE OUR LAST MEETING MY GOVERNMENT HAS RECEIVED NEWS THAT THREE OF AMERICANS HELD BY YOUR GOVERNMENT ARE TO BE RELEASED; IN FACT, TWO OF THEM HAVE ALREADY LEFT. GRATIFYING AS THIS NEWS IS, FOURTEEN AMERICANS STILL REMAINS IN PRISON IN YOUR COUNTRY.

B. NOT ONLY HAVE THESE FOURTEEN AMERICANS NOT YET BEEN PERMITTED TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN, BUT BRITISH CHARGE D'AFFAIRES HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO CARRY OUT HIS FUNCTIONS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WITH RESPECT TO THEM. THIRTEEN OF REMAINING FOURTEEN HAVE NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO COMMUNICATE WITH BRITISH CHARGE. SINCE YOUR GOVERNMENT BEARS RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROVIDING FACILITIES FOR PRISONERS' COMMUNICATION WITH BRITISH CHARGE, MY GOVERNMENT CAN ONLY CONCLUDE THAT THEY ARE BEING PREVENTED FROM COMMUNICATING WITH HIM. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT ANY PERSON CONFINED TO PRISON WOULD SEEK TO TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF CHARGE'S EFFORTS TO REMOVE IMPEDIMENTS TO FREEDOM, IF GIVEN OPPORTUNITY.

C. TO BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE THE OFFICE OF BRITISH CHARGE HAS BEEN ABLE TO VISIT ONLY ONE OF AMERICANS. MY GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THAT REQUIREMENT THAT CHARGE INTERVIEW AMERICANS ONLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH RULES FOR RELATIVES IS ARBITRARY AND UNREASONABLE, SINCE CHARGE IS AN OFFICIAL CARRYING OUT HIS DUTIES AND NOT RELATIVE. REQUIREMENTS FOR VISITS WOULD APPEAR TO BE ATTEMPT TO DEFEAT PURPOSE OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. THERE ARE

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THERE ARE NO RESTRICTIONS WHATSOEVER ON FREEDOM OF CHINESE IN US TO COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY OR ON FREEDOM OF INDIAN EMBASSY TO INTERVIEW CHINESE WHO APPEAL TO IT IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

D. MY GOVERNMENT CANNOT ACCEPT CONTENTION OF YOUR VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN HIS INTERVIEW WITH UK CHARGE ON NOVEMBER 14 THAT QUESTION OF ENCOUNTERING OBSTRUCTIONS IN LEAVING COUNTRY DOES NOT ARISE IN CASES OF IMPRISONED AMERICANS. IMPRISONMENT IS OF ITSELF INCONTROVERTIBLE EVIDENCE OF OBSTRUCTIONS TO DEPARTURE. SINCE MORE THAN TWO MONTHS HAVE PASSED SINCE YOUR GOVERNMENT PLEDGED THAT AMERICANS WOULD BE EXPEDITIOUSLY PERMITTED RETURN, IT APPARENT THEY ARE ENCOUNTERING OBSTRUCTIONS IN LEAVING.

E. TOMORROW IS MY COUNTRY'S HOLIDAY OF THANKSGIVING.; IT IS TRAGIC THAT ON THIS DAY, TWO AND A HALF MONTHS AFTER WE ISSUED OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT FOURTEEN AMERICANS COVERED BY THAT ANNOUNCEMENT REMAIN IN PRISON, SEPARATED FROM THEIR FAMILIES. I CAN ONLY URGE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT, IN INTERESTS OF IMPROVING RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR GOVERNMENTS AND FURTHERING PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS IN THESE TALKS, COMPLETE IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS COMMITMENTS WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY.

2. I CONTINUED WITH PREPARED STATEMENT EN RENUNCIATUON OF FORCE AS FOLLOWS:

A. I HAVE SINCE OUR LAST MEETING CAREFULLY REVIEWED OUR DISCUSSION THUS FAR WITH RESPECT RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. I HAVE PARTICULARLY REVIEWED STATEMENTS WHICH YOU HAVE MADE IN THIS REGARD INCLUDING YOUR STATEMENT AT OUR LAST MEETING.

B. IN DOING THIS I HAVE BEEN SEEKING TO FIND BASIS UPON WHICH IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE MAKE PROGRESS IN OUR SEARCH FOR AGREEMENT ON TEXT FOR PUBLIC STATEMENT. I AM ENCOURAGED BY PROGRESS WE HAVE THUS FAR MADE WITH RESPECT TO PRINCIPLES, BUT OUR DIFFICULTIES NOW SEEM REVOLVE IN LARGE PART AROUND WORDS WITH WHICH EXPRESS THOSE PRINCIPLES. I HAVE TRIED, AND WILL CONTINUE TRY, MAKE MY BEST CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORTS TOWARD THIS END AND I HOPE YOU WILL ALSO DO SO. I AM SATISFIED THAT, IF

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WE BOTH DO THIS, OUR AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE IS WIDE ENOUGH PERMIT US REACH AGREEMENT ON WORDS.

C. MR. AMBASSADOR, I AM SORRY HAVE TO SAY THAT I DO NOT FEEL THAT YOUR STATEMENT AT OUR LAST MEETING CONSTITUTED SUCH CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT. AS I SAID AT TIME, IT WAS CONFINED TO GENERALIZATIONS, MOST OF WHICH WERE OF VERY CONTROVERSIAL CHARACTER AND OF LITTLE PERTINENCE OUR IMMEDIATE TASK. I HAVE TRIED AT PREVIOUS MEETINGS EXPLAIN WHY I FELT YOUR DRAFT OF OCTOBER 27 DID NOT BEST MEET SITUATION. I ALSO MADE EFFORT IN MY DRAFT OF NOVEMBER 10 MEET BOTH POINTS OF VIEW. IN SPITE OF THESE EFFORTS YOU SIMPLY REJECTED MY DRAFT AND DEMANDED THAT I ACCEPT YOUR DRAFT. IT IS HARD FOR ME TO RECONCILE THIS WITH GENUINE DESIRE MAKE PROGRESS.

D. IN YOUR STATEMENT AT OUR LAST MEETING YOU ENTIRELY IGNORED STATEMENT MADE IN MY NOVEMBER 10 DRAFT CLEARLY SETTING FORTH THAT ANNOUNCEMENT WAS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO PURSUIT BY EACH SIDE OF ITS POLICIES BY PEACEFUL MEANS. YOU ENTRIELY IGNORED CLEAR WORDING OF DRAFT AND ALLEGED THAT IT CONSTITUTED REQUIREMENT ON YOUR GOVERNMENT RENOUNCE ITS VIEWS AND POLICIES. I WANT MAKE IT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT DRAFT CONSTITUTES NO SUCH REQUIREMENT WITH RESPECT TO VIEWS AND PEACEFUL POLICIES OF YOUR GOVERNMENT. DRAFT PROVIDES THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL SIMPLY STATE IT WILL NOT INITIATE USE OF ARMEDFORCE TO IMPLEMENT THOSE POLICES. US GOVERNMENT AT SAME TIME WILL RENEW ITS OFTEN REPEATED STATEMENTS IN THIS REGARD. I CANNOT SEE HOW ANY REASONABLE PERSON CAN POSSIBLY MISINTERPRET THIS PROPOSAL ON PART OF MY GOVERNMENT AND SAY THAT IT CALLS INTO QUESTION DESIRE OF MY GOVERNMENT SEEK JUST AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS OF DISPUTES BETWEEN US, INCLUDING THOSE IN TAIWAN AREA AND THEREFORE I DO NOT BELIEVE ARGUMENTS WHICH YOU GAVE AS ALLEGED BASIS FOR REJECTING MY NOVEMBER 10 DRAFT HAVE A BASIS IN FACT.

E. AT OUR LAST MEETING YOU ALSO AGAIN SPOKE OF MEETING OF OUR FOREIGN MINISTERS, AS IF THAT WAS ONLY MEANS OF PEACEFULLY SETTLING DISPUTES. YOU APPEAR CONTINUE CONFUSE BASIC DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF UNCONDITIONALLY AGREEING PEACEFULLY SETTLE DISPUTES AND PROCEDURAL QUESTION OF WHAT FORM OF NEGOTIATION SHALL BE USED IMPLEMENT THAT PRINCIPLE. MY GOVERNMENT

MY GOVERNMENT PROPOSED THESE TALKS AS NORMAL AND NATURAL WAY OF DISCUSSING AND SETTLING OUR DIFFERENCES. WE ARE BOTH AMBASSADORS FULLY AUTHORIZED SPEAK FOR OUR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS TO EXTENT THAT OUR GOVERNMENTS ARE WILLING ENABLE US DO SO. THAT IS WHY MY GOVERNMENT PROPOSED THAT THESE TALKS BE AT AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL. IF YOUR GOVERNMENT IS AS DESIROUS OF PEACEUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BETWEN US AS IS MY GOVERNMENT, IT WILL ENABLE YOU TO MAKE FULL AND HONEST EFFORTS NEGOTIATE AND DISCUSS OUR DIFFERENCES HERE BEFORE RAISING QUESTION OF TERMINATING THESE TALKS AND SUBSTITUTING ANOTHER METHOD OF NEGOTIATION. WHEN WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN RESOLVING QUESTIONS WHICH WE ARE CALLED UPON DEAL WITH HERE, THEN OUR GOVERNMENTS WILL NATURALLY BE IN BETTER POSITION CONSIDER WHAT FURTHER STEPS MIGHT BE TAKEN.

GOWEN

GWL

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19-D
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CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 12725
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 23, 1955
9:57 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1215, NOVEMBER 23, MIDNIGHT (SECTION 2 OF 5)

AT OUR LAST MEETING YOU ALSO PARTICULARLY SPOKE OF INCLUSION IN MY DRAFT OF PHRASE CONCERNING RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE. I AM VERY SURPRISED AT YOUR APPARENT REJECTION OF INCLUSION OF SUCH PHRASE AS I WOULD HAVE THOUGHT THAT YOU WOULD HAVE CONSIDERED IT VERY IMPORTANT. YOUR INTERPRETATION OF PHRASE WAS VERY DISTORTED AND, READ IN CONTEXT OF MY DRAFT DECLARATION AS WHOLE, I DO NOT CONSIDER THAT YOUR INTERPRETATION IS CORRECT. WHAT PHRASE SIMPLY SAYS IS, WHILE WE WILL NOT INITIATE HOSTILITIES, EACH OF US WISH TO MAKE CLEAR THAT, IF THERE IS AN ATTACK IN TAIWAN AREA OR ELSEWHERE, WE WILL DEFEND OURSELVES INDIVIDUALLY OR IN CONCERT WITH OTHERS. YOU HAVE SPOKEN MUCH OF PRINCIPLES OF UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. THIS PRINCIPLE OF RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE IS CERTAINLY AGE OLD, NATURAL PRINCIPLE WHICH IS AGAIN RESTATED IN UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, AND IT IS DIFFICULT FOR ME SEE ON WHAT BASIS THERE CAN BE OBJECTION THERETO.

G. WE HAVE BOTH AGREED THAT OUR DIFFERENCES OF VIEW AND DISPUTES BETWEEN US SHOULD NOT LEND TO WAR, AND THAT IT IS INTENT OF BOTH OF US! THAT WE WILL NOT PERMIT THIS HAPPEN. THUS DRAFT I HAVE PROPOSED SIMPLY SAYS THIS IN AS STRAIGHTFORWARD AND SIMPLE LANGUAGE AS I AM ABLE CONTRIVE.

H. WE BOTH AGREE THAT REGION IN WHICH OUR DIFFERING POLICIES AND VIEWS CONFRONT EACH OTHER MOST SERIOUSLY IS IN AREA OF TAIWAN. THIS IS ALSO OBVIOUS TO WORLD. THEREFORE, IN MAKING SUCH GENERAL STATEMENT IT IS IMPORTANT TO MAKE CLEAR TO WORLD THAT NEITHER OF US HAS ANY HIDDEN RESERVATIONS OR QUALIFICATIONS CONCERNING APPLICABILITY OF THAT GENERAL PRINCIPLE TO AREA OF TAIWAN. MZ DRAFT THUS PROPOSES THAT WE SPECIFICALLY AND CLEARLY STATE THIS AS FACT.

I. WE ALSO ARE AGREED THAT IN WHATEVER WE SAY NEITHER OF US

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WANTS SACRIFICE OR PREJUDICE OUR POSITION WITH RESPECT TO MATTERS AT ISSUE BETWEEN OURSELVES OR OTHERS, THAT IS, WE DO NOT DESIRE TO SAY SOMETHING THAT WOULD PREVENT US FROM MAINTAINING OUR VIEWS AND PURSUING OUR POLICIES BY MEANS OTHER THAN USE OF MILITARY FORCE. WE WANT TO BE FREE PURSUE OUR POLICIES BY PEACEFUL MEANS. MY DRAFT ALSO SAYS THIS IN JUST AS CLEAR AND SIMPLE TERMS AS I CAN.

J. WE ARE ALSO AGREED ON PRINCIPLE THAT PEACEFUL MEANS SHOULD BE USED FOR JUST SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BETWEEN US. IT WAS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THIS PRINCIPLE UNITED STATES PROPOSED THESE TALKS AND IT WAS HOPED THAT REASON YOUR GOVERNMENT ACCEPTED THIS PROPOSAL WAS THAT IT ALSO AGREES WITH THIS PRINCIPLE. UNITED STATES HAS DONE EVERYTHING POSSIBLE AND WILL CONTINUE DO ALL IT CAN MAKE THESE TALKS SUCCEED. MY GOVERNMENT'S PURPOSE IN SUGGESTING DECLARATION RENOUNCING USE OF FORCE AS A FUNDAMENTAL FIRST PRINCIPLE WAS INTENDED CONTRIBUTE THIS OBJECTIVE. AND IT WILL CONTINUE BE OUR POLICY, BASED ON PRINCIPLES OF UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, STRIVE FOR JUST SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

K. I HAVE TAKEN THIS TIME CAREFULLY EXPLAIN AND AMPLIFY MY DRAFT OF NOVEMBER 10, SINCE, FROM YOUR REMARKS AT OUR LAST MEETING, IT APPEARED THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT APPARENTLY DID NOT HAVE A FULL UNDERSTANDING OF IT. I HOPE THAT THESE REMARKS WILL SERVE CLARIFY ANY MISUNDERSTANDING THAT MAY HAVE EXISTED AND ENABLE US MAKE PROGRESS IN AGREEING UPON TEXT.

3. WANG REPLIED FIRST WITH COMMENTS MY IMPLEMENTATION STATEMENT. HE SAID DURING COURSE OF TALKS 41 AMERICAN CIVILIANS OR LAW-OFFENDERS HAD RETURNED TO US. NUMBER OF AMERICANS WHO LEFT CHINA SINCE TALKS BEGAN FAR EXCEEDED TWO-THIRDS OF NUMBER IN CHINA AT TIME TALKS STARTED. THIS FACT SHOWS PRC HAS MADE GREATEST EFFORT IN SOLUTION PROBLEM OF RETURNING AMERICAN CIVILIANS.

4. WANG SAID AMERICANS STILL REMAINING BEING TREATED ACCORDANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND PRC LEGAL PROCEDURES. HIS SIDE COULD NOT ACCEPT REMARKS ALLEGING OBSTRUCTIONS IN REGARD TO AMERICANS WHO COMMITTED OFFENSES. PROOF OF THIS IN FACT I HAD MENTIONED THAT ONE AMERICAN REMAINING IN PRISON WAS ABLE COMMUNICATE

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-3- 1215, NOVEMBER 23, MIDNIGHT (SECTION 2 OF 5) FROM GENEVA

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5. WANG SAID HE HAD IN PAST SPOKEN OF PRINCIPLE UNDER WHICH AMERICAN LAW OFFENDERS WILL BE DEALT WITH. HE COULD NOT ACCEPT CONTENTION THAT IMPRISONMENT ITSELF CONSTITUTES EVIDENCE OF OBSTRUCTION AGAINST RETURN. THESE PEOPLE NOT ABLE RETURN SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY HAVE BREACHED CHINESE LAW.

6. WANG SAID HIS SIDE DESIROUS IMPROVING RELATIONS OUR TWO COUNTRIES THROUGH PRESENT TALKS, BUT SUCH IMPROVEMENT MUST BE WITHOUT SACRIFICE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS EITHER PARTY. CASES AMERICAN LAW OFFENDERS BEING DEALT WITH IN ACCORDANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT; AT SANE TIME HANDLING MUST BE IN ACCORDANCE CHINESE LEGAL PROCEDURES.

7. WANG THEN REPLIED TO MY RENUNCIATION OF FORCE STATEMENT. HE SAID HIS SIDE FULLY SHARED DESIRE I HAD SPOKEN OF THAT THESE TALKS SUCCEED AND LEAD TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BETWEEN US.

8. WANG SAID QUESTION PRESENTLY UNDER DISCUSSION IS RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. THE BASIC POINTS IN THIS DISCUSSION. FIRST, IT IS ESSENTIAL WE BOTH HAVE COMMON UNDERSTANDING NATURE OF CONFLICT OF POLICIES BETWEEN US. SECOND, WE SHOULD STRIVE SETTLE QUESTION ON BASIS OF SUCH COMMON UNDERSTANDING.

9. WANG SAID WE BOTH AGREED DESIRABILITY MAKING PUBLIC STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. QUESTION NOW IS WHAT IS TO BE SAID IN SUCH STATEMENT. HIS SIDE HAS MADE CAREFUL STUDY OF US DRAFT OF NOVEMBER 10. AT LAST MEETING HE HAD AGAIN SET FORTH HIS VIEWS. IN MY STATEMENT THIS MORNING, I HAD AGAIN AMPLIFIED AND EXPLAINED DRAFT I HAD PROPOSED. CONSEQUENTLY IT IS NECESSARY PRIOR SIDE ALSO RENEW CLARIFICATION ITS POINT OF VIEW THIS REGARD.

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10. WANG CONTINUED WITH A PREPARED STATEMENT. HE SAID THAT HE HAD PUT FORTH OCTOBER 27 DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AFTER HAVING CONSIDERED MY RENUNCIATION OF FORCE PROPOSAL AND MY DESIRE THAT BOTH SIDES MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT. HIS DRAFT EMBRACED POINTS OF VIEW ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES. HIS SIDE WAS NOT SEEKING TO IMPOSE ITS VIEWS ON OUR SIDE.

11. WANG SAID HIS DRAFT QUOTED ARTICLES OF UN CHARTER PERTAINING TO RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. I HAD SAID THAT AS MEMBER OF UN, US WILLING ABIDE BY CHARTER. IF THIS CASE, HOW COULD IT BE CONSTRUED, AS I HAD TRIED TO DO AT LAST MEETING, THAT SPECIFIC PROVISIONS UN CHARTER WERE BEING IMPOSED UPON US OR THAT THEY WERE POINTS WHICH WERE UNACCEPTABLE TO US.

12. WANG SAID THIRD PARAGRAPH HIS DRAFT STATED PRC AND US AGREE SETTLE DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL MEANS WITHOUT THREAT OR USE FORCE. THIS CONCRETE APPLICATION OF UN CHARTER IN SINO-US RELATIONS. HE COULD NOT SEE HOW US SIDE COULD POSSIBLY RAISE OBJECTIONS.

13. WANG SAID OBVIOUS DIFFERENCE OF PRINCIPLE EXISTED BETWEEN PRC DRAFT AND FIRST PARAGRAPH US DRAFT. LATTER SIMPLY STATES DIFFERENCES TWO SIDES SHALL NOT LEAD TO ARMED CONFLICT BUT MAKES NO PROVISIONS WHATEVER SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. SUCH WORDING IN NO WAY ACCEPTABLE UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH US SIDE HAS ALREADY USED FORCE TAIWAN AREA. SINCE WE BOTH RECOGNIZED GRAVE DIFFERENCES ESPECIALLY IN TAIWAN AREA, PRC SIDE OBLIGED STIPULATE CONCRETE PROVISION FOR PEACEABLY SETTLING DIFFERENCES.

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1215, NOVEMBER 23, MIDNIGHT (SECTION 3 OF 5)

14. WANG SAID PARAGRAPH 4 PRC DRAFT PROVIDED FOR FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE. IF US SIDE SIDE SINCERELY DESIROUS PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES PARTICULARLY IN TAIWAN AREA, HE FAILED TO SEE HOW I COULD OBJECT TO THAT PARAGRAPH ON ANY GROUNDS.

15. WANG SAID PRC DRAFT EMBRACED POINTS OF VIEW ACCEPTABLE BOTH SIDES, AND WAS BY NO MEANS INTENDED IMPOSE VIEWS ONE SIDE ON OTHER.

16. WANG SAID PARAGRAPH TWO OF US DRAFT, CONCERNING RENUNCIATION OF FORCE TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL OBJECTIVES, WAS NOT CONSISTENT WITH UN CHARTER, WHICH PROVIDED FORCE SHOULD NOT BE USED SETTLE DISPUTES OR PREJUDICE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE ANY STATE. NO CLAUSE IN UN CHARTER PERMITTING INTERFERENCE INTERNAL AFFAIRS ANY STATE; ON CONTRARY, SPECIFIC PROVISIONS BARRING THIS. SUCH TERMS AS "NATIONAL OBJECTIVES" OBVIOUS ATTEMPT INCLUDE CHINESE INTERNAL MATTERS.

17. WANG SAID CHINESE PEOPLE UNSHAKABLY DETERMINED LIBERATE ALL TERRITORY OF COUNTRY. BY WHATEVER MEANS THIS ACCOMPLISHED,, IT CANNOT BE DISTORTED AS VIOLATION OF PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES CHARTER. OUR WORDING THAT FORCE NOT BE USED TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL OBJECTIVES GOES BEYOND SCOPE OF SINO-AMERICAN TALKS AND IS TANTAMOUNT CALLING UPON PRC SIDE SURRENDER EXERCISE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OVER TAIWAN, WHICH IS WHAT PRC SIDE ABSOLUTELY CANNOT ACCEPT.

18. WANG SAID FOURTH PARAGRAPH US DRAFT PURPORTS THAT PEACEFUL POLICIES EITHER SIDE WILL NOT BE PREJUDICED. HOWEVER, POLICY PURSUED BY US IN TAIWAN AREA IS ENCROACHMENT CHINA'S TERRITORY AND INTERVENTION CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS. UN CHARTER EXPLICITLY RULES OUT PREJUDICE TO TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANY STATE BY ANY MEANS. PRC SIDE WOULD NEVER

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AGREE THAT US SIDE ENTITLED PURSUE SUCH POLICIES BY WHATEVER MEANS.

19. WANG SAID PARAGRAPH 6 US DRAFT EVEN CLAIMS RIGHT INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA. UN CHARTER CONTAINS NO CLAUSE ENTITLING STATE ENCROACHING ON TERRITORY AND INTERFERING INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER STATE TO INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE ON TERRITORY OF STATE AGGRESSED AGAINST. US PRESENTATION THIS PRINCIPLE EVIDENTLY DESIGNED PERMIT US PROLONGED OCCUPATION TAIWAN AND ENTIRE CHINA THROUGH CHIANG KAI-SHEK.

20. WANG SAID WHEN US ENCROACHES CHINESE TERRITORY IT IS ALLEGED THIS DONE FOR SAKE OF SELF-DEFENSE. WHEN CHINA UNDERTAKES ACTION IN EXERCISE OF SOVEREIGN RIGHTS IT ASSAILED BY US AS AGGRESSION. HE COULD NOT BELIEVE THAT I COULD BE UNAWARE THAT SUCH A FALSE ARGUMENT WAS TRYING TO PASS BLACK FOR WHITE.

21. WANG SAID US DRAFT FAILED PROVIDE CONCRETE ARRANGEMENTS SETTLE DIFFERENCES TWO SIDES. I HAD STATED PRESENT TALKS CONSTITUTED SUCH ARRANGEMENTS. HOWEVER, HE HAD REPEATEDLY ASKED WHETHER I WAS WILLING DISCUSS QUESTION WITHDRAWAL US ARMED FORCES FROM TAIWAN AREA AND HAD NEVER RECEIVED ANY REPLY. THIS BEARS OUT FACT PRESENT TALKS INCAPABLE SETTLING QUESTION TENSE SITUATION TAIWAN AREA. ESSENTIAL HOLD CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS TO DISCUSS AND SETTLE THAT QUESTION.

22. WANG SAID IN LIGHT FOREGOING, IT WAS NOT PRC SIDE BUT US SIDE THAT WAS ATTEMPTING IMPOSE ITS VIEWS ON THE OTHER. US DRAFT DEMANDS PRC SIDE SURRENDER SOVEREIGN RIGHTS REGARDING TAIWAN AND RECOGNIZE STATUS QUO OF US ENCROACHMENT OF TAIWAN AND US INTERFERENCE CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

23. WANG SAID IF HIS SIDE AGREED US DRAFT AND RECOGNIZED STATUS QUO OF US ENCROACHMENT TAIWAN AND US INTERFERENCE CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS, THEN WHAT WOULD REMAIN TO BE NEGOTIATED? COULD IT BE THAT US SIDE TAKES HIS GOVERNMENT TO BE SO NAIVE AND SO EASILY LED AROUND BY THE NOSE?

24. WANG SAID I HAD INDICATED WILLINGNESS DISCUSS LIFTING

EMBARGO

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EMBARGO IN EXCHANGE FOR AGREEMENT US DRAFT. THIS OUT OF THE QUESTION. POLICY OF EMBARGO IS OF ITSELF UNJUSTIFIABLE. EMBARGO SHOULD BE LIFTED. THIS IS POINT HE HAD MADE REPEATEDLY.

25. WANG SAID US SIDE HAD NOT SUCCEEDED IN INTIMIDATING HIS SIDE INTO SUBMISSION BY THREAT AND USE OF FORCE AGAINST TAIWAN. NOR HAD US SUCCEEDED BY THESE MEANS IN FORCING PRC SIDE INTO RECOGNITION STATUS QUO OF US ENCROACHMENT CHINA'S TERRITORY. US WILL NOW FAIL IN TRYING TO CONDITION EMBARGO ON RECOGNITION US ENCROACHMENT ON TAIWAN.

26. WANG SAID NEARLY TWO MONTHS HAVE ELAPSED SINCE DISCUSSION ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE INITIATED, AND NEARLY ONE MONTH SINCE INTRODUCTION PRC DRAFT. HE HAD MADE CLEAR POSITION HIS SIDE. SUBSTANCE US DRAFT IS DEMAND PRC SIDE RECOGNIZE STATUS QUO OF ENCROACHMENT BY US ON CHINA'S TERRITORY. THIS ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE.

27. WANG SAID HIS DRAFT EMBRACES POINTS OF VIEW ACCEPTABLE BOTH SIDES. IF I STILL CONSIDERED IT ESSENTIAL WE ISSUE A STATEMENT, THEN PRC DRAFT IS ONLY REASONABLE AND FEASIBLE ONE. HE HOPED WE WOULD BE ABLE FIND AGREEMENT ON BASIS PRC DRAFT.

28. I REPLIED WANG HAD MISUNDERSTOOD OUR POSITION ON QUESTION OF EMBARGO. IN INVITING HIS VIEWS, I HAD POINTED OUT FACT THAT MEASURES HE TERMED EMBARGO TAKEN BY US IN LIGHT OF SECURITY INTERESTS. MEASURES US TAKES IN REGARD TO TRADE MUST TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION WHAT WE CONSIDER TO BE SECURITY INTERESTS. IF US CONSIDERS THAT DANGER OF HOSTILITIES IS LESSENED OR REMOVED, THIS NATURALLY INFLUENCES US POINT OF VIEW ON TRADE. HOWEVER, I CERTAINLY DID NOT MEAN TO IMPLY THAT US WILLING TRADE LIFTING EMBARGO FOR STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE.

29. I SAID WANG HAD PROPERLY POINTED OUT THAT IT IS TWO MONTHS SINCE RENUNCIATION OF FORCE DISCUSSION INITIATED. ALTHOUGH I AM DISAPPOINTED WE NOT YET ABLE REACH FULL AGREEMENT, I AM GRATIFIED AT PROGRESS I THOUGHT WE HAD MADE. AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON WORDS.

30. I SAID WE

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30. I SAID WE DID HAVE CLASH OF VIEWS ON NATURE OF DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA, BUT I HAD TAKEN POSITION FROM BEGINNING OF TALKS IMPORTANT FIRST TASK IS NOT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON NATURE DISPUTE, BUT TO AGREE WE WILL NOT GO TO WAR ABOUT IT. I HAD NOT TRIED IMPOSE OUR VIEWS ON HIM IN REGARD TO DISPUTE OR NATURE OF DISPUTE. I HAD SIMPLY TRIED STATE IN STRAIGHTFORWARD TERMS THAT CLASH OF VIEWS SHOULD NOT CAUSE WAR BETWEEN US. I DID NOT BELIEVE THAT WANG'S DRAFT CLEARLY SET FORTH THAT INTENT. I DID NOT WANT TO REPEAT MY PREVIOUS STATEMENT, WHICH IN LARGE PART COVERED POINTS HE HAD MADE. I DID THINK MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION WE FACE IS WHETHER OR NOT WE EACH CLEARLY AND UNAMBIGUOUSLY STATE WE DO NOT INTEND LET DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US IN TAIWAN AREA LEAD US INTO HOSTILITIES.

31. I SAID LAST PARAGRAPH OF WANG'S DRAFT STATED FOREIGN MINISTERS SHOULD DISCUSS AND SETTLE QUESTION OF ELIMINATING TENSION TAIWAN AREA. IF HE FELT HE COULD SAY THAT WITHOUT SACRIFICING HIS POSITION, I COULD NOT SEE WHY HE COULD NOT ALSO SAY HE WAS DETERMINED DIFFERENCES IN TAIWAN AREA SHOULD NOT LEAD TO WAR. IT WAS IMPORTANT THIS BE SAID CLEARLY. IN SAYING IT, I DID NOT SEE WHY OR IN WHAT WAY IT PREJUDICED HIS POSITION.

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12:01 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1215, NOVEMBER 23, MIDNIGHT (SECTION FOUR OF FIVE)

32. I SAID THAT I HAD SEVERAL TIMES IN THE PAST POINTED OUT THAT FOLLOWING ISSUANCE OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE, IF HE WISHED TO RAISE OTHER MATTERS WITHIN SCOPE OF TALKS, I WOULD BE PREPARED DISCUSS THEM.

33. I SAID I WAS DISTURBED WE HAVE NOT GOTTEN FURTHER AHEAD ON AGREEING ON A TEXT. REGARDING MY DRAFT, AS I UNDERSTOOD HIS POSITION, HE HAD NO OBJECTION IN PRINCIPLE WITH PRESPECT FIRST PARAGRAPH BUT FELT THAT IT DID NOT GO FAR ENOUGH IN ESTABLISHING CONCRETE MEASURES FOR SETTLING DISPUTES. WAS THAT COFRECT?

34. I SAID HE HAD SPECIFICALLY OBJECTED TO PARAGRAPH TWO OF MY DRAFT. I WONDERED WHAT WORDS HE MIGHT WANT CHANGED.

35. I SAID HE HAD MADE NO MENTION OF PARAGRAPH 3 OF MY DRAFT. COULD I TAKE IT THEREFORE THAT HE HAD NO OBJECTION TO THAT?

36. I SAID IN REGARD TO MY FOURTH PARAGRAPH, COULD I TAKE IT HE DID NOT OBJECT BUT FELT IT WAS PREJUDICED BY FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS?

37. I SAID IN REGARD TO LAST TWO SUBSTANTIVE PARAGRAPHS, COULD I TAKE IT THAT THERE SHOULD BE A SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO TAIWAN AREA, SUCH AS HE HAD MADE IN LAST PARAGRAPH HIS DRAFT, SO AS TO MAKE CLEAR TAIWAN WAS COVERED?

38. I SAID I STILL WAS NOT CLEAR WHY HE OBJECTED TO INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE. I THOUGHT WE BOTH WOLD WANT TO INCLUDE STATEMENT ON THAT. I WOULD APPRECIATE ANY COMMENTS WANG MIGHT WANT TO MAKE.

39. WANG REPLIED I HAD SAID US HAD TAKEN EMBARGO MEASURES OUT OF SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS. HOWEVER IN ACTUAL SITUATION IN

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RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND US, IT IS PRECISELY CHINA'S SECURITY THAT IS THREATENED. THUS IT CAN BE SEEN MEASURES OF EMBARGO ARE UNREASONABLE AND WITHOUT BASIS. DISPUTES BETWEEN USA SHOULD BE SETTLED BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND FOR THIS END FAVORABLE ATMOSPHERE SHOULD BE CREATED. IF EMBARGO CAN BE LIFTED AT PRESENT TIME, IT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO SUCH PEACEFUL ATMOSPHERE.

40. WANG SAID WE ARE IN AGREEMENT ON PRINCIPLE OF ADVISABILITY OF MAKING PUBLIC STATEMENT. IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE AGREE ON TEXT. HOWEVER, ANY DISCUSSION OF TEXT MUST BE BASED ON POINTS OF VIEW ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH OF US. DRAFT PROPOSED BY HIS SIDE OCTOBER 27 HAS PRECISELY MET THIS SPIRIT. HE BELIEVED POINTS ENUNCIATED THAT DRAFT UNACCEPTABLE BOTH SIDES.

41. WANG SAID, COULD IT BE THAT US OBJECTS TO PROVISIONS UN CHARTER? OR THAT US OPPOSES PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES? AGAIN, COULD US OBJECT TO MAKING CONCRETE ARRANGEMENTS FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT EXISTING DISPUTES BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES?

42. WANG SAID AS TO US DRAFT, HE HAD ALREADY EXPRESSED HIS VIEWS ON EVERY PARAGRAPH. HE HAD EXPLAINED THAT HE COULD NOT ACCEPT US DRAFT AS BASIS FOR DISCUSSION BECAUSE IT INVOLVED CHINESE INTERNAL MATTERS. CHINESE PEOPLE WILL NOT GIVE UP DETERMINATION LIBERATE TAIWAN. THAT IS WITHIN SCOPE CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND IS UNSHAKABLE DETERMINATION CHINESE PEOPLE. CHINESE PEOPLE CONVUNCED THEY WILL ACHIEVE THIS END.

43. WANG SAID PRC SIDE NOT OPPOSED PRINCIPLE OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE. THAT IS INHERENT RIGHT OF EVERY STATE. HOWEVER, WITH RESPECT TO TAIWAN AREA SIDE WHICH IS ON DEFENSIVE IS CHINESE SIDE. IN TAIWAN AREA CHINA IS ENTITLED TO THIS RIGHT EXCLUSIVELY. US CAN OF COURSE CLAIM RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE BUT ONLY AFTER IT HAS WITHDRAWN FROM TAIWAN AREA. UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH US OCCUPIES TAIWAN CHINA CANNOT ACCEPT WHAT I HAD TERMED SELF-DEFENSE BY US IN THIS AREA. THIS ANOTHER REASON WHY US DRAFT UNACCEPTABLE HIS SIDE.

44. WANG SAID HE AGAIN REQUESTED AND HOPED I WOULD AGREE ADOPT HIS DRAFT PROPOSAL AS BASIS FOR DISCUSSION.

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45. I SAID LAST PARAGRAPH HIS DRAFT MENTIONED TAIWAN AREA. I TOOK IT THAT HE DID NOT CONSIDER THIS TO PREJUDICE HIS POSITION CONCERNING NATURE OF DISPUTE THERE. I DID NOT UNDERSTAND WHY IF HE WILLING SAY THAT, HE NOT WILLING SAY TAIWAN AREA SITUTAION SHOULD NOT BE CAUSE WAR BETWEEN US. I DID NOT SEE HOW THAT WOULD PREJUDICE HIS POSITION ANY MORE THAN MENTION OF TAIWAN IN PRC DRAFT.

46. WANG SAID I SHOULD BE REMINDED THERE ARE ACTUALLY TWO POINTS IN QUESTION THAT MUST NOT BE CONFUSED. FIRST, IN TAIWAN AREA THERE EXISTS MATTER OF CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS-- THAT IS, QUESTION OF CHINA'S EXERCISE OF SOVEREIGN RIGHTS IN LIBERTY OF TAIWAN. THIS FALLS WITHIN SCOPE CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

47. WANG SAID ON OTHER HAND THERE EXISTS IN TAIWAN AREA CONFLICT OF POLICY BETWEEN CHINA AND US. WE ARE AGREED POSITION IN ISSUES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES SHOULD BE SETTLED IN ACCORDANCE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES UN CHARTER WE ARE AGREED CONFLICTING POLICIES SHOULD NOT LEAD TO WAR BETWEEN US, ~~IN~~ INTERNATIONAL MATTER BETWEEN CHINA AND US. That is

48. WANG SAID CLEAR DISTINCTION SHOULD BE MADE BETWEEN THESE TWO POINTS. IT IS SECOND POINT OUR TALKS SHOULD STRIVE TO SETTLE RATHER THAN FIRST. HE WOULD APPRECIATE FURTHER COMMENTS ON PRC DRAFT.

49. I REPLIED I WAS STILL TRYING GET TO HEART OF MATTER. IF WANG CAN EXPRESS WILLINGNESS NEGOTIATE CONCERNING TAIWAN AREA, WHY COULD HE NOT SAY THAT BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS THREAT OF FORCE IN AREA BE REMOVED?

50. IWANG REPLIED THAT THIRD PARAGRAPH HIS DRAFT IS BEST ANSWER.

51. I SAID I HAD NOTHING FURTHER FOR TODAY'S MEETING. I HAD TRIED GET INTO CONCRETE DISCUSSION OF WORDING AND WAS SORRY THERE HAD NOT BEEN MORE PROGRESS.

52. WANG REPLIED HE BELIEVED HE HAD ANSWERED ALL QUESTIONS. HE ALSO HOPED PROGRESS WOULD BE MADE. WE HAD ALREADY USED UP

A GREAT DEAL OF TIME. HE WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF AT NEXT MEETING I WOULD PUT FORTH CONCRETE OPINION ON PRC DCAFT. DID I FIND THIS AGREEABLE?

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11:30 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1215, NOVEMBER 23, MIDNIGHT (SECTION FIVE OF FIVE)

53. I REPLIED WAY TO MAKE PROGRESS IS TO GET DOWN TO SPECIFIC WORDING. I SET FORTH IN GREAT DETAIL MY VIEWS CONCERNING WANG'S DRAFT. I HAD PRODUCED DRAFT THAT I THOUGHT CAME CLOSE TO MEETING TWO POINTS OF VIEW. I HAD NOT DEMANDED HE ACCEPT MY DRAFT. I HAD CAREFULLY TRIED DETERMINE POINTS TO WHICH THERE WAS OBJECTION IN ORDER BRING AGREEMENT CLOSER. I WOULD CONTINUE STRIVE FOR AGREEMNT AS I HOPED HE WOULD.

54. WANG SAID COULD HE TAKE IT THEN THAT I WAS WILLING MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS ON BASIS PRC DRAFT?

55. I SAID I HAD NOTHING MORE TO SAY.

56. WANG SAID COULD HE TAKE IT THAT AT NEXT MEETING WE WOULD CONTINUE DISCUSS HIS DRAFT?

57. I SAID I WAS WILLING CONTINUE DISCUSSION IN ATTEMPT REACH AGREEMENT ON A DRAFT. QUESTION WAS NOT MY DRAFT OR HIS DRAFT. QUESTION IS TO TRY TO REACH AGREEMENT. I WOULD APPROACH PROBLEM IN THAT SPIRIT AND HOPED HE WOULD DO THE SAME.

58. WANG SAID WAS I WILLING CONTINUE STRIVE FOR AGREEMENT ON BASIS HIS DRAFT. QUESTION WAS YES OR NO.

59. I SAID QUESTION WAS NOT YES OR NO. I HAD ANSWERED QUESTION.

60. WANG SAID HE WAS NOT CLEAR WHAT I HAD ANSWERED. HE HOPED WE WOULD BE ABLE MAKE CONCRETE PROGRESS ON THIS QUESTION.

61. I SAID I CERTAINLY HOPED SO. I WOULD TRY MY BEST.

62. WANG

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62. WANG SAID HE HOPED I WOULD PUT FORTH CONCRETE VIEWS ON HIS DRAFT.

63. I SAID I HOPED HE WOULD PUT FORTH CONCRETE VIEWS ON MY DRAFT AS WELL.

64. WANG SAID HE HAD MADE IT CLEAR HE COULD NOT ACCEPT MY DRAFT. IF HE DID SO, HE WOULD BE SURRENDERING SOVEREIGN RIGHTS. DRAFT NOT ACCEPTABLE HIS SIDE.

65. I SAID WE SHOULD SEE AT NEXT MEETING WHETHER WE COULD NOT MAKE PROGRESS ON COMMON TEXT. I WAS WILLING CONTINUE STRIVE TO DO SO AND HOPED HE WAS LIKEWISE WILLING. THIS FENCING "MY DRAFT - YOUR DRAFT" DOES NOT GET US VERY FAR.

66. WANG SAID HE HOPED I WOULD GIVE FURTHER VIEWS ON HIS DRAFT AT NEXT MEETING. HE WOULD WELCOME ANY PROGRESS IN THIS DIRECTION.

67. I PROPOSED WE MEET ON OUR REGULAR SCHEDULE NEXT THURSDAY. WANG AGREED.

GOWEN

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385

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Action Assigned to CA/DIR

Control: 12622
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 23, 1955
5:06 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1216, NOVEMBER 23, 10 PM

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

A. FOLLOWING IS SUGGESTION FOR COUNTERDRAFT FOR INTRODUCTION NEXT MEETING WHICH I BELIEVE SOMEWHAT MEETS POINTS MADE MY 1203 WHILE STILL PRESERVING OUR POSITION.

B. IT WILL BE NOTED SECOND PARAGRAPH IS TAKEN FROM ARTICLE 33 UN CHARTER AND THAT PARAGRAPH FOUR PICKS UP SOME LANGUAGE FROM WANG'S DRAFT.

C. HAVE NO REASON BELIEVE PRC WOULD ACCEPT THIS DRAFT, BUT BELIEVE IT MEETS PRESENT SITUATION WHICH SEEMS REQUIRE NEW DRAFT AND SHOULD PROVIDE ROOM FOR CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION.

"AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT

"1. AMBASSADOR WANG PING-NAN OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND AMBASSADOR U. ALEXIS JOHNSON OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA DURING THE COURSE OF THEIR DISCUSSIONS OF PRACTICAL MATTERS AT ISSUE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES MAKE THE FOLLOWING DECLARATIONS:

"2. AMBASSADOR WANG PING-NAN, ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, DECLARES THAT THE PRC WILL REFRAIN FROM THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE EXCEPT IN SELF-DEFENSE; AND

"3. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AND GENERALLY ACCEPTED STANDARDS OF INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT, THE PRC WILL ALWAYS SEEK THE SOLUTION BY PEACEFUL MEANS OF ANY DISPUTE TO WHICH IT IS APARTY AND THE CONTINUATION OF WHICH

611.93/11-2355

PA
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OF WHICH IS LIKELY TO ENDANGER THE MAINTENANCE OF ITERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY; AND

"4. RECOGNIZING THE PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE OF RELAXING AND ELIMINATING TENSION IN THE TAIWAN AREA, THE PRC DECLARES THAT THE FOREGOING GENERAL PRINCIPLES ARE SPECIFICALLY APPLICABLE TO THAT AREA.

"5. AMBASSAODR U. ALEXIS JOHNSON, ON BEHALF ETC."

D. WHILE FOREGOING IS DRAFTED AS PRC SECTION, WE WOULD OF COURSE PUT OUR SECTION IN IDENTICAL TERMS FIRST.

GOWEN

JK

NOTE: MR. WADDELL (FE) NOTIFIED 11/23/55, 5:55 PM, EH

19[illegible] NOV 24 AM 7 21
[illegible]
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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Rec'd. Nov. 28

5-20

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UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

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☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to_____
☐ Review Again_____
☑ Reviewer AO Date 7/9/80

OFFICIAL -- INFORMAL

November 23, 1955

SECRET

Letter No. 18

Dear Walter:

This is just a very brief note as I have said just about everything I have to say in the telegrams I am sending off today.

Thanks for your letter of November 18. As you can see from my report of today's meeting, the corner on renunciation of force is, as you foresaw, getting tighter and some decisions are going to be required before my next meeting.

What I am principally writing about is the entire question of what I suppose might be termed my administrative support. I am very disturbed at the amount of time and energy it is necessary for both of us to devote to this. If these talks are in fact as important as we believe them to be, the Department should surely be able to find some way of making available the extremely modest funds required so that there is not this continuous wrangle over whether I am to receive the minimum support I must have in the administrative field. I have no car or driver here and use a Consulate Chevrolet only for the purpose of getting to and from meetings, while Wang parades around in his big Zim with chauffeur. I have no secretary of my own, a single secretary loaned by the Consulate serving all three of us. Etc., etc. I am not saying this in any sense as a complaint but simply to point up what I believe to be the fact that no operation of comparable importance to the United States has ever been handled with less cost to the Government. Therefore, it seems inexplicable to me that there has to be this continuous wrangle about the few things for which there is unquestioned need.

First on my list is the question of a stenographer mentioned in the last paragraph of mytel 1201. When the Consulate agreed to loan me a stenographer, it had no idea that it was going to be for anything like the period that has already passed. However, they have been

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

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Lot 72 D 415

been extremely good about it and have cheerfully given me the best they have. However, the Consulate has now lost several girls and is really up against it, and I do not feel it is fair to ask them to continue the present arrangement.

When I sent my 1201, I understood that the question of code room personnel had been resolved following the Foreign Ministers' meeting and therefore did not raise that. However, this now turns out to have been wrong and Deptel 1277 to the Consulate terminates the present extra clerk December 2, although it states a further period will be considered if required. The Consulate replied by its 1211 asking that the clerk be continued for the duration of my talks, but no reply has yet been received.

I am as sorry to have to bother you with all this as I am annoyed at continually being bothered with it myself. My suggestion is to see whether or not a decision cannot be obtained at whatever level is required to allocate the few thousand dollars that would be required to be used for purposes such as this. The Department knows me well enough to know that I will not ask for anything I do not need.

I should not be writing to you in this tone, Walter, as I full well realize it is certainly least of all any fault of yours, or any other individual for that matter. I well know it's "the system" and I only hope that what I have had to say will help in getting what is needed. It can also be blamed on bad humor arising from a Geneva cold I've been fighting the last few days.

As I mentioned in my telegram, I'm leaving tonight by train to Zurich and taking the plane to Prague tomorrow morning in the hope of having Thanksgiving with the family as well as getting some work done up there. We have had to send home one of my best officers, leaving only three officers in the entire Embassy including the Consular Officer and Charge, so they are in a bad way and I want to do what I can to help.

I hope that before the next meeting there will be opportunity fully to go over the situation with Herman and the Secretary and will await my instructions with much interest. If it seems advisable, I could come back here on Sunday, but I will take some material with me to Prague so as to be able to respond from there on anything that might appear desirable.

I was very disturbed to hear from Herman that you have not been feeling well. Do take care of yourself - there is a point beyond which it does not pay to try to work.

My best to all.

Sincerely,

Alex pw DF

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

Amb. Johnson just had time to dictate this but not to sign it before catching his train to Zurich. DF

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OPTIONAL 387

TELEGRAM

INDICATE COLLECT
CHARGE TO

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472

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1955 NOV 29 PM 7 35
Miles
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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 1326

FOR JOHNSON

Chinese Communist propaganda during past week devoted somewhat more attention to subject of Taiwan and ambassadorial talks than in previous weeks. General attitude toward US continued hostile, with repetition of familiar themes that US obstructing progress of talks, quote intensifying unquote military efforts in Taiwan area, and seeking to revive Cold War.

Major Chinese Communist pronouncement of week on Taiwan issue and talks was statement appearing in East German youth daily, JUNGE WELT, November 24, based on interview given by Ch'en Yi November 7 to German youth group in Peiping. Ch'en reiterated usual CCP line on Taiwan issue, noting two possible solutions, voluntary withdrawal of US forces from area, or failing that, CCP quote liberation unquote of Taiwan by quote force of arms unquote. Peiping government, said Ch'en favored peaceful solution but quote many people unquote on mainland growing quote impatient unquote over Taiwan question. Ch'en saw no immediate need for resort to force, but China must be prepared. Hence, quote active preparations unquote being carried out along coast, including construction of airfields, railroads, and ships. Lengthy negotiations at Geneva had produced no concrete results except release of Americans, but advantage of informing world opinion as to quote truth about Taiwan unquote.

Article in

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Drafted by: DRF/C:FLDawson:nvw 11-28-55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: OIR/DRF:JAYager

Clearances: IAD 11/29 CA

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Article in TA KUNG PAO November 24 alleged that US is protracting ambassadorial talks in order to quote perpetuate domination unquote over Taiwan. US quote intensification of war preparations unquote in Taiwan area said to violate international principles against use of force. Article noted visits of topranking US military leaders to Taiwan since October, cited reports US increasing supply of Sabrejets, and quoted Gen. Twining to effect that US Far East air force and Nat. air force being welded into force quote capable of advance unquote. NCNA commented briefly on visit of Admiral Stump to Taiwan. Other comment largely of Psychological Warfare nature, concerning food shortages on offshore islands, and quote factionalism unquote among Nationalist leaders.

Peiping comment on ambassadorial talks November 19 and November 24 reiterated previous charge that US obstructing progress of talks and detaining Chinese nationals desiring return to mainland. People's Daily November 19 alleged that lists Chinese nationals presented by US at Geneva were incomplete and charged that less than one fifth of Chinese who had requested return to China had been permitted to leave. Demanded that US take immediate steps to facilitate return, and stated that question of quote lawbreaking unquote Americans still held in China and that of quote guiltless unquote Chinese nationals in US entirely different matters. TA KUNG PAO November 24 urged that US quote get down to serious negotiation and reach necessary agreement on practical matters at issue unquote.

ChiCom commentary on Ministers Conference continued to echo Soviet line. Relaxation of tensions will continue, despite US efforts revive Cold War, but struggle for peace will be long and hard. Peiping hailed Bulganin trip as quote important milestone in

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milestone in strengthening peaceful cooperation between USSR and 2 Asian countries unquote.

NCNA denounced Bagdad pact as quote concrete step by the US to aggravate tension in the Middle East unquote and hailed refusal of Egypt and Arab states to join as quote serious blow to US policy unquote.

Peiping during week continued to give considerable attention to question of trade restrictions, alleging that US embargo and quote trade monopolies unquote had seriously impaired expansion of trade among Asian countries. ChiCom overtures to Japan for normalization of trade relations continued. At same time, Peiping continued to berate Japanese government for its treatment of Chinese nationals seeking return to mainland.

Hoover, acting

SS

= DULLES =

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 388

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☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

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12341
1955 NOV 29 PM 7 34

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1329

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY

Origin

Info:

FOR JOHNSON

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Guidance for December 1 meeting.

1. Implementation. If consonant with situation at time of meeting, impress on Wang there has been no progress this respect since last meeting. No additional Americans released, no more letters received by British Charge from imprisoned Americans. US Government takes serious view of PRC's unjustifiable delay in implementing its clear commitment under Agreed Announcement. Cite Bradshaw cases as evidence personal hardship individuals suffering through PRC's delay.

2. Renunciation of Force. While Wang's hard line at last meeting may presage break in talks or resort to publicity, we believe it may also be deliberate pressure tactic to determine whether we will give any on our draft. PRC would seem not to be in strong position either break off talks or go to public at this moment. Believe we should hold firm on our draft for at least one more meeting. Wang's only criticism our draft has been on ground that it would preclude PRC use of force in Taiwan area, which would be true of any draft we presented.

Dist. Desired (Offices Only)

FE-W~~Sebald~~
FE:CA:RNClough:ek/ikb 11/29/55
L-H~~Phleger~~

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

FE-Mr. Robertson (Cleared in draft
Mr. Sebald (
S - The Secretary (Cleared in Draft)
L- Mr. Phleger (Cleared in draft)

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You should follow tactics suggested your 1214 (omitting introduction revised draft), with strong attack on ultimatum aspects his position. Without acceding to his insistence that you negotiate on basis his draft, it might be useful probe vigorously to see whether he has any negotiating latitude with respect to it. Press hard on basic defect his draft which is failure apply renunciation force principle to Taiwan area. Argumentation you used last meeting was excellent and you should continue along this general line.

You may wish to point out that Wang has endeavored separate issue in Taiwan area into two parts (paragraphs 46 to 48 your 1215). The first part he claims is a domestic issue which concerns only the Communists and the Nationalists and in which he retains complete freedom to use force in that area. The second part he defines as an international question involving issues between the Communists and United States. Asto this the Communists are willing to renounce the use of force. By this formulation, the Communists seek to deprive the United States of its right to use force in collective self defense, an inherent right recognized by the Charter, while preserving to the Communists entire freedom to use force to take Taiwan any time they wish.

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This Communist tactic appears designed to handcuff the United States by pious expressions of the renunciation of force to settle disputes while reserving to itself complete freedom to use force to take Taiwan whenever it wishes. This entirely defeats object of seeking declaration on renunciation of force in the Taiwan area which was designed not as a verbal exercise but to remove in fact threat of armed conflict there and thus permit progress in discussion on other practical issues.

Re your 1216, Department considering advisability introduction revised draft at later meeting if deemed essential to forestall break. In any event any changed formulation should not affect our basic position that both sides must renounce force in Taiwan area, and do this before there can be fruitful discussions other issues.

Dulles DULLES
(WPMac)

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Department of State

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1330

FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info.

UNC called meeting of MAC November 26 at which US representative referred to Wang statement Geneva that MAC was proper channel for accounting for missing US military personnel and said US concurred this view. He presented revised list 2720 UN personnel including 450 US servicemen and offered individual accounting for 98,739 personnel of Communist side whenever Communists presented accounting for UN personnel. Communist side accepted lists but stated (1) individuals held outside Korea do not come under authority MAC and therefore irrelevant to discuss in MAC; (2) MAC has no connection with POW's disposed of by PRC. Also noted UNC offer to account for Communist side personnel and stated it unnecessary comment on UNC list at this time.

In view above MAC action you need not raise this subject again with Wang until further instructed. However, Communist statements 1 and 2 above provide opening resume negotiation with Wang if Communists give no satisfaction in MAC within reasonable time.

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= DULLES

Dulles (WPMcC)

CS/DLS

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Drafted by: FE:CA:ENClough:ek 11/29/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances: NA - Mr. Norred (cleared in substance)

CA - McConaughy

WPMcC

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE INSTRUCTION

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SECRET
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NO.: CA-4199 November 30, 1955 COPY NO. 1

SUBJECT: Background Information on United States-Chinese Communist Ambassadorial Talks at Geneva

TO: ALL AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

The following background information on the United States-Chinese Communist Ambassadorial talks at Geneva should be used as appropriate on a confidential basis in conversations with key officials of the government to which you are accredited and diplomatic colleagues. The Department particularly desires to scotch speculation that the talks presage recognition of the Chinese Communist regime by the United States.

The original agreement was that the talks would deal first with the return of civilians to their respective countries, then go on to "other practical matters at issue". On September 10 the two Ambassadors issued an Agreed Announcement in which the Chinese Communists declared that Americans in the Peoples Republic of China who desired to return to the United States were entitled to do so and pledged itself to adopt "further appropriate measures" so that they could "expeditiously exercise their right to return". The Agreed Announcement also provided that Americans in the Peoples Republic of China who believed they were encountering obstruction in departure might request representations by the British Charge d'affaires on their behalf. The United States made a parallel declaration with respect to the right of Chinese in the United States to return to the Peoples Republic of China if they desired which provided for Chinese to appeal to the Indian Embassy if they believed their departure was being obstructed.

Of the nineteen Americans still held in prison in Communist China following the issuance of the Agreed Announcement, only five have been released to date. The United States is continuing to press at Geneva and through the British Charge d'affaires at Peiping for early release of the remainder. The failure of the Chinese Communists to fulfill their commitment to allow Americans to return "expeditiously" is causing the United States Government serious concern.

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611.93/11-3055

CS/DS

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(Security Classification)

DRAFTED BY: FE:CA:RNClough:ek 11/29/55

APPROVED BY: Walter S. Robertson

CLEARANCES:

CA - Mr. McConaughy FE - Mr. Sebald L - Mr. Phleger

Cleared with the Secretary

S/S-RRSelly

S/S-CR

NOV 30 1955 P.M.

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(Security Classification)

The United States places no restrictions on the departure of Chinese from the United States. The Department knows of no Chinese who claims his departure is being obstructed and the Indian Embassy has so far made no representations concerning any such case.

Under the second item of the agenda, the Chinese Communists asked for the removal of the United States economic embargo and agreement to talks at the Foreign Minister level. The United States asked for a Chinese Communist declaration renouncing force, and an accounting for 450 military personnel missing from the Korean War, and concerning whose fate we have evidence that the Chinese Communists might have knowledge.

Discussion has centered around the renunciation of force item. The United States has proposed that both parties make similar declarations renouncing the use of force generally, and with particular reference to the Taiwan area. The purpose is to remove the threat of war in the Taiwan area. The Chinese Communists have indicated a willingness to make a general renunciation of the use of force, but so far have adamantly resisted our efforts to get them to apply this to the Taiwan area. They insist that the Taiwan question is domestic and refuse to consider any curtailment of their freedom to use military force if necessary to impose their control over Taiwan. They have demanded the withdrawal of United States forces from the Taiwan area. The United States is continuing its effort to bring them to modify this attitude.

With reference to the proposal for a conference at a higher level, the United States view is that the ambassadorial level is the appropriate one. No proposal for higher level talks could even be considered until the Chinese Communists have permitted all United States citizens to leave, have renounced force in the Taiwan area, and all other practical matters at issue have been disposed of.

The questions of economic embargo and missing military personnel have received little discussion up to the present.

The United States has assured the Government of the Republic of China that it will not discuss at Geneva anything involving the rights, claims and essential interests of the Government of the Republic of China. There has been no discussion of recognition or admission of Communist China to the United Nations, as rumored in the press. Discussion has been strictly limited to subjects mentioned in the preceding paragraphs.

A similar instruction is being sent to the following consular posts: ACCRA, AUCKLAND, BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, CHIENGMAI, DACCA, DHAHRAN, FRANKFORT ON THE MAIN, GENEVA FOR JOHNSON, GENOA, HAMBURG, HONG KONG, ISTANBUL, JERUSALEM,

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KOBE, KUALA LUMPUR, LAHORE, MADRAS, MEDAN, MELBOURNE, MILAN, MONTREAL, MUNICH, NAPLES, NAGOYA, NAHA, PALERMO, PENANG, SAO PAULO, SINGAPORE, STUTTGART, SURABAYA, SYDNEY, TORONTO, TUNIS, VANCOUVER, YOKOHAMA, ZAGREB

Dulles

DULLES

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE INSTRUCTION

477

2943 2943

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(Security Classification)

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NO.: CA-4200 November 30, 1955 COPY NO. 1

SUBJECT: Background Information on United States-Chinese Communist Ambassadorial Talks at Geneva

TO: ALGIERS, AUCKLAND, BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, CHIENGMAI, DACCA, DHAHRAN, FRANKFORT ON THE MAIN, GENEVA FOR JOHNSON, GENOA, HAMBURG, HONG KONG, ISTANBUL, JERUSALEM, KOBE, KUALA LUMPUR, LAHORE, MADRAS, MEDAN, MELBOURNE, MILAN, MONTREAL, MUNICH, NAPLES, NAGOYA, NAHA, PALERMO, SAO PAULO, SINGAPORE, STUTTGART, SURABAYA, SYDNEY, TORONTO, TUNIS, VANCOUVER, YOKOHAMA, ZAGREB, PENANG.

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DRAFTED BY: FE:CA:RNClough:ek:jmd 11/29/55

APPROVED BY: Walter S. Robertson

CLEARANCES:

CA - Mr. McConaughy FE - Mr. Sebald L - Mr. Phleger

Cleared with the Secretary

S/S-RDTP

S/S-CR

NOV 30 1955

SECRET
(Security Classification)

"expeditiously" is causing the United States Government serious concern.

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A similar instruction is being sent to all diplomatic posts.

DULLES Dulles

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

Wang-Johnson Talks

TO : The Secretary

NOV 8 1955

THRU : S/S

FROM : FE - Walter S. Robertson

3

11/30/55

SUBJECT: Draft Declarations on Renunciation of Force

There are attached three draft declarations on renunciation of force. The first (Tab A) is the Chinese Communist draft introduced at Geneva on October 27; the second (Tab B) is the United States draft introduced November 8; the third (Tab C) is a revision of the United States draft which Ambassador Johnson has proposed introducing on December 1.

I consider the draft we submitted on November 8 to be tightly drawn and difficult to improve on. I also believe that the Chinese Communists are in a weak position from which to break off the talks and that they are unlikely to do so at this time when matters related to their entry into the United Nations have reached such a critical stage. Therefore, it is proposed to instruct Ambassador Johnson not to introduce a revised draft on December 1. However, it may become desirable at a future meeting to introduce a revised draft in order to keep the talks going. Ambassador Johnson's draft is consequently being submitted for your comments.

611.93/11-3055

Attachments:

1. Chinese Communist draft, October 27 (Tab A).
2. United States draft, November 8 (Tab B).
3. United States draft, proposed by Ambassador Johnson (Tab C).

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(21)

CONFIDENTIAL

PRC DRAFT DECLARATION ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE

(Introduced October 27)

1. Ambassador Wang Ping-nan on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China and Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson on behalf of the Government of the United States of America jointly declare that,

2. In accordance with Article 2, Paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations, "All members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered"; and

3. In accordance with Article 2, Paragraph 4 of the Charter of the United Nations, "All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity of political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations";

4. The People's Republic of China and the United States of America are agreed that they should settle disputes between their two countries by peaceful means without resorting to the threat or use of force.

5. In order to realize their common desire, the People's Republic of China and the United States of America decide to hold a conference of Foreign

P.U.D. 611.93/11-3055

Ministers to settle through negotiations the question of relaxing and eliminating the tension in Taiwan area.

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(21)

US DRAFT DECLARATION ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE

(Introduced November 8)

1. The Ambassador of the United States of America and the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China during the course of the discussions of practical matters at issue have expressed the determination that the differences between the two sides shall not lead to armed conflict.

2. They recognize that the use of force to achieve national objectives does not accord with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter or with generally accepted standards of international conduct.

3. They furthermore recognize that the renunciation of the threat or use of force is essential to the just settlement of disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

4. Therefore, without prejudice to the pursuit by each side of its policies by peaceful means they have agreed to announce the following declarations:

5. Ambassador Wang Ping-nan informed Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson that:

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6. In general, and with particular reference to the Taiwan area, the People's Republic of China renounces the use of force, except in individual and collective self defense.

7. Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson informed Ambassador Wang Ping-nan that:

8. In general, and with particular reference to the Taiwan area, the United States renounces the use of force, except in individual and collective self defense.

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AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S REVISED DRAFT

(Proposed for Introduction Dec. 1)

1. Ambassador Wang Ping-nan of the People's Republic of China and Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson of the United States of America during the course of their discussions of practical matters at issue between the two sides make the following declarations:

2. Ambassador Wang Ping-nan, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, declares that the PRC will refrain from the threat or use of force except in self-defense; and

3. In accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and generally accepted standards of international conduct, the PRC will always seek the solution by peaceful means of any dispute to which it is a party and the continuation of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security; and

4. Recognizing the particular importance of relaxing and eliminating tension in the Taiwan area, the PRC declares that the foregoing general principles are specifically applicable to that area.

5. Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, on behalf, etc.

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T.U. 611.93/11-3055

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Control: 221
Rec'd: DECEMBER 1, 1955
8:44 AM

Assigned to
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1235, DECEMBER 1, 1 PM

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FROM JOHNSON

1. AT ONE HOUR FORTY-FIVE MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING WANG OPENED WITH PREPARED STATEMENT WHICH WAS VERY MILD AND CONCILIATORY IN TONE, IN VERY MARKED CONTRAST TO TONE PREPARED STATEMENTS PAST FEW MEETINGS, AND CLOSED WITH PRESENTATION NEW DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH READS AS FOLLOWS:

A) AMBASSADOR WANG PING-NAN, ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, AND AMBASSAODR ALEXIS JOHNSON ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AGREE TO ANNOUNCE:

B) THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ARE DETERMINED THAT THEY SHOULD SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN THEIR TWO COUNTRIES THROUGH PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT RESORTING TO THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE;

C) THE TWO AMBASSAODRS SHOULD CONTINUE THEIR TALKS TO SEEK PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS FOR THE REALIZATION OF THIS COMMON DESIRE.

2. IN REPLY I WELCOMED HIS STATEMENT AND CHARACTERIZED IT AS ADVANCE IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS. I THEN SPENT ABOUT AN HOUR PROBING ON APPLICABILITY STATEMENT TO TAIWAN AREA. BEST ANSWER I OBTAINED FROM HIM WAS THAT ALTHOUGH TAIWAN INTERNAL MATTER BEYOND SCOPE PRESENT TALKS, WILLING SETTLE THAT QUESTION BY PEACEFUL MEANS HE OMITTED USUAL QUALIFICATION "CONDTIONS PERMITTING".

611.93/12-155

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DURING GIVE AND TAKE HE SPOKE OF "STEP BY STEP" RESOLUTION US-PRC DISPUTES AND SAID IF DURING COURSE OUR TALKS HERE I WANTED DISCUSS WAYS AND MEANS RELAXING TENSIONS TAIWAN AREA OR OTHER QUESTIONS, HE WILLING DISCUSS. THERE WAS NO RENEWAL DEMAND FOR WITHDRAWAL US FORCES BUT REPLY MY QUESTION AS TO WHETHER SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE CONDUCTED UNDER CONTINUED THREAT HIS SIDE WOULD RESORT TO FORCE TAIWAN AREA IF DESIRES NOT MET HE REPLIED WITH SOMEWHAT PRO FORMA STATEMENT THAT PRC IS ONE WHICH FEELS ITSELF THREATENED IN AREA.

E. I MADE DETAILED STATEMENT ON BRADSHAW ALONG LINES DEPTEL 1297 AND BRIEF STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION ALONG LINES PARA ONE DEPTEL 1329.

4. IN REPLY WANG DICUSSED AT LENGTH INDIAN IMPLEMENTATON IN US AND OUR FAILURE ASSIST THEM COMMUNICATE WITH CHINESE IN US WHILE WE WERE ASKING UK CHARGE TAKE INITIATIVE COMMUNICATE AMERICANS IN CHINA. I OF COURSE POINTED OUT CONTRAST AMERICANS IMPRISONED IN CHINA WITH FREEDOM ANY ANNOUNCEMENT, FOR INDIANS TAKING INITIATIVE..

5. NEXT MEETING THURSDAY, DECEMBER 8.

6. DEPARTING FOR PRAGUE FRIDAY EVENING, RETURNING TUESDAY.

GOWEN

MEM

NOTE: NO PARAGRAPH D.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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Rec'd: December 2, 1955 4:24 a.m.

Info

RMR

FROM: Geneva

TO: **Secretary of State**

Date of Action

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IO

NO: 1240, December 1, 10 p.m. (SECTION ONE OF THREE)

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Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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FROM JOHNSON

1. Twenty-eighth meeting today opened by Wang Ping-nan with prepared statement on renunciation of force. Wang said it now two months since discussion this subject began. Draft statement put forward by CPR side October 27 and by US side November 10. He has carefully studied drafts and statements made by both sides.

2. Wang said if both sides agreed in principle, it should be possible agree on text announcement. Chinese side always stood for peaceful settlement international disputes without resort to threat or use of force, in conformity UN Charter.

I had repeatedly indicated US as member UN also willing abide by UN Charter. At last meeting I had indicated US agreed to principle finding just settlement international disputes by peaceful means. On this principle there should be agreement both sides. Whether draft announcement incorporated pertinent provisions UN Charter is technical question and must not constitute obstacle in way of agreement.

3. Wang said in view of agreement this fundamental principle, there should be no difficulty making agreed announcement to effect PRC and USA will settle disputes between them without resort to threat or use of force. Both recognize existence international disputes and agree practical, feasible way should be sought arrive at peaceful settlement. In order realize this CPR side has proposed conference Foreign Ministers. However, I and other responsible members US Government had indicated that present talks should be fully utilized. In order that talks may progress step by step he considered principles agreeable both sides should be confirmed by agreed announcement and talks continued in order find practicable and feasible way peacefully settle disputes between our two countries.

4. Wang

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4. Wang said in line with above he was presenting new draft agreed announcement, pledging not to use force in international relations (MYTEL 1235).

5. Wang said for presenting draft CPR side was not abandoning proposal convene Foreign Ministers' conference in order relax and eliminate tension Taiwan area. However he would amplify his stand in talks following issuance announcement. Draft announcement embraced all points on which both sides agree and contained nothing disagreeable to either side. He believed we should be able reach agreement on this new draft.

6. I replied I welcomed Wang's statement and felt it represented considerable advance our discussions. I would give draft the detailed and careful consideration I knew it deserved.

7. I said I had one question. Major point of difference between us so far has been whether or not there should be specific mention Taiwan area. I wanted make clear our suggestions in regard specific mention Taiwan area not motivated desire embarrass or trick Wang's Government into abandoning its well known position in regard Taiwan area. Desire for specific mention Taiwan area motivated by desire make clear whatever is said on renunciation of force applies also to Taiwan area.

8. I said on basis original draft and Wang's remarks in course of meetings, there has been doubt in my mind in this regard. I originally raised this question when October 27 draft presented. I asked at that time whether fourth paragraph applicable disputes between us in Taiwan area. I recalled Wang's answer had been yes. However, in subsequently amplifying his position, it seemed to me his government was reserving right to consider situation Taiwan area as domestic matter beyond scope of international matters between our two countries. I understood his position in this regard and did not desire engage in controversy this point. I simply desired know what effect draft announcement would have our dispute in Taiwan area. As I understood his remarks, effect is that his government reserved right at any time interpret situation as domestic matter in which it entitled take offensive military action.

9. I said stated in another way his proposal appeared to me to have been that although we would seem to have agreed renounce force between us, his government would maintain threat at any time of its choosing to initiate hostilities that area. We consider it important that whatever is said on renunciation of force, it be made clear that even though there may be

differences

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differences in interpretation of situation in Taiwan area, announcement also apply that area.

10. I said this was somewhat long introduction my question, but I wanted make clear our line of thinking. Questions whether or not Wang willing consider mention in some specific way of Taiwan area in order make clear we both consider announcement applies Taiwan area. Said I might add I perfectly willing this be done in manner not to prejudice his government's position and pursuit by peaceful means of its policies.

11. Wang said we had already spent long period of time discussing this question. Purpose discussions was overcome obstacles in way of settlement between us. Proposal for both of us make announcement originated with myself. Now we have before us two drafts for announcement. Each of us has points which he cannot accept in draft of other one.

12. Wang said however at last meeting I had indicated we agreed on principle making announcement and also agreed on need for peaceful settlement disputes but differed on text of agreement. At last meeting I had also repeatedly indicated that so long as we agreed in principle, there should be no difficulty in agreeing on text. So long as we both serious and sincere in search of agreement, there should be no difficulty.

GOWEN

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Rec'd: December 1, 1955 8:12 p.m.

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FROM: Geneva

Date of Action

RMR

TO: Secretary of State

Action Office Symbol

SS

NO: 1240, December 1, 10 p.m. (SECTION 2 OF 3)

Name of Officer

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Direction to DC/R

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FROM JOHNSON

13. Wang said his side had now made new effort in that spirit. I would note that new proposal did not contain anything to which we not able agree between us at present time. He considered that issues between PRC and us must necessarily be solved step by step. His idea was first to agree on points in common between us. So long as we employed peaceful means for settling disputes, he saw no reason for not reaching agreement.

14. Wang said in regard to mention of Taiwan area, he wished to renew his statements made in past meetings. We must not confuse international with domestic issues. Internal conflict naturally not within scope of present talks. In explaining fourth paragraph October 27 draft and also in presenting present draft, he had made clear disputes between two countries include dispute between US in Taiwan area. It was precisely desire of PRC side that disputes between us in Taiwan area be settled peacefully.

15. Wang said he wished point out that proposal made this morning was very important and put forward only after serious and careful consideration. He was glad to hear my preliminary views and comments this draft. He hoped our side would give careful consideration to this latest offer. He hoped we would be able reach agreement on this draft. Adoption this draft would demonstrate that although we spent great deal of time in discussion, we able make progress and find text agreeable both of us.

16. I said I was still trying to get at heart of matter. I too hoped we can show progress to world. Important thing is we make sure it is genuine progress. Our problem is not give appearance of progress by agreeing to form of words that means one thing to one side and another to other. Problems we face are too fundamental importance for that. I felt we would be doing disservice to both our people and cause of peace if we attempted agree on basis words which had different meanings. That is why I may be appearing so persistent. Purpose is not debate but to try to arrive at understanding. I agreed that problems

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Action 12/5/55, 9:15 a.m.

CORRECTED PAGE TWO

Date of Action 12/5

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Action -2- 1240, December 1, 10 p.m. from Geneva (SECTION 2 OF 3), Control 644

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that problems should be discussed step-by-step. We both agreed that area in which policies confront each other most seriously is Taiwan area.

17. I said what I was trying to get at was this. In making statement such as he had proposed, US would be renewing what I had termed renunciation of force in international relations; Wang's government would give appearance of doing same thing. However, in light of his remarks and fully expressed policy his government, would not his government in fact be saying it considered question of Taiwan area domestic matter and hence reserved right initiate use of force any time it did?

18. I said perhaps I had not made myself clear. I would state my point in another way. While his side was willing make delcaration of renunciation of force with US, did it still insist on right interpret situation Taiwan area to permit it to apply force at any time its desires not met? That is, would US have renounced force whereas Wang's government would not have done so because of its reservations in regard to nature of dispute in Taiwan area? Would any further negotiation between us be subject to continuing threat of initiation of force by his government that area?

19. I said I hoped I was not right in this. What I had expressed frankly was my understanding of position Wang's government. I wished he would tell me frankly if I was wrong.

20. Wang said he thought it important to note we were dealing with matters between China and US. If he were to raise matters or policies within scope internal affairs US or if he were to cause apprehensions concerning US policy of internal affairs, he would be guilty of going beyond scope present talks. This would complicate problem between us and would amount to creating difficulties in talks.

21. Wang said draft he had presented can in no way be described as an "apparent" form. He agreed anything we declared should have practical bearing. Difference of policies our two countries in Taiwan area has lead to extremely tense situation over which people of world most concerned. Demonstrating our desire settle disputes by peaceful means without resort to use of force meets with desire people of world. This action in interests both sides.

22. I said I would put my question very bluntly, if this or similar statement were issued tomorrow, would his government have said anything that would prevent it on next day from saying that it considered situation Taiwan area domestic matter and was therefore initiating hostilities there?

23. Wang

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23. Wang said my question went precisely beyond scope of talks. As he had repeatedly stated, question of Taiwan is an internal matter of China, which his side also willing settle by peaceful means. To follow line I had taken, if we were to issue announcement tomorrow, then our discussions have created same result. That is, two countries henceforth willing settle any dispute by peaceful means. That would certainly be welcomed by all. It would demonstrate to world that China and US have made contribution to relaxing tension Taiwan area.

24. Wang said following issuance of announcement, we would continue discussion to find settlement disputes, such as question embargoes and higher level conference between two countries. Then if I wanted discuss further ways and means relax tension Taiwan area, his side prepared join me and continue discussion in this direction.

GOWEN

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Control: 656
Rec'd: DECEMBER 1, 1955
9:06 PM

Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Date of Action
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Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1240, DECEMBER 1, 10 PM (SECTION 3 OF 3)

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FROM JOHNSON

I SAID WOULD THIS MEAN DISCUSSIONS WOULD NOT BE HELD UNDER THREAT THAT ONE SIDE WOULD RESERVE RIGHT INITIATE HOSTILITIES IF ITS DESIRES NOT FULLY MET?

26. WANG SAID IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN STAND HIS SIDE THAT NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE CARRIED ON IN PEACEFUL ATMOSPHERE. IF ONE WERE TO MENTION THREATS, IT IS HIS SIDE THAT FELT ITSELF BEING THREATENED.

27. I SAID I HAD NOTHING FURTHER ON THIS SUBJECT. I WOULD STUDY DRAFT AND REPLY MORE FULLY AT NEXT MEETING. BEFORE PASSING TO ANOTHER MATTER, DID HE HAVE ANYTHING FURTHER?

28. WANG SAID WE HAD TALKED A GREAT DEAL ON THIS SUBJECT AND NEW EFFORT HIS SIDE WAS BEING MADE ON BASIS OF WHAT I HAD SAID AT LAST MEETING. HE BELIEVED DRAFT IS WITHIN INTEREST OF BOTH OF US, AND HOPED WE WOULD PROGRESS SMOOTHLY ON THIS SUBJECT.

29. I SAID I AGREED, AND FELT OUR DISCUSSION THIS MORNING HAD BEEN MOST USEFUL. I HOPED HE WOULD MEANWHILE CONSIDER QUESTION I HAD RAISED THIS MORNING. AMPLIFICATION OF HIS ANSWERS WOULD BE MOST HELFUL.

30. I SAID I WISHED BRING UP HUMANITARIAN MATTER IN REGARD TO IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ON RELEASE CIVILIANS THAT

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HOPED HE WOULD PRESENT TO HIS GOVERNMENT. ON NOVEMBER 17. HIS GOVERNMENT HAD ANNOUNCED MRS. BRADSHAW BEING RELEASED FROM CUSTODY AND FREE TO DEPART. MRS. LAU WHO HAD BEEN CARING FOR HER ASKED THAT MRS. BRADSHAW BE PERMITTED DEPART WITH HER. PERMISSION NOT GRANTED IN TIME.

31. I SAID WE UNDERSTOOD FROM MRS. LAU THAT MRS. BRADSHAW'S HEALTH WAS VERY BAD. SHE IS EXTREMELY WEAK AND WE UNDERSTAND SHE HAS TO BE FED ARTIFICIALLY AT TIMES. SHE IS UNABLE MOVE OR TRAVEL WITHOUT ASSISTANCE. MENTAL STATE ALSO UNSTABLE APPARENTLY ATTEMPTED COMMIT SUICIDE SEVERAL TIMES. I WAS SURE WANG AGREED WITH ME IT WOULD BE MOST UNFORTUNATE IF SHE DID NOT PROMPTLY AND SAFELY ARRIVE IN US.

32. I SAID IT SEEMED TO ME BEST ANSWER TO PROBLEM WOULD BE FOR MRS. BRADSHAW'S, HUSBAND, DR., BRADSHAW, WHO IS PHYSICIAN TO BE PROMPTLY RELEASED SO HE COULD TRAVEL WITH HER AND TAKE HER OUT. WOULD BE IN INTEREST OF BOTH OF US. I HOPED HE WOULD PRESENT SUGGESTION TO HIS GOVERNEMENT.

33. I SAID I ALSO NOTED THAT NO FURTHER AMERICANS HAD RETURNED SINCE NOVEMBER 17 AND THAT BRITISH CHARGE HAD NOT SEEN ADDITIONAL AMERICANS OR RECEIVED FURTHER COMMUNICATIONS BEYOND ONE HE RECEIVED SOME TIME AGO.

34. WANG SAID HE HAD NOTED MY STATEMENT. REGARDING QUESTION OF BRITISH CHARGE BEING UNABLE COMMUNICATE WITH IMPRISONED PEOPLE AS BELIEVED BY ME, HE HAD ALREADY EXPRESSED HIS POSITION. HIS SIDE HAS ALL ALONG BEEN LENIENT IN TREATMENT IMPRISONED AMERICANS IN ACCORDANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, SO THAT THEY WOULD BE ABLE EFFECT THEIR RETURN SMOOTHLY. OF COURSE AMERICANS WHO HAVE COMMITTED OFFENSES MUST NECESSARILY UNDERGO AND COMPLETE LEGAL PROCEDURE IN CHINA. THEIR CASES MUST BE EXAMINED AND DEALT WITH IN ACCORDANCE CHINESE LEGAL PROCEDURES. BEFORE THESE ARE COMPLETED, QUESTION OF RETURN WAS NOT POSSIBLE.

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35. WANG SAID THERE WAS EVEN LESS POINT IN ALLEGING DELAY OR OBSTRUCTION. IF ANY AMERICAN WHO HAS COMMITTED OFFENSES HAS ANY COMMUNICATION TO BRITISH CHARGE TO MAKE, PRC ALL ALONG HAS HELPED THEM DO SO. IF IT WERE SO, I ASKED THAT BRITISH CHARGE SHOULD HAVE ABILITY OF COMMUNICATING WITH AMERICANS IN QUESTION ON OWN INITIATIVE, THEN INDIAN EMBASSY SHOULD ENJOY SAME RIGHT IN USE OF COMMUNICATING WITH CHINESE RESIDENTS ON ITS OWN INITIATIVE. PRC HAS LEARNED FROM INDIAN EMBASSY THAT US NOT ASSISTING INDIAN EMBASSY COMMUNICATE WITH CHINESE. MOREOVER, US HAS FAILED PROVIDE LISTS OF CHINESE IN US. INDIAN EMBASSY THUS HAS ENCOUNTERED DIFFICULTY IN COMMUNICATING WITH CHINESE RESIDENTS IN US ON INITIATIVE OF INDIAN EMBASSY. PRC SIDE NOT SATISFIED WITH FAILURE US GOVERNMENT ASSIST INDIAN EMBASSY CONMUNICATE WITH CHINESE RESIDENTS IN ACCORDANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

36. I SAID I WAS SURE UK CHARGE HAD NOT RAISED QUESTION COMMUNICATING WITH AMERICANS IN CHINA IN GENERAL. QUESTION INVOLVED ONLY IMPRISONED AMERICANS. WANG'S GOVERNMENT CERTAINLY HAD SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN REGARD IMPRISONED AMERICANS. DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND WHY OF FOURTEEN AMERICANS REMAINING IN PRISON ONLY ONE HAD COMMMUNICATED WITH UK CHARGE.

37. I SAID AS FAR AS INDIAN EMBASSY FUNCTIONS IN US CONCERNED, I HAD PREVIOUSLY GIVEN ASSURANCES EVERY ASSISTANCE BEING GIVEN CARRY OUT FUNCTIONS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, AND NO RESTRICTIONS BEING IMPOSED IN THIS REGARD. AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNED PEOPLE WHO DESIRE RETURN. ANY CHINESE IN US WHO DESIRES RETURN AND DESIRES COMMUNICATE INDIAN EMBASSY ENTIRELY FREE DO SO. I SAID I HOPED HE WOULD TRANSMIT SUGGESTION REGARDING BRADSHAW TO HIS GOVERNMENT. THERE IS NO ONE TO CARE FOR HER. HER HUSBAND CERTAINLY BEST EQUIPPED DO SO.

38. WANG SAID HE ALSO HOPED IMPROVEMENT WOULD BE MADE REGARDING INDIAN EMBASSY FUNCTIONS.

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-3- 1240, DECEMBER 1, 10 PM (SECTION 3 OF 3) FROM GENEVA

39. I SAID I KNEW OF NO COMPLAINT FROM INDIAN EMBASSY.

40. WANG SAID INDIAN EMBASSY HAD RAISED QUESTION OF COMMUNICATING WITH CHINESE RESIDENTS AND US HAD STATED IT COULD NOT DO SO.

41. I ASKED WHAT THERE WAS IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING INITIATION OF COMMUNICATIONS BY INDIAN EMBASSY WITH CINESE RESIDENTS. ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNED ONLY CHINESE WHO WISH TO RETURN.

42. WANG SAID GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED HAD DUTY GRANT FACILITIES TO THIRD STATE. IT WAS ONLY BECAUSE I HAD RAISED QUESTION THAT HE HAD REFERRED TO MATTER. HE HAD ONLY STATED THAT TWO THIRD STATES SHOULD ENJOY SAME RIGHTS.

3. MEETING CLOSED WITH CONFIRMATION NEXT MEETING THURSDAY DECEMBER 8. SAME PRESS STATEMENT.

GOWEN

MEB

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1955 DEC 2 PM 12 30
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11:30 A.M.

Date of Action

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Name of Officer

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RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1241, DECEMBER 2, 4 P.M.

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FROM JOHNSON

1. BELIEVE YESTERDAY'S DEVELOPMETS REFLECT MAJOR TACTICAL SHIFT IN PEIPING WHICH WILL REQUIRE CORRESPONDING DECISIONS ON OUR PART. WHATEVER THEIR MOTIVES THEIR DRAFT ALMOST COMPLETELY MEETS POSITION I HAVE BEEN TAKING.

2. THEIR ACCEPTANCE RENUNCIATION FORCE CONCEPT, AND AGREEMENT TO APPARENTLY INDEFINITE EXTENSION THESE TALKS PROBABLY STEMS IN PART FROM PEIPING ESTIMATE REPERCUSSIONS THESE DEVELOPMENTS ON TAIWAN AS WELL AS ON OUR ALLIES. POSTPONEMENT DEMAND FOR FONMIN CONFERENCE PROBABLY INFLUENCED BY OUR FIRM REJECTION THIS PROPOSAL AT PRESENT STAGE, BY FAILURE OBTAIN SUPPORT OF MOLOTOV (AS WELL AS MACMILLAND AND NEHRU) AND REALIZATION THEIR PUBLIC POSITION OF PISTOL--TO-HEAD DEMAND ON THIS ISSUE WAS NOT GOOD. BELIEVE SECRETARY'S COMMUNICATIONS TO U NU, SUBSTANCE OF WHICH UNDOUBTEDLY PASSED ON, ALSO PLAYED IMPORTANT PART.

3. AT ANY RATE PRC HAS NOW PRESENTED DRAFT WHICH VERY CLOSELY FOLLOWS LINE OF ARGUMENT I HAVE BEEN TAKING IN MEETINGS. THEY THEREFORE HAVE GROUNDS FOR ANTICIPATING ITS ACCEPTANCE WITH LITTLE MODIFICATION. IF NOT ACCEPTED THEY ARE IN VERY STRONG NEGOTIATING AS WELL AS PUBLIC POSITION AND WILL PROBABLY NOT HESITATE QUICKLY TO GO TO PUBLIC IF THEY CONSIDER IT DESIRABLE BRING PRESSURE ON US.

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4. ONE QUESTION IS WHETHER IN CONTEXT NEGOTIATIONS THUS FAR THERE WOULD BE COMMITMENT BY U. S. TO DISCUSS IN SOME NORM "RELAXATION AND ELIMINATION OF TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA". REFUSAL IN ANY WAY TO ADMIT TO DISCUSSION THESE TALKS WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO DEFEND PUBLICLY AND WOULD SUPPPORT THEIR DEMAND FOR FONMIN MEETING. ACCEPTANCE WILL INCREASE STRAINS OUR RELATIONS WITH GRC BUT POSSIBLY TO LESSER EXTENT THAN FONMIN MEETING. POSSIBLY WE CAN FIND SOME SUBJECT WE CAN INTRODUCE OR SOME UNIPATERAL ACTION WE CAN TAKE THAT WOULD GIVE US AT LEAST TEMPORARY INITIATIVE IN THIS GENERAL FIELD.

5. ANOTHER QUESTION IS WHAT OTHER SUBJECTS COULD BE INTRODUCED OR DISCUSSED IN EFFORT KEEP TALKS GOING SO AS POSTPONE COMING TO GRIPS WITH THORNY TAIWAN AREA QUESTIONS. TRADE IS NOW ONLY REMAINING QUESTION AND PARTICULARLY IF I MUST CONTINUE INDICATE COMPLETE FIRMNESS ON U.S. EMBARGO THIS OFFERS LITTLE SCOPE FOR MEETINGS. WHILE LOWERING CHINCOM LEVELS FAIRLY PROMPTLY FOLLOWING ISSUANCE ANY DECLARATION RENUNCIATION FORCE WOULD BE USEFUL MOVE, IT CANNOT PROVIDE MUCH IN WAY OF SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION IN MEETINGS.

6. IN LIGHT OF ABOVE I WILL NEED AS WELL AS MUCH BACKGROUND GUIDANCE AS IT IS NOW POSSIBLE TO GIVE ME ON WHAT WE DESIRE CONCERNING FUTURE COURSE OF TALKS.

7. WITH RESPECT WANG'S DRAFT BELIEVE SITUATION PRECLUDES MY INTRODUCTION NEW COUNTER DRAFT OR RETURN MY FIRST DRAFT. ON OTHER HAND I SHOULD HAVE CLEAR IDEA WHETHER WE WILLING ACCEPT HIS DRAFT WITH OR WITHOUT SUCH AMENDMENTS WE MIGHT SUGGEST. I NEED NOT NECESSARILY GIVE FINAL APPROVAL AT NEXT MEETING BUT WILL DESIRE AVOID TAKING ANY POSITIONS FROM WHICH I MIGHT LATER BE REQUIRED TO RETREAT.

8. WITH RESPECT HIS DRAFT IT SEEMS TO ME PRINCIPAL QUESTION IS WHETHER I SHOULD PRESS FOR SPECIFIC MENTION OF TAIWAN. IT SEEMS TO ME FROM STANDPOINT OUR RELATIONS WITH GRC AND DEGREE TO WHICH WE ARE COMMITTED TO DISCUSSION TAIWAN AREA

QUESTIONS

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QUESTIONS WITH PRC THERE IS MUCH TO BE SAID FOR OMISSION ANY SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO TAIWAN IN DECLARATION. THIS ALSO RELATED TO WHETHER WE ARE TO REGARD ANY SUCH DECLARATION AS PRIMARILY LEGAL OR POLITICAL STATEMENT. WHILE STATEMENT AS PRESENTLY DRAFTED MAY CONTAIN LEGAL LOOPHOLES WITH RESPECT TAIWAN AREA, REGARDED AS POLITICAL STATEMENT IT SEEEMS TO ME IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR PEIPING ISSUE THIS STATEMENT AND THEN TURN AROUND AND ATTEMPT JUSTIFY ATTACK IN TAIWAN AREA ON GROUNDS UNEXPRESSED FINE PRINT. IN EYES OF WORLD BOTH FRIENDLY AND ENEMY, MAJOR DISPUTE BETWEEN U.S. AND PRC IS IN TAIWAN AREA.

9. WITH RESPECT SECOND PARA WANG'S DRAFT, IMPORTANT NOTE RE ACCURATE AND LITERAL TRANSLATION OF CHINESE ORIGINAL WOULD BE "PRC AND U.S." ARE DETERMINED THAT THEY SHOULD SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN THEIR TWO COUNTRIES THROUGH PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS AND ALSO WILL NOT RESORT TO ANY (AND ALL) THREAT (INTIMIDATION) OF MILITARY FORCE". (CHINESE TEXT OPERATIVE PORTION THIS PARA AND LAST PARA BEING TRANSMITTED BY SEPARATE TEL.) THIS OF COURSE MUCH STRONGER AND PREFERABLE FROM OUR STANDPOINT TO ENGLISH TRANSLATION GIVEN ME BY WANG, THERE NOT BEING ANY CONDITIONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NEGOTIATIONS AND RENUNCIATION OF FORCE.

10. THEREFORE BELIEVE THAT, SUBJECT TO WHATEVER VIEWS DEPARTMENT MAY HAVE WITH RESPECT TO SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO TAIWAN, I CAN AND SHOULD AT NEXT MEETING PROBE ON SUBSTITUTION OF "AND ALSO" FOR "WITHOUT" IN ENGLISH TEXT. WANG WILL PROBABLY NOT COMMIT HIMSELF BUT QUESTION WILL INEVITABLY ARISE AS TO WHETHER WE PREPARED ACCEPT IF THEY AGREE OUR ENGLISH VERSION.

GOWEN

WEB

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396

COMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

18-13

CONFIDENTIAL

Action

FE

Info

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Control: 1155
Rec'd: DECEMBER 2, 1955
11:56 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1243, DECEMBER 2, 5 PM

PRIORITY

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

RE PARA 9 MYTEL 1241 THERE FOLLOWS CHINESE TEXT IN MATTHEWS NUMBERS OF SUBSTANTIVE PORTION SECOND PARA BEGINNING WITH "ARE DETERMINED" AND ALL LAST PARA WANG'S DRAFT:

5187 5788 1697 2735 6439 4419 7477 3191 6638 3730 2115 - 5303 -6078 - 4893 - 626 - 1697 - 6439 - 4419 - 3953 - 3738 - 935 - 835 - 6213 - 365 - 6541 - 1756 - 5379 - 5494 - 1362 - 7051 - 2641 - 2402 - 7195 -3920 - 3953 - 3738 - 5943 - 5770 - 7477 - 3191 - 452 - 2865 - 2345 - 6070 (#) - 2744 - 1217 - 5821 - 2684 - 265 - 3016 - 3709 - 6615 - 7729 - 7043 - 6213 - 811 - 5821 - 3381 - 2754 - 6213 - 6527 - 1120.

GOWEN

MDG

(#) RECEIVED AS 6070, CONFIRMED AS 6078

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Released
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 8/17/

Action Assigned to _____
Action Taken _____
Date of Action _____
Action Office Symbol _____
Name of Officer _____
Direction to DC/ _____

611.93/12-255

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BUREAU OF EASTERN AFFAIRS

397

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24-H
Action

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 1295
Rec'd: DECEMBER 2, 1955
4:51 P.M.

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FROM: GENEVA

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TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 1244, DECEMBER 2, 5 P.M.

SENT DEPARTMENT 1244; REPEATED INFORMATION PARIS 279, BRUSSELS UNNUMBERED

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FROM JOHNSON

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HAGUIWARAS (JAPANESE AMBASSADOR) AS WELL AS LEROY (BELGIAN) HAVE UNDER INSTRUCTIONS CALLED ON ME IN LAST FEW DAYS TO INQUIRE OUR ATTITUDE ON REDUCTION CHINCOM CONTROLS.

HAGUIWARA PARTICULARLY TALKED ABOUT INDIRECT WEST EUROPEAN SALES CHINCOM ITEMS TO CHICOMS THROUGH SOVBLOC COUNTRIES WITH PRACTICALLY JAPAN EXCLUDED FROM SUCH TRADE. SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED GALVANIZED SHEETS.

LEROY SAID BELGIAN TRADE DELEGATION HEADED BY MEMBER PARLIAMENT RECENTLY RETURNED FROM TRIP TO COMMUNIST CHINA AND IS STRONGLY PRESSING GOVERNMENT FOR RELAXATION CHINCOM LEVEL.

I TOOK STRONG LINE WITH BOTH ALONG LINES MERCHANT LETTERS TO DE MARGERIE AND KIRKPATRICK, PERSONALLY EMPHASIZING HIGH VALUE I PLACED ON TRADE WEAPON AND IMPORTANCE MY RENUNCIATION FORCE NEGOTIATIONS TO OTHER COUNTRIES. HOWEVER SAID MY TALKS HERE ONLY ONE ASPECT OUR ATTITUDE ON CHINCOM LEVEL AND FURTHER DISCUSSION SUBJECT SHOULD BE IN WASHINGTON OR PARIS.

GOWEN

LJ

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM

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Classification

484

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1955 DEC 2 PM 6 54

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 1339

FOR JOHNSON

Origin

In view pertinent Peiping broadcasts transmitted GENEVA in full by FBIS, Department believes it unnecessary continue weekly telegrams summarizing ChiCom propaganda. Therefore unless you request continuation no further weekly summary will be issued.

Dulles
JY

= DULLES

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CS/A

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SC/B
Amt 55
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611.93/12-255

Drafted by: DRF/C:HWJacobson:mvw 12-2-55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: OIR/DRF:JAYager JY

Clearances: EAD CA WAMcL

Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
DEC 2 - 1955
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

605 pm

S/S-CR
DEC 2 1955 P M

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 399

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

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02504
1955 DEC 6 PM 8 07

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1354

Origin

Info:

FOR JOHNSON

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Reference DEPTEL 1352

Following is Wang's December 1 draft on renunication of force as amended by Department.

BEGIN TEXT

A. Ambassador Wang Ping-nan, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, and Ambssador U. Alexis Johnson on behalf of the Government of the United States of America, agree to announce:

B. The People's Republic of China and the United States of America are determined that they should settle disputes between them through peaceful negotiations without resort to the threat or use of force; and they renounce the use of force in general, and with particular reference to the Taiwan area, except in individual and collective self defense.

C. The two Ambassadors should continue their talks to seek practical and feasible ~~xxxx~~ means for the realization of this common desire. END TEXT

Department has decided not to object to form of joint announcement at this time rather than insist on separate, unilateral announcement so that if Communists should break off talks they could not utilize dispute over form of announcement to obscure real issue.

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DC/E 55

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough/ikb 12/6/55

Telegraph [illegible] classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances: FE - Mr. Sebald CA - W.E. McConaughy

L - Mr. Phleger (cleared in draft)

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Classification

11114

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Action FE

Info RMR SS

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Control: 3454 MPR
Rec'd: DECEMBER 7, 1955
10:02 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1260, DECEMBER 7, 3 P.M.

NIACT

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FROM JOHNSON

1. HAVE JUST RECEIVED DEPTELS 1348 AND 1352 THROUGH 1354.

2. WHILE WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT WAS IN BRADSHAW'S TWO PREVIOUS LETTERS FACT REMAINS LETTER FROM HIM WAS TRANSMITTED CONTAINING INFORMATION TWO PREVIOUS LETTERS REFUSED TRANSMISSION, AND ASKING FOR VISIT "IN ORDER HE AND MRS. BRADSHAW MIGHT BE RELEASED EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT". WHILE FAILURE TRANSMIT TWO PREVIOUS LETTERS GROUNDS FOR PROTEST, IT SEEMS TO ME DIFFICULT TO MAKE THIS BASIS FOR PRESENTATION OUTLINED PARAGRAPH 3 DEPTEL 1352 PARTICULARLY AS A LETTER FROM BRADSHAW HAS NOW BEEN RECEIVED.

3. I STRONGLY QUESTION DESIRABILITY OF PLACING SO MUCH EMPHASIS UPON SECONDARY "WELFARE" ASPECT OF SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT. BELIEVE WE WOULD BE ON MUCH STRONGER GROUNDS TO BASE PRESENTATION PARAGRAPH 3 DEPTEL 1352 ON FAILURE RELEASE AMERICANS "EXPEDITIOUSLY" UNDER SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT.

4. HUAN'S REPLY TO O'NEILL'S REQUEST FOR RELEASE BRADSHAW (PARAGRAPH 8 DEPTEL 1348) WOULD SEEM INDICATE WANG HAD PROBABLY TRANSMITTED MY SIMILAR APPEAL AT DECEMBER 1 MEETING AND AS THINGS NOW STAND WE HAVE SOME GROUND TO HOPE FOR EARLY RELEASE BRADSHAW.

5. WITH RESPECT BRADSHAW AND TOMORROW'S MEETING I WOULD BE IN AN AWKWARD POSITION IF BRADSHAW WERE TO BE RELEASED ABOUT SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH MEETING. WHILE IT IS UNLIKELY I MUST ALSO BE PREPARED FOR POSSIBILITY WANG WOULD EXCEPTIONALLY

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INFORM ME OF RELEASE AT MEETING. IF BRADSHAW NOT RELEASED BY TOMORROW'S MEETING I DO NOT SEE HOW IN LIGHT ALL CIRCUMSTANCES OUR TACTIC WILL PERSUADE CHINESE COMMUNISTS EXPEDITE HIS RELEASE AND BELIEVE MAY IN FACT BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

6. THEREFORE I URGENTLY REQUEST AUTHORITY AT TOMORROW'S MEETING TO:

A. MAKE PROTEST ON FAILURE DELIVER BRADSHAW'S FIRST TWO LETTERS AND REITERATE HOPE FOR HIS EARLY RELEASE.

B. MAKE STATEMENT ALONG LINES PARAGRAPH 3 DEPTEL 1352 BUT FOR MOST PART BASED ON FAILURE "EXPEDITIOUSLY" RELEASE AMERICANS UNDER SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT AS SET FORTH LAST SENTENCE PARAGRAPH 3 RATHER THAN ON BRADSHAW'S LETTERS AS IMPLIED SECOND SENTENCE PARAGRAPH 3.

C. WITH RESPECT RENUNCIATION FORCE, ASK HIM FOR MORE COMPLETE REPLIES QUESTIONS I ASKED LAST MEETING (AT CLOSE LAST MEETING IT WAS INDICATED TO HIM I EXPECTED SUCH REPLIES), AND MAKE SOME GENERAL COMMENTS AS WOULD APPEAR APPROPRIATE ON HIS DRAFT, PICKING UP PERTINENT MATERAL FROM DEPTEL 1353 AND IN GENERAL PAVING WAY FOR INTRODUCTION AT SUBSEQUENT MEETING OF OUR AMENDMENTS HIS DRAFT.

GOWEN

WDR

Note: Advance copy to Mr. Waddell (FE) 12/7/55, 10:50 a.m. MG.

1955 DEC 7 AM 11 39

FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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401

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

02751

1955 DEC 7 PM 3 39

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA NIACT 1355
FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info:

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Your 1260.

1. Department did not intend that you place primary emphasis on "welfare" aspect Agreed Announcement. You should continue as in past placing primary emphasis on Communist failure release Americans expeditiously using Bradshaw case as glaring example not only failure release, but refusal to transmit letters, pointing out this forces conclusion that remainder imprisoned Americans are receiving same treatment as Bradshaw.

2. Secretary believes time has come to demonstrate stiffer attitude on failure Communists live up to commitments. Three months passed since Agreed Announcement and only five of nineteen released. Wang has come to regard our weekly protests this subject as routine. Best way of convincing him we take this seriously is concentrate exclusively this subject for one meeting, basing your protest on fact you have been instructed by your Government do so.

3. Bradshaw release before or simultaneous with meeting does not change situation. This would not prove that Communists are carrying out declaration but only that in this case had done so because facts were fortuitously

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L - Mr. Phleger

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMCConaughy/RWClough/FE:WJSebald/L:HPhleger:evc/ek 12/7/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Ralph W. Clough

Clearances: FE - Mr. Robertson (cleared in draft)

DC/T
Encl 55

S/S-CR
DEC - 7 1955 P.M.
To S/S

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Classification

611.93/12-755

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fortuitously revealed. Bradshaw case is merely example of course of conduct by ~~xxxx~~ Communists which is continuing as to remainder still imprisoned. You can point out that Washington felt so strongly on this subject that your instructions were to deal exclusively with it for this meeting and that future progress on renunciation force is of necessity dependent on showing good faith in implementing Agreed Announcement already made.

4. While above tactics may not immediately assist Bradshaw, our conclusion is that from overall standpoint, bearing in mind that ninety days have now elapsed, time has come to take stronger line than heretofore.

5. It is important to show relationship between Communist performance under first Agreed Announcement and question participation by US in second one. This point should receive strong emphasis in your presentation.

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1955 DEC 8 AM 11 31

Control: 4024
Rec'd: DECEMBER 8, 1955
9:08 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

NO: 1263, DECEMBER 8, 2 P.M.

Action Assigned to

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC

PRIORITY

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. ONE HOUR FIFTY MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING DEVOTED ENTIRELY TO IMPLEMENTATION EXCEPT FOR PREPARED STATEMENT BY WANG AMPLIFYING HIS REPLIES MY QUESTIONS LAST MEETING ON HIS RENUNCIATION OF FORCE DRAFT.

2. I OPENED WITH LONG PREPARED STATEMENT FULLY BRINGING OUT ALL POINTS CONTAINED DEPTELS 1352 AND 1355.

3. AFTER "REGRETTING" I HAD NOTHING TO SAY TODAY ON HIS DRAFT WANG MADE PREPARED STATEMENT AMPLIFYING HIS ANSWERS MY QUESTIONS AT LAST MEETING PARTICULARLY REGARDING APPLICABILITY DRAFT TAIWAN AREA. HE WAS MORE SPECIFIC THAN PREVIOUSLY IN SAYING TAIWAN AREA IS HEART US-PRC DISPUTE AND AS SUCH IS INTERNATIONAL MATTER GOING BEYOND DOMESTIC MATTER OF PRC'S DEALINGS WITH CHIANG CLIQUE. NEW DRAFT IS INTEGRAL WHOLE. PRC STILL CONSIDERS REMOVAL AND REDUCTION TENSIONS IN TAIWAN AREA PROPER SUBJECT FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING BUT WILLING DISCUSS THESE TALKS IF US DESIRES. HOWEVER REFUSAL DISCUSS AND SETTLE THIS PROBLEM WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO DEMANDING PRC RECOGNIZE STATUS QUO WHICH IT WILL NEVER DO. SOMEWHAT MORE STRESS THAN LAST FEW MEETINGS ON WITHDRAWAL US FORCES AS ONLY WAY REMOVE PRESENT THREAT TO PRC.

4. WANG THEN MADE ALREADY PREPARED STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION

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WHICH HE TIED TO MY PREVIOUS STATEMENT. LARGELY RE-ITERATED FORMER POSITIONS ON NOT DISCUSSING MATTER HERE BUT THROUGH THIRD PARTIES, VAGUE COMPLAINTS OF US VIOLATION AGREEMENT DURING WHICH HE MENTIONED ALLEGED NEW IMMIGRATION REGULATIONS REQUIRING CHINESE STUDENTS OBTAIN ENTRY PERMITS TO TAIWAN BEFORE GIVEN DATE, WITH REGARD WHICH THEY ARE ASKING INDIA MAKE PRESENTATION. WOULD NOT ANSWER MANY QUESTIONS FROM ME WITH RESPECT TO IMPLEMENTATION UNTIL I ANSWER:

A) WHETHER US PREPARED PROVIDE INDIA WITH COMPLETE LIST NAMES AND ADDRESSES ALL CHINESE IN US.

B) ASSIST INDIA IN FINDING OUT STATUS OF CHINESE IN US.

C) RESCIND ALL MEASURES VIOLATING "SPIRIT" OF THE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

THERE WAS THEN LONG GIVE AND TAKE DURING WHICH I STRESSED NOT SINGLE KNOWN CASE ANY CHINESE OBSTRUCTED FROM A DEPARTURE FROM US CONTRASTED WITH SITUATION 14 AMERICANS REMAINING IN PRISON. ALSO CONTRASTED FREEDOM CHINESE US COMMUNICATE NOT ONLY WITH INDIAN EMBASSY BUT WITH PERSONS IN PRC WITH KNOWN FACTS IN BRADSHAW LETTERS AND FAILURE RECEIVE COMMUNICATIONS FROM OTHER 12 AMERICANS.

6. NEXT MEETING THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15.

GOWEN

WDR

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48-L

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Action
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Control: 4352
Rec'd: DECEMBER 8, 1955
8:18 PM

Info
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 1269, DECEMBER 8, 11 PM (SECTION 1 OF 4)

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FROM JOHNSON

Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DO/R

1. I OPENED 29TH MEETING TODAY WITH PREPARED STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION AS FOLLOWS:

A. I HAVE BEEN GREATLY ENCOURAGED IN PROGRESS I FEEL WE HAVE BEEN MAKING IN OUR DISCUSSIONS. IT HAS SEEMED TO ME THAT WE HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN GRADUALLY ENLARGING AREA OF AGREEMENT IN OUR SEARCH FOR BASIS UPON WHICH ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD BE ISSUED WHICH WOULD ASSURE WORLD OF OUR DETERMINATION THAT OUR CLASH OF VIEWS AND POLICIES, INCLUDING THOSE IN TAIWAN AREA, WOULD NOT LEAD TO WAR.

B. IN THIS CONNECTION I HAVE OFTEN SPOKEN OF VITAL NECESSITY IN DISCUSSING THIS FUNDAMENTAL SUBJECT, OF MAKING CERTAIN THAT THERE IS NOT ONLY FULL AND COMPLETE UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US OF EXACT MEANING AND IMPLICATIONS OF ANY FORM OF WORDS UPON WHICH WE MAY AGREE, BUT ALSO CONFIDENCE THAT AGREEMENTS REACHED WILL BE FULLY CARRIED OUT. IN THIS REGARD I HAVE MOST EARNESTLY AND FRANKLY SPOKEN OF MY GOVERNMENT'S DISSATISFACTION WITH WAY IN WHICH YOUR GOVERNMENT IS CARRYING OUT OBLIGATIONS IT ASSUMED UNDER OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 10. THAT WAS FIRST AGREEMENT REACHED BETWEEN US AND, IN SPITE OF VERY EXPLICIT WORDS OF THAT STATEMENT, IT NOW APPEARS THERE WAS EITHER NOT AN UNDERSTANDING OF ITS TERMS, OR ITS TERMS ARE BEING VIOLATED. MY GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS LATTER IS CASE. THIS DOES NOT CREATE ATMOSPHERE CONDUCIVE TO DISCUSSION AND AGREEMENT ON SECOND PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT. MY GOVERNMENT AND WORLD PUBLIC HAD EVERY REASON TO EXPECT THAT CLEAR WORDS OF OUR STATEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 10 WOULD BE FULLY AND EFFECTIVELY

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CARRIED OUT. WORDS OF FIRST SUBSTANTIVE PARAGRAPH OF YOUR PORTION OF THAT STATEMENT ARE AS CLEAR AS WORDS CAN BE: "PRC RECOGNIZES THAT AMERICANS IN PRC WHO DESIRE TO RETURN TO U.S. ARE ENTITLED TO DO SO, AND DECLARES THAT IT HAS ADOPTED AND WILL FURTHER ADOPT APPROPRIATE MEASURES SO THAT THEY CAN EXPEDITIOUSLY EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN." THAT STATEMENT WHICH WAS FREELY MADE BY YOUR GOVERNMENT CONTAINS NO CONDITIONS, EXCEPTIONS, OR QUALIFICATIONS SUCH AS ARE NOW BEING USED TO JUSTIFY YOUR GOVERNMENT'S CONTINUED DETENTION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS IMPRISONED IN YOUR COUNTRY. AT TIME WE WERE DISCUSSING THIS SUBJECT IN DETAIL YOU ASKED SUCH TERMS AS "QUICKLY", "VERY QUICKLY", ETC., AND I POINTED OUT TO YOU THAT WORD "EXPEDITIOUSLY", WHICH YOU SUGGESTED FOR ENGLISH TEXT, MEANT JUST THAT, AND MY GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE WOULD SO UNDERSTAND IT. HOWEVER, ALMOST THREE MONTHS HAVE NOW PASSED SINCE THE ISSUANCE OF THAT ANNOUNCEMENT AND 14 AMERICANS STILL REMAIN IN PRISON.

C. IT IS NOT REALISTIC TO EXPECT PROGRESS IN REACHING ANOTHER AGREEMENT UNLESS THERE IS CLEAR EVIDENCE THAT THERE IS GOOD FAITH IN PROCEEDING TO CARRY OUT AGREEMENTS ALREADY REACHED. I HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO MAKE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT MY GOVERNMENT DOES NOT FEEL THAT THERE HAS BEEN GOOD FAITH WITH REGARD TO EXPEDITIOUS RETURN OF AMERICANS DETAINED IN YOUR COUNTRY, AS WELL AS IN CARRYING OUT OTHER ASPECTS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

D. NOT ONLY ARE AMERICANS NOT BEING EXPEDITIOUSLY RELEASED, BUT THOSE DETAINED ARE NOT ABLE FREELY TO COMMUNICATE WITH U.K. CHARGE AS IS ALSO CLEARLY PROVIDED IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. OF 14 AMERICANS STILL DETAINED UK CHARGE HAS RECEIVED COMMUNICATIONS FROM ONLY TWO. YET YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS NOT, AND I AM SURE THAT IT WILL NOT, ALLEGE THAT REASON THESE IMPRISONED AMERICANS HAVE NOT COMMUNICATED WITH UK CHARGE IS THAT THEY DO NOT DESIRE TO RETURN. YOU TOLD ME AT OUR LAST MEETING

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THAT IF THESE AMERICANS DESIRED TO COMMUNICATE WITH UK CHARGE, THEY WERE BEING ASSISTED IN DOING SO. I BELIEVE THAT YOU MUST NOT HAVE HAD ALL FACTS AT TIME YOU MADE THAT STATEMENT.

E. FOR EXAMPLE, ON DECEMBER 2, UK CHARGE FINALLY RECEIVED LETTER FROM DR. BRADSHAW WHICH HAD BEEN WRITTEN ON NOVEMBER 19 AND POSTMARKED NOVEMBER 28. IN THIS LETTER DR. BRADSHAW STATED THAT PRISON AUTHORITIES HAD REFUSED TO FORWARD TO UK CHARGE TWO PREVIOUS LETTERS HE HAD WRITTEN, ONE ON OCTOBER 26 AND ANOTHER ON NOVEMBER 10. IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT TRANSMISSION OF THESE PREVIOUS LETTERS WAS REFUSED ON GROUNDS THAT SUCH LETTERS MUST BE LIMITED TO REQUEST FOR INTERVIEW WITH UK CHARGE. THERE IS CERTAINLY NOTHING IN OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 10 THAT CONTAINS ANY SUCH LIMITATION, AND ON DECEMBER 5 REPRESENTATIVE OF UK CHARGE PROPERLY PROTESTED TO YOUR AUTHORITIES SUPPRESSION OF DR. BRADSHAW'S EARLIER LETTERS. REPRESENTATIVE OF UK CHARGE ADDITIONALLY POINTED OUT THAT YOUR AUTHORITIES HAD NEVER IN ANY WAY INDICATED THIS. THAT COMMUNICATIONS TO HIM ORIGINATED BY AMERICANS HAD TO BE LIMITED TO MERE REQUEST FOR INTERVIEW.

F. YOUR AUTHORITIES DID NOT ATTEMPT DENY FACT THAT DR. BRADSHAW'S FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATION WITH CHARGE HAD BEEN RESTRICTED BUT REFUSED TO ACCEPT PROTEST ON GROUNDS THAT IT WENT BEYOND THE DUTIES OF UK CHARGE UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I THUS ASSUME THAT YOUR AUTHORITIES CONSIDER THAT THIS IS ONLY PROPER PLACE FOR DISCUSSION OF SUCH MATTER. I DO NOT AGREE THAT IT CANNOT ALSO BE DISCUSSED BY UK CHARGE IN PEKING, BUT AM ENTIRELY WILLING DISCUSS MATTER HERE.

G. THIS IS CLEAR EVIDENCE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS, IN VIOLATION OF TERMS OF THE SEPTEMBER 10 AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, OBSTRUCTED FREE COMMUNICATION OF AMERICANS WITH UK CHARGE. MY GOVERNMENT EXPECTS THAT ANY SIMILAR OBSTRUCTIONS TO FREE

COMMUNICATION OF OTHER REMAINING AMERICANS WITH UK CHARGE AND OTHER OBSTACLES TO FULL PERFORMANCE OF HIS DUTIES WILL BE PROMPTLY REMOVED.

HOWEVER, I WAS ENCOURAGED TO NOTE STATEMENT BY YOUR AUTHORITIES TO UK CHARGE ON DECEMBER 6 THAT CONSIDERATION WAS BEING GIVEN TO REQUEST FOR EARLY RELEASE OF DR. BRADSHAW SO THAT HE COULD ACCOMPANY HIS WIFE, AND WISH AGAIN TO EXPRESS HOPE THAT THIS MATTER CAN BE PROMPTLY HANDLED.

1. I WILL HAVE FURTHER COMMENTS TO MAKE ON YOUR PROPOSED DRAFT AT A SUBSEQUENT MEETING. I HAVE NOTHING FURTHER TO SAY TODAY.

GOWEN

JMD

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BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

1955 DEC 8 PM 8 32

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47 CONFIDENTIAL 1

Action FE

Info RMR SS G SP C L IO

Control: 4413
Rec'd: DECEMBER 9, 1955
12:17 AM

Action Assigned to _____
Action Taken _____
Date of Action _____
Action Officer Initial _____
Name of Officer _____
Direction to DC/R _____

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1269, DECEMBER 8, 11 PM (SECTION 2 OF 4)

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FROM JOHNSON

2. WANG REPLIED REPLIED THAT IT WAS IN INTERESTS OF PROGRESS OUR DISCUSSIONS THAT HIS SIDE PRESENTED NEW DRAFT LAST MEETING. WAS REGRETTABLE I HAD NOT BEEN ABLE THIS MEETING PUT FORWARD CONCRETE VIEWS U.S. SIDE ON THAT DRAFT. CERTAINLY HOPED, AS I HAD STATED, WOULD BE ABLE PUT FORWARD LATEST VIEWS ON DRAFT AT LATER MEETING.

3. TURNING TO PREPARED STATEMENT WANG CONTINUED THAT IN VIEW OF FACT I HAD RAISED NUMBER QUESTIONS REGARDING HIS DRAFT AT LAST MEETING, HE WAS WILLING MAKE FEW AMPLIFICATIONS ON THAT DRAFT. AS I HAD SPECIFICALLY RAISED AT LAST MEETING QUESTION WHETHER DRAFT COVERED TAIWAN AREA, HE WILLING AGAIN AMPLIFY STATEMENT IN EXPLICIT MANNER. IT IS SPECIFIED IN NEW DRAFT THAT CHINA AND U. S. SHOULD SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN THEM PEACEFULLY WITHOUT RESORT TO THREAT OF USE OF FORCE.

4. WANG SAID AS HEART OF SINO-AMERICAN DISPUTE IS PRECISELY CENTERD ON TAIWAN SO IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT NEW DRAFT COVERS THIS QUESTION. THAT I HAD SAID DESCRIBING TAIWAN AS AREA WHERE INTERESTS AND POLICIES CHINA AND U. S. CLASH SERIOUSLY SHOWS THAT TENSION TAIWAN AREA IS INTERNATIONAL MATTER AND NOT SIMPLY DOMESTIC MATTER HOW TO DEAL WITH CHIANG CLIQUE.

5. WANG SAID IN 1946 CHIANG KAI-SHEK LAUNCHED LARGE-SCALE CIVIL WAR AND CHINESE PEOPLE FORCED TO RESORT TO WAR TO OVERTHROW CHIANG AND ESTABLISH PRC. NOTWITHSTANDING FACT SOME PEOPLE BEEN ADOPTING HOSTILE ATTITUDE TOWARDS VICTORY CHINESE PEOPLE, NOBODY COULD DENY FACT LIBERATION OF MAINLAND

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AND LARGE NUMBER COASTAL ISLANDS BY PRC HAS NEVER CREATED INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT OR DANGER WAR. QUITE TO CONTRARY HAS GREATLY BENEFITED STABILITY FAR EAST AND HAS CONTRIBUTED TO WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY.

6. WANG SAID IN LINE WITH CONSISTENT STAND, PRC WILLING STRIVE FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES WHEN CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT. THIS INCLUDES SUCH DOMESTIC MATTERS AS CHIANG CLIQUE. HOWEVER, THIS BEING MATTER OF CHINESE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS MUST NOT BE MADE SUBJECT THESE TALKS.

7. WANG SAID PRESENT SITUATION IN TAIWAN AREA IS THAT U.S. SIDE HAS INITIATED USE OF FORCE AND IS THREATENING USE FORCE IN INTERFERING WITH LIBERATION TAIWAN AND COASTAL ISLANDS. IS THIS SITUATION WHICH CREATES DANGER TO PEACE? I HAD CHOSEN SKIP OVER THIS FACT, HOWEVER IT CANNOT BE EVADED.

8. WANG SAID EACH DAY U. S. ARMED FORCES REMAIN IN TAIWAN AREA IS A DAY OF THREAT TO PRC. ACCORDING TO UN CHARTER, PRC ENTITLED DEMAND U. S. SIDE REMOVE ITS FORCES FROM TAIWAN AREA IN ORDER PRESERVE ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. IN INTEREST OF RELAXING TENSIONS, CHINA PROPOSED AS IT DID AT BANDUNG CONFERENCE THAT CHINA AND U. S. ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS TO EASE AND ELIMINATE TENSION TAIWAN AREA.

9. WANG SAID PARTY WHICH NOW USING FORCE AND THREAT FORCE IS NONE OTHER THAN U. S. SIDE. HOWEVER CHINA IS NOT AFRAID OF AMERICAN FORCE AND THREATS. CHINA NOT AFRAID OF PROPOSING ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS PRECISELY BECAUSE IT DETERMINED NOT TO YIELD TO AMERICAN FORCE AND THREATS. I HAD INDICATED THAT U. S. UNWILLING ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS UNDER THREAT CHINESE MIGHT USE FORCE AT ANY TIME. FACT IS CONTRARY. IT IS CHINESE SIDE BEING THREATENED AND U. S. SIDE WHICH ALREADY INITIATED USE FORCE.

10. WANG SAID NONETHELESS, CHINA STILL DESIRES SETTLE DISPUTES INCLUDING DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA THROUGH PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS.

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SUCH NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT REMOVING FORCE AND THREAT OF FORCE WHICH U. S. ALREADY APPLYING AGAINST CHINA. PRC SIDE HAS CONSISTENTLY ADVOCATED NEGOTIATIONS, HOWEVER I MUST NOT THINK PRC SIDE THEREBY RECOGNIZING STATUS QUO OF U. S. SEIZURE TAIWAN AND INTERFERENCE PRC INTERNAL AFFAIRS, WHICH IS LAST THING PRC SIDE WILLL EVER DO.

11. WANG SAID NEW DRAFT ENVISAGES TWO STEPS. EXPRESSES DETERMINATION TO SETTLE DISPUTES THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS WITHOUT THREAT OR USE FORCE. U.S. SIDE HAS ALSO INDICATED IT WOULD SUBSCRIBE THIS PRINCIPLE. PRC SIDE HAS TAKEN ACCOUNT OF VIEW OF U. S. SIDE AND DRAFT ADDS AMBASSADORS SHOULD CONTINUE THESE TALKS TO SEEK PRACTICAL MEANS FOR REALIZATION THIS DESIRE.

12. WANG SAID PRC SIDE CONSIDERS THAT RELAXATION TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA IS TOO SERIOUS TO BE LIGHTLY DISPOSED OF IN AMBASSADORIAL TALKS. SETTLEMENT THESE QUESTIONS SHOULD BE LEFT TO CONFERENCE FOREIGN MINISTERS CHINA AND U. S. IN PRESENTING LATEST DRAFT PRC SIDE PRESERVED ITS PROPOSAL FOR CONFERENCE BETWEEN FOREIGN MINISTERS CHINA AND U.S. FOR PURPOSE ELIMINATING TENSION TAIWAN AREA. HOWEVER, IF U. S. SIDE DESIRES DISCUSS AND SETTLE THIS QUESTION IN THESE TALKS PRC SIDE WILL NOT OBJECT TO MAKING SUCH ATTEMPT.

13. WANG SAID HE MUST STRESS THAT NEW DRAFT IS INTEGRAL WHOLE. QUESTION TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA MUST BE DISCUSSED AND SETTLED. REFUSAL DISCUSS WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO REQUIRING THAT PRC RECOGNIZE STATUS QUO IN TAIWAN AREA AND SURRENDER ITS SOVEREIGN RIGHTS, WHICH IS WHAT PRC SIDE ABSOLUTELY CANNOT DO.

14. WANG SAID NEW DRAFT HAS ALREADY INCORPORATED COMMON GROUND IN OUR VIEWS. IF U. S. REALLY SINCERE IN EXPRESSING DESIRE FOR SETTLEMENT SINO-AMERICAN DISPUTES, U.S. SIDE SHOULD ADOPT NEW DRAFT AND THEN CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN US IN ORDER SEEK SETTLEMENTS.

15. WANG HOPED THESE REMARKS WE HAD MADE MIGHT HELP ME FULLY CONSIDER QUESTIONS BEFORE US.

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16. WANG SAID I HAD AGAIN THIS MORNING RAISED QUESTION IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. HE COULD NOT ACCEPT ALLEGATION PRC SIDE HAS VIOLATED ANNOUNCEMENT. SINCE I HAD REEPEATEDLY RAISED IMPLEMENTATION QUESTION AT EVERY MEETING HE WOULD LIKE MAKE FEW COMMENTS.

17. READING FROM SECOND PREPARED STATEMENT WANG SAID PRC SIDE CONSIDERS THAT SINCE WE REACHED AGREEMENT ON FIRST ITEM OUR AGENDA THESE TALKS AND SINCE EACH SIDE HAS ENTRUSTED IMPLEMENTATION AGREEMENT TO THIRD STATE, QUESTIONS REGARDING IMPLEMENTATION SHOULD BE REFERRED TO RESPECTIVE THIRD STATES. THERE IS NO GROUND FOR REPEATEDLY RAISING QUESTIONS THESE MEETINGS. ENTANGLEMENT FIRST AND SECOND ITEMS PREVENTING FURTHER PROGRESS IN DISCUSSIONS.

18. WANG SAID MOREOVER FACTS HAVE BORNE OUT THAT PRC SIDE HAS BEEN FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTING AGREEMENT. PARTY FAILING IMPLEMENT IS U.S. SIDE.

PRC SIDE HAS PROVIDED U.S. SIDE WITH COMPLETE LIST AMERICANS IN PRC. THIS WAS DONE AS EARLY AS LAST YEAR AND AGAIN AT OPENING PRESENT TALKS. U.S. SIDE BECAUSE IT HAS BEEN PROVIDED WITH THESE LISTS CAN CORRESPOND WITH AMERICANS IN CHINA.

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12:09 AM

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Direction to DO/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1269, DECEMBER 8, 11 PM (SECTION 3 OF 4)

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19. HE SAID U.S. SIDE ALSO MAINTAINS LIAISON STATION HONG KONG AND CAN MAKE USE THIS STATION IN CHECKING LIST.

20. WANG SAID THUS FAR U.S. SIDE HAS NOT PROVIDED PRC WITH COMPLETE LIST CHINESE IN U.S. PRC SIDE CAN ONLY LEARN STATUS REMAINING CHINESE IN U.S. FROM FEW CHINESE WHO RETURN FROM U.S. PRC SIDE HAS EVERY REASON REQUEST INDIAN EMBASSY FIND OUT SITUATION. HOWEVER U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS MADE KNOWN IT CANNOT ASSIST INDIAN EMBASSY THIS REGARD.

21. WANG SAID I HAD STATED THERE IS NO RESTRICTION ON INDIAN EMBASSY PERFOMING FUNCTIONS ASSIST CHINESE RETURN BUT THIS DOES NOT CORRESPOND WITH THE FACTS.

22. HE SAID MOREOVER, EVEN IN CASE THOSE CHINESE WHO I HAD ADMITTED BEING PREVENTED FROM DEPARTING, SO FAR MANY OF THEM STILL UNABLE EFFECT RETURN. NOT ONLY HAS INDIA NO MEANS OFFER ASSISTANCE ON ITS OWN TO THESE PEOPLE, BUT ACCORDING TO RECENT INFORMATION U.S. IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE HAS OF LATE MADE REGULATION REQUIRING ALL CHINESE STUDENTS GET ENTRY PERMIT TAIWAN BEFORE GIVEN DATE. THIS INTIMIDATION CHINESE STUDENTS DESIGNED FORESTALL RETURN. THIS GROSS VIOLATION AGREEMENT.

23. WANG SAID IT IS INTENTION PRC SIDE MAKE REPRESENTATIONS U.S. GOVERNMENT THROUGH INDIAN EMBASSY. HOWEVER STILL FELT SUCH QUESTIONS SHOULD NOT BE BROUGHT UP HERE SO AS HINDER PROGRESS IN PRESENT TALKS.

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24. WANG SAID IF U.S. SIDE NEVERTHELESS INSISTS RAISING THESE QUESTIONS PRC SIDE BOUND RAISE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

A) IS U.S. SIDE PREPARED PROVIDE COMPLETE LIST NAMES AND ADDRESSES CHINESE IN U.S.?

B) WILL U.S. SIDE AID INDIANS DETERMINE STATUS CHINESE IN U.S.?

C) IS U.S. SIDE PREPARED RESCIND MEASURES VIOLATING SPIRIT OF AGREEMENT?

BEFORE THESE QUESTIONS ARE SATISFACTORILY ANSWERED PRC SIDE COULD NOT ANSWER QUESTION U.S. SIDE MIGHT RAISE.

25. WANG SAID HE CONSIDERED IF BOTH SIDES SINCERE IN DESIRING PROGRESS SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON SECOND ITEM AND ADOPT REASONABLE PROPOSAL OF PRC SIDE UNDER THIS ITEM.

26. I REPLIED THAT WHEN PRESENT TALKS BEGAN, FIRST QUESTION ON AGENDA WAS RETURN OF CIVILIANS. I HAD HOPED THAT SEPTEMBER 10 AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD RESOLVE THAT QUESTION. SO FAR AS U.S. CONCERNED, QUESTION RESOLVED EVEN BEFORE SEPTEMBER 10 BECAUSE U.S. HAD RESCINDED ALL MEASURES PREVENTING RETURN OF CHINESE IN U.S. I HAD INFORMED WANG OF THAT AT OUTSET OF TALKS. NEVERTHELESS TO SHOW GOOD FAITH U.S. HAD ENTERED INTO ARRANGEMENT THAT INDIA COULD ASSIST ANY CHINESE IN U.S. WHO FELT PREVENTED FROM RETURNING.

27. I SAID MANY VAGUE AND GENERAL STATEMENTS HAD BEEN MADE HERE AND BY WANG'S GOVERNMENT CONCERNING SUPPOSED MEASURES BY U.S. GOVERNENT PREVENTING RETURN OF CHINESE. IT IS WELL KNOWN IN U.S. AND WELL KNOWN TO INDIAN EMBASSY THAT THERE IS NOTHING TO PREVENT ANY CHINESE IN U.S. FROM COMMUNICATING WITH INDIAN EMBASSY IF HE FEELS OBSTRUCTED IN DEPARTURE.

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28. I SAID UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, U.S. AGREED ACCEPT ANY REPRESENTATIONS BY INDIAN EMBASSY ON BEHLF OF CHINESE WHO FELT THERE WAS OBSTRUCTION TO DEPARTURE FROM U. S. IT IS IMPORTANT TO LOOK AT FACTS. FROM OUTSET OF TALKS TO PRESENT MOMENT, NOT ONE SINGLE SPECIFIC CASE CALLED TO ATTENTION U.S. GOVERNMENT IN WHICH DEPARTURE PREVENTED.

29. I SAID INSOFAR AS AMERICANS IN WANG'S COUNTRY CONCERNED, IN SPITE OF TERMS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND ARRRANGEMENTS MADE FOR UK CARRY OUT FUNCTIONS, 14 AMERICANS STILL DETAINED.

30. I SAID INSOFAR AS LISTS ARE CONCERNED, WANG WOULD RECALL THAT AT FIRST MEETING I GAVE HIM LIST ALL AMERICANS WE HAD GROUNDS FOR BELIEVING WERE PREVENTED FROM LEAVING. THAT LIST COMPILED WITH GREAT EFFORT BY MY GOVERNMENT.

31. I SAID INSOFAR AS EFFORTS HIS GOVERNMENT OR INDIAN EMBASSY DETERMINE STATUS CHINESE IN U. S., WANG WOUD RECALL ANNOUNCEMENT REFERRED ONLY TO THOSE WHO DESIRED RETURN. I WOULD REPEAT MY STATEMENT THAT ANY CHINESE IN U.S. WHO FEELS OBSTRUCTED FROM RETURNING IS FREE COMMUNICATE ANY WAY HE DESIRES WITH INDIAN EMBASSY. THIS IN ADDITION FREEDOM COMMUNICATE WITH WANG' COUNTRY.

32. I SAID AFTER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WAS ISSUED, I HAD CAREFULLY OUTLINED MEASURES TAKEN ASSURE EVERY PERSON COVERED FULLY INFORMED OF ITS TERMS. IN ADDITION 70,000 COPIES AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WERE BEING POSTED IN POST OFFICES THROUGHOUT U. S. THUS NOT SLIGHTEST POSSIBILITY ANY CHINESE IN U.S. NOT FULLY INFORMED HIS RIGHTS UNDER ANNOUNCEMENT. ANY CHINESE HAS FULL FREEDOM EXERCISE THOSE RIGHTS. IN SPITE OF ALL THIS, NO SINGLE CASE CALLED TO ATTENTION U. S. GOVERNMENT OF OBSTRUCTION TO DEPARTURE FOR WANG'S COUNTRY OR ANY COUNTRY OF HIS CHOICE.

33. I SAID THIS CONTRASTS SHARPLY WITH SITUATION AMERICANS IN WANG'S COUNTRY. WANG HAD SPOKEN OF NOT ENTANGLING ITEM ONE

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AND ITEM TWO OF AGENDA. I HAD NO DESIRE ENTANGLE THESE SUBJECTS, BUT TO MY REGRET DESIRE WANG'S GOVERNMENT FULLY AND PROMPTLY CARRY OUT AGREEMENT HAS INEVITABLY ENTANGLED SUBJECTS.

34. I SAID PT WAS DIFFICULT CONSIDER ANOTHER ANNOUNCEMENT OR PUBLIC STATEMENT EXCEPT IN LIGHT OF HOW PREVIOUS STATEMENT CARRIED OUT. BEFORZ AGREEING ON FURTHER STATEMENTS THERE MUST BE FULL CONFIDENCE BETWEEN US THAT ANY AGREEMENT WILL BE CARRIED OUT. FOR THIS PURPOSE I MADE STATEMENT THIS MORNING. IF WE WERE TO MAKE PROGRESS THERE MUST BE THIS UNDERSTANDING AND CONFIDENCE BETWEEN US. MY GOVERNMENT IS ANXIOUS THERE BE PROGRESS AND IN INTEREST OF PROGRESS HAS INSTRUCTED ME MAKE CLEAR OUR FEELING CONCERNING IMPLEMENTATION OUR FIRST AGREEMENT.

35. WANG REPLIED HE AGREED PROGRESS IN REGARD FURTHER STATEMENT WILL DEPEND ON MANNER IN WHICH PREVIOUS AGREEMENT CARRIED OUT. HE WANTED POINT OUT, HOWEVER, THAT PROPOSAL FOR SECOND STATEMENT ORIGINATED WITH U.S. SIDE. HE FELT THERE WAS NO GROUND FOR MAKING IMPLEMENTATION PREVIOUS AGREEMENT PREREQUISITE FOR FURTHER STATEMENT. WE HAD REACHED AGREEMENT ITEM ONE CONCERNING RETURN CIVILIANS AND SO FAR AS HIS SIDE CONCERNED AGREEMENT ALL ALONG FAITHFULLY CARRIED OUT. SINCE BEGINNING TALKS, 41 AMERICANS LEFT CHINA, INCLUDING AMERICAN CIVILIANS AND NUMBER OF AMERICANS RELEASED AS RESULT OF LENIENT MEASURES ADOPTED HIS SIDE. THIS FIGURE EXCEEDED TWO THIRDS OF AMERICANS IN CHINA AT TIME OF ANNOUNCEMENT.

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Control: 4427
Rec'd: DECEMBER 9, 1955
1:29 AM

Action Assigned to
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Date of Action
Action Office
Name of
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1269, DECEMBER 8, 11 PM (SECTION 4 OF 4)

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36. WANG SAID IN SO FAR AS AMERICANS IN GENERAL CATEGORY CONCERNED, THEY WILL BE ABLE DEPART PROMPTLY UPON APPLICATION. THEY WILL NOT ENCOUNTER DIFFICULTIES OR OBSTRUCTON. THIS IN CONFORMITY AGREEMENT REACHED SEPTEMBER 10. IN LIGHT OF THIS, WHAT GROUNDS ARE THERE TO ALLEGE HIS SIDE NOT FAITHFULLY CARRYING OUT AGREEMENT?

37. WANG SAID AS FOR AMERICANS WHO HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES, HE RECALLED HE HAD CLEARLY AND REPEATEDLY EXPLAINED STAND HIS SIDE IN COURSE OF DISCUSSIONS ITEM ONE. HE HAD NEVER STATED AMERICANS WHO HAD COMMITTED CRIMES WOULD BE ABLE RETURN UPON ISSUANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. QUESTION THEIR RETURN MUST BE HANDLED ACCORDANCE CHINESE LEGAL PROCEDURES. EVERY SOVEREIGN STATE ENTITLED THIS RIGHT. WOULD I IMAGINE CASE OF CHINESE IN U.S. WHO HAD COMMITTED MURDER. WOULD HE BE PERMITTED RETURN PROMPTLY? IT WAS THEREFORE GROUNDLESS ACCUSE HIS SIDE OF DETAINING AMERICANS.

38. WANG SAID I HAD STATED CHINESE IN U.S. FREE DEPART FROM U. S. ACCORDING RECENT INFORMATION U.S. IMMIGRATION SERVICE IS REQUIRING CHINESE STUDENTS U.S. OBTAIN ENTRY PERMITS TAIWAN BEFORE GIVEN DATE. IS THIS NOT ATTEMPTED PERSECUTION CHINESE STUDENTS? CAN IT BE SAID THIS MEASURE IS IN CONFORMITY SEPTEMBER 10 AGREEMENT? PARTY WHICH HAS FAILED CARRY OUT AND HAS VIOLATED AGREEMENTS IS U.S. HIS SIDE INTENDED MAKE REPRESENTATIONS WITH U.S. THROUGH INDIAN EMBASSY. HOWEVER, HE HAD NO DESIRE BRING UP THIS QUESTION AT PRESENT TALKS, LEST IT HINDER PROGRESS OF TALKS.

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39. I SAID I WANTED ASK ONLY ONE QUESTION. DID WANG KNOW OF SINGLE CASE, OR HAD HE BEEN INFORMED OF SINGLE CASE, OR HAD INDIAN EMBASSY CALLED ATTENTION TO SINGLE CASE OF CHINESE IN U.S. WHOSE DEPARTURE PREVENTED BY U.S. GOVERNMENT?

40. WANG REPLIED U.S. HAD NOT PROVIDED LISTS CHINESE IN U.S. CONSEQUENTLY IT WAS DIFFICULT ASCERTAIN THIS. EVEN IN CASES OF CHINESE ON LIST I HAD GIVEN HIM MANY NOT YET ABLE RETURN. ONLY SMALL NUMBER HAVE RETURNED. WITHOUT MENTIONING FURTHER CASES, REQUIREMENT OF U.S. IMMIGRATION SERVICE FOR STUDENTS OBTAIN ENTRY PERMITS TAIWAN CONSTITUTES OBSTRUCTION ON PART OF U.S. GOVERNMENT.

41. I SAID I DID NOT KNOW WHAT THIS ALLEGED REQUIREMENT OF IMMIGRATION SERVICE WAS. EVEN IF IT WERE FACT, I DID NOT SEE HOW IT WOULD PREVENT CHINESE WHO WANTED TO LEAVE FROM DOING SO.

42. WANG SAID BY WHAT RIGHT WAS U.S. ENTITLED CHANGE STATUS THESE PEOPLE. HE CONSIDERED U.S. GOVERNMENT HAD NO RIGHT ADOPT SUCH COERCIVE MEASURES. MEASURE CONSTITUTED PERSECUTION OF CHINESE AND IS DESIGNED PREVENT RETURN TO CHINA.

43. I SAID I FAILED TO SEE THIS. QUESTION APPEARED TO RELATE TO STUDENTS DESIRING REMAIN IN U.S.

44. WANG SAID HE CONSIDERED U.S. ACTION ILLEGAL IN PRINCIPLE. CHINESE RESIDENTS IN U.S. SHOULD BE FREE DECIDE TO GO ANYWHERE AND SHOULD NOT BE SUBJECT UNREASONABLE COERCION.

45. I SAID I WOULD REPEAT THAT ANY CHINESE WHO FEELS SUBJECT TO COERCION IS FREE COMMUNICATE INDIAN EMBASSY.

46. WANG SAID THAT IS WHAT HE WAS GOING TO DO. HIS GOVERNMENT WAS REQUESTING INDIAN EMBASSY MAKE REPRESENTATIONS.

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47. I SAID I HAD SAID ANY INDIVIDUAL IN U. S. WHO FELT PREVENTED FROM RETURNING WAS FREE TO COMMUNICATE. INDIAN EMBASSY WAS FREE INVESTIGATE FACTS ANY SUCH CASE. WE HAD AGREED ACCEPT THE REPRESENTATIONS FROM INDIAN EMBASSY ANY SUCH CASE. I DID NOT KNOW OF SINGLE CASE WHERE THERE HAVE BEEN SUCH REPRESENTATIONS.

48. WANG SAID SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT SPECIFIED BOTH GOVERNMENTS WOULD TAKE FURTHER MEASURES FACILITATE RETURN CIVILIANS. HOWEVER MEASURES OF U.S. IMMIGRATION SERVICE CANNOT BE CONSTRUED CONSTITUTE MEASURES ENVISAGED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. IF DISSATISFACTION WITH IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WAS TO BE REVISED, IT WAS CHINESE SIDE THAT FEELS ENTITLED RAISE SUCH DISSATISFACTION.

49. I SAID AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT CERTAINLY DID SAY JUST THAT. DISCUSSION HAD CENTERED ON AMERICANS IN PRISON. IT WAS OUR UNDERSTANDING HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD TAKE FURTHER MEASURES PERMIT THEIR RETURN. HIS GOVERNMENT PRESUMABLY HAD IN MIND BEFORE IT MADE ANNOUNCEMENT WHAT MEASURES IT WOULD TAKE THAT REGARD. WHAT I HAD POINTED OUT WAS THAT THOSE MEASURES NOT SO FAR TAKEN REGARD 14 OF AMERICANS WHO WERE SUBJECT OUR DISCUSSION. I HAD POINTED OUT IN ADDITION THAT THERE IS EVIDENCE FREEDOM 14 AMERICANS COMMUNICATE WITH UK CHARGE UNDER AGREEMENT ANNOUNCEMENT HAS BEEN OBSTRUCTED. THAT CERTAINLY IS NOT CARRYING OUT OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

50. WANG REPLIED HE HAD NOTHING FURTHER.

51. NEXT MEETING THURSDAY DECEMBER 15. SAME RELEASE TO PRESS.

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10:18 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1270, DECEMBER 9, 10 A.M.

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1. WANG'S "THREE QUESTIONS" AT LAST MEETING AND HIS ALLEGATION CONCERNING INS REQUIREMENT FOR WAIWAN ENTRY PERMITS GIVE ME EXCELLENT BASIS FOR FOLLOWING UP ON IMPLEMENTATION AT NEXT MEETING.

2. WOULD APPRECIATE INFORMATION ON PROBABLE FACTUAL BASIS IF ANY OF ALLEGATION CONCERNING INS REQUIREMENT AND SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING ANY FURTHER REPLY I MIGHT MAKE THIS REGARD.

3. WITH REGARD THREE QUESTIONS I WOULD PROMISE REPLY:

A) NO PROVISION IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT FOR FURNISHING LIST CHINESE IN US AND HAS NO RELATION TO OBLIGATIONS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH RELATES ONLY TO THOSE WHO DESIRE RETURN. WOULD REFER DISCUSSION THIS SUBJECT WHEN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BEING NEGOTIATED. TEST OF PERFORMANCE UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT IS WHETHER IN FACT ANY OBSTRUCTION TO THOSE WHO DESIRE TO RETURN, FREEDOM COMMUNICATION WITH REPRESENTATIVE THIRD STATE, FREEDOM REPRESENTATIVE THIRD STATE INVESTIGATE FACTS ANY SUCH CASE, AND WILLINGNESS RECEIVE AND PROMPTLY ACT ON REPRESENTATIONS FROM REPRESENTATIVE THIRD STATE CONCERNING SPECIFIC CASES. FACTS IN CHICOM AND US PERFORMANCE SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES.

B) THERE IS NOTHING IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING INVESTIGATION OF "STATUS" ALL CHINESE IN US. SOLE QUESTION THIS

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REGARD BETWEEN US AND PRC UNDER AGREED AGENDA AS WELL AS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT IS FREEDOM CHINESE IN US WHO DESIRE DO SO RETURN PRC.

C) AT OPENING THESE TALKS US HAD ALREADY COMPLETED ALL NECESSARY MEASURES REMOVE ALL OBSTRUCTIONS TO DEPARIURE CHINESE WHO DESIRE RETURN PRC. THIS CONTINUES IN EFFECT. THERE IS IN ADDITION ARRANGEMENT FOR INDIAN EMBASSY FUNCTIONS. CHINESE WHO DO NOT DESIRE RETURN PRC ARE IN NO WAY MATTER BETWEEN US AND PRC. IF ONE WERE TO SPEAK OF MEASURES VIOLATING "SPIRIT" OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT PRC SHOULD IN ADDITION TO RELEASING IMPRISONED AMERICANS REPEAL EXIT PERMIT REQUIREMENT SO THAT AMERICANS IN PRC AND CHINESE IN US WOULD BE ON SAME BASIS.

4. IN ADDITION FOREGOING, SUBJECT TO VIEWS UK I COULD RAISE MINER CASE (MYTEL 1202).

5. IT WILL BE WANG'S "TURN" SPEAK FIRST NEXT TIME AND FOREGOING SOMEWHAT SUBJECT TO WHAT HE MAY SAY ON IMPLEMENTATION IN HIS OPENING STATEMENT.

6. BELIEVE AT NEXT MEETING I SHOULD ALSO MAKE COUNTERPROPOSAL ON RENUNCIATION FORCE CONCERNING WHICH AM SUBMITTING MY VIEWS BY FOLLOWING TEL.

7. HAVE ARRANGED WITH UN ADDRESS LETTERS WANG AND MYSELF STATING FACT SERVICES CURTAILED IN UN PALAIS DURING WEEK BETWEEN CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEARS AND ASKING WHETHER WE EXPECT MEET THAT WEEK AND WILL THEREFORE REQUIRE SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR SERVICING MEETING ROOM. I WILL AT NEXT MEETING USE LETTER AS BASIS ATTEMPT OBTAIN WANG'S AGREEMENT TO OMITTING MEETING DURING THAT WEEK.

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TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1271, DECEMBER 9, 1 PM

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FROM JOHNSON

1. AS SUBSTITUTE FOR PARA B AMENDED RENUNCIATION FORCE DRAFT CONTAINED DEPTEL 1354 I SUBMIT FOLLOWING FOR CONSIDERATION: "THE PRC AND USA ARE DETERMINED THAT THEY WILL SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN THEM THROUGH PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS, AND THAT, WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE INHERENT RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE, THEY WILL NOT RESORT TO THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE IN THE TAIWAN AREA OR ELSEWHERE."

2. IN GENERAL THIS SEEMS TO ME SOMEWHAT PREFERABLE TO DRAFT SUGGESTED IN DEPTEL 1354 WHILE STILL INCORPORATING ALL ITS ELEMENTS. I THINK THAT IT ALSO SOMEWHAT MEETS POINT MADE PARA 2 MYTEL 1203 WHILE STILL FULLY PRESERVING OUR POSITION.

3. IT ALSO INCORPORATES TRANSLATION POINT MADE IN PARA 9 MYTEL 1241 AND ELIMINATES WHAT I FELT WAS UNDESIRABLE CONDITIONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TWO CLAUSES BY SUBSTITUTING "AND" FOR "WITHOUT".

4. WHILE IT DOES NOT INCORPORATE WORD "RENOUNCE" IT IS UNCONDITIONAL IN STATING FORCE WILL NOT BE USED IN TAIWAN AREA OR ELSEWHERE. IT SEEMS TO ME IT IS THEREFORE A FULL "RENUNCIATION" OF FORCE BUT BY AVOIDING USE OF WORD "RENOUNCE" IN STATEMENT IN WHICH WE ARE JOINED AVOIDS UNDESIRABLE AND INCORRECT IMPLICATION THAT WE ARE "RENOUNCING" SOMETHING WE HAVE HERETOFORE USED WHILE IN FACT ACCOMPLISHING THIS PURPOSE WITH RESPECT CHICOMS.

5. IT SSEMS TO ME THIS DRAFT ALSO AVOIDING SOMEWHAT CONFUSING

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-2- 1271, DECEMBER 9, 1 PM, FROM GENEVA

JUXTA POSITION IN DEPARTMENT'S DRAFT OF VERY SIMILAR PHRASES OF "WITHOUT RESORT TO THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE" AND "THEY RENOUNCE THE USE OF FORCE".

6 WHILE I HAVE NO REASON BELIEVE WANG WILL ACCEPT FOREGOING DRAFT I FEEL I CAN ADVOCATE AND DEFEND IT IN NEGOTIATIONS MUCH MORE EFFECTIVELY THAN DRAFT SUGGESTED DEPTEL 1354.

GOWEN

MEM

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1955 DEC 9 PM 2 35
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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406

492 X

36-31

SECRET

12-10-55 Noon
CORRECTED COPY PAGE 1 BB HW

Action
FE
Info
RMR
SS

Control: 4815 CA/DIR
Rec'd: DECEMBER 9, 1955
11:56 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1272, DECEMBER 9, 5 P.M.

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT WANG'S CLEAR ACKNOWLEDGEMENT AT LAST MEETING INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER OUR DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA I STILL BELIEVE THAT AS POLITICAL DOCUMENT WANG'S DECEMBER 1 DRAFT WOULD HAVE APPROXIMATELY SAME EFFECT AS ANY MORE CLOSELY DRAWN DOCUMENT IN DETERRING CHICOM ATTACK AGAINST TAIWAN OR OFFSHORE ISLANDS. HOWEVER, BELIEVE I CAN AND SHOULD THOROUGHLY TEST WANG'S POSITION DURING NEXT FEW MEETINGS BY PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION DRAFT CONTAINED MYTEL 1271.

2. WITH RESPECT DEPTEL 1353 AS DEFENSIVE REACTION IN COMPLIANCE TREATY WITH GRC MENTIONED SECOND SENTENCE PARA 1 WOULD PRESUMABLY FOLLOW INITIATION USE FORCE BY CHICOMS AGAINST GRC, DO NOT PERCEIVE HOW CHICOMS COULD USE TO JUSTIFY SUCH INITIATION USE FORCE. IN SHORT DO NOT PERCEIVE HOW WANG'S DRAFT IN ANY WAY TIES OUR HANDS DEFENSIVELY.

3. SEEMS TO ME IMPORTANT POINT IS THAT SO LONG AS ANY DECLARATION CARRIES EXPRESS OR IMPLIED COMMITMENT SEEK PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT CHICOMS MIGHT CLAIM US FAILURE SEEK SUCH SETTLEMENT VITIATED DECLARATION AND UNTIED THEIR HANDS. WANG'S STATEMENT AT YESTERDAY'S MEETING CARRIED THIS IMPLICATION CLEARER THAN AT ANY PREVIOUS MEETING. THIS IS ONE REASON I BELIEVE IT DESIRABLE SUBSTITUTE "AND" FOR "WITHOUT" IN SECOND PARA DRAFT AS AGAIN SUGGESTED PRECEDING TEL.

4. ANOTHER IMPORTANT POINT IS THAT SO LONG AS ANY DECLARATION INCORPORATES WORD "THREAT" CHICOMS ARE GOING ATTEMPT ESTABLISH POSITION THAT BY RENOUNCING "THREAT" WE ARE OBLIGED REMOVE "THREAT" PRESENCE OUR FORCES ON TAIWAN. OF COURSE THEY WILL ALSO CONTINUE MAINTAIN SIMILAR POSITION WITH RESPECT "FORCE". THAT IS, BY STATIONING FORCES ON TAIWAN U.S. HAS USED "FORCE" AGAINST PRC TERRITORY. HOWEVER, SEEMS ME THIS CAN BE MUCH MORE READILY HANDLED THAN POINT IN PARA 3 ABOVE.

5. WITH

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5. WITH RESPECT FIRST SENTENCE PARA 4 DEPTEL 1353 I DO NOT SEE THAT THERE IS NECESSARILY CLEAR CHOICE BETWEEN DECLARATION SOME KIND AND "CONTINUED PARTICIPATION IN NEGOTIATIONS ALONG PRESENT LINES". GRA CHICOMS APPEAR DESIRE CONTINUE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS FOR AT LEAST TIME BEING, DO NOT SEE HOW WE CAN ASSUME THEY WILL INDEFINITELY MAINTAIN THIS DESIRE IF THEY DO NOT FEEL THEY ARE OBTAINING ANY SUBSTANTIAL RETURN. ONE PRACTICAL DIFFICULTY IS THAT PRESENT TREND THESE TALKS IS TO REACH POINT IN NEAR FUTURE AT WHICH THERE WILL BE NOTHING LEFT TO NEGOTIATE ABOUT.

6. OF COURSE SIMILAR QUESTION ALSO ARISES AS SOON AS ANY DECLARATION MIGHT BE ISSUED AS SUGGESTED IN PARAS 4 AND 5 MYTEL 1241.

7. I THOROUGHLY UNDERSTAND GENERAL PRINCIPLES SET FORTH PARA 3 DEPTEL 1353 AND WILL STATE AS APPROPRIATE. HOWEVER PROBLEM ARISES WITH RESPECT PRACTICAL APPLICATION. IF FOR EXAMPLE, DOES DEPARTMENT CONSIDER THAT ANY DISCUSSION PRESENCE OUR FORCES IN TAIWAN AREA IS ADMISSIBLE WITHIN SCOPE THOSE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OR THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL SUBJECT? OF COURSE I WOULD NOT ENTER INTO ANY COMMITMENTS DISCUSS ADDITIONAL SUBJECTS WITHOUT SPECIFIC DEPARTMENT APPROVAL BUT BACKGROUND GUIDANCE IN THIS GENERAL FIELD WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL.

8. WITH RESPECT PARA 5 DEPTEL 1353 I QUESTION STRENGTH SUCH PUBLIC POSITION PARTICULARLY ABROAD AND WHETHER THERE WOULD BE GENERAL ACCEPTANCE RATIONALE ESPECIALLY NEXT TO LAST SENTENCE.

GOWEN

WEB

(#) OMISSION. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

1955 DEC 9 PM

FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 407

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1955 DEC 10 PM 12 51

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SENT TO: Amconsulate GENEVA 1372 PRIORITY

Origin

For David Osborn.

Examine carefully entire record of talks and telegraph Department earliest whether Chinese Communists ever told explicitly US would not negotiate subjects involving rights and interests GRC without their presence.

Dulles
(WPMcC)

= DULLES

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Drafted by: CA:RNClough

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

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Department of State

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Control: 5635
Rec'd: December 12, 1955
7:06 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1276, December 12, noon

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FROM JOHNSON

Department's 1372

No record Chinese Communists ever told this in talks. They been told repeatedly acceptance U. S. renunciation force proposal not to involve third parties. For example my October 8 statement introducing item and paragraph 15 my 872, paragraph 13 my 1056.

GOWEN

MEJ/2

Action Assigned to CA/D/R

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Date of Cable

Distribution to DC/R

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FEB 19 1959

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[redacted] GENEVA 1376

Origin

Info.

FOR JOHNSON.

611.93/12-855

Urtel 1262. Failure receive significant flow FBIS due paucity pertinent items. Requirements under review however to ensure coverage your interest.

Dulles DULLES

611.93/12-855

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Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: IAD:GAPope

Clearances: FBIS Strothe DRF Stanley (In Substance) CA

S/S-CR
ZR
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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1377
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Origin

Info:

Guidance for December 15 meeting.

1. In view failure Communists to take any further action implement Agreed Announcement since last meeting, you should again limit your presentation to this subject, emphasizing that progress made on renunciation force declaration is encouraging, but further progress being hamstrung by Communist failure carry out earlier commitment. US Government and people do not understand why Communists should require more than three months to take "further appropriate measures" permit Americans "expeditiously" return. Your presentation last meeting was excellent and can serve as basis further representations. 611.93/12-955

2. Department concurs in your proposed replies Wang's three questions (Your 1270). Will consult with British on Miner case and advise.

3. Propose recess until Thursday, January 5 (or 12, if possible,) because of Christmas and New Year's holidays which fall on Sundays with following Mondays also holidays.

4. FYI Decision use above tactics based upon following considerations: a) as time passes and Communists evasion of commitments under Agreed Announcement becomes more flagrant, we should increase pressure on this issue in order

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Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:ek 12/12/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:
The Secretary - in draft
L - Mr. Phleger " "
FE- Mr. Sebald "
CA - Mr. McConaughy

S/S-CR
DEC 1955 PM

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order obtain release US citizens and avoid giving impression weakness; b) we consider Communists probably will not break on this issue for their position on it is weak. They have neither made good on their first commitment nor have they been willing agree specifically renounce force in Taiwan area. Furthermore, UN situation developing so they would probably hesitate rock boat by breaking now; c) renunciation force issue has been dramatized sufficiently through these talks so as to make resort to force more difficult for them than it was. END FYI

5. Agree with your suggestion for text amendment Wang's draft transmitted your 1271. You should not submit it at next meeting unless you believe this absolutely necessary to prevent break.

Dulles

= DULLES "

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1378

Origin

Info:

& NS

FOR JOHNSON.

Your 1269, Paragraph 38.

With reference ~~to~~ Communist charge ~~that~~ US requiring Chinese obtain Taiwan entry permits by given date, facts as follows:

Generally accepted international practice is that temporary visitors to a country must have document admitting them to some other country, their own or third, on expiration their permitted stay. Passports ordinarily suffice, but number of Chinese temporarily in US hold old GRC passports which not now valid entry Taiwan unless accompanied by Taiwan entry permit granted solely by Taipei authorities. When such Chinese applies extension his stay, Immigration and Naturalization Service must see proof he admissible to another country after expiration proposed extension. Chinese intending go eventually Taiwan may satisfy requirement by obtaining Taiwan permit or visa other country. For those Chinese intending go PRC, US will not, except in emergency, grant extensions particularly in view Communist claim ~~that~~ we obstructing their departure.

Thus, Communist charge that Taiwan entry permit procedure ~~requirement is~~ not in conformity with Agreed Announcement is groundless. It required only for those who desire to prolong stay in US, not those who desire depart.

Dulles (WPMcC)

Drafted by: FE:CA:JTNAgoski:RNCLough:apt 12/12/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances: Cleared in substance with I&NS - Mr. Suddath by JPM

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DEC 12 1955 P.M.

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412

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

499

TO : The Secretary

THRU : S/S

FROM : FE - Mr. Robertson HSR

SUBJECT: Guidance for Geneva Talks with Chinese Communists

12/12/55

U.S. Ambassador

1. It is proposed to instruct Johnson at the next meeting to limit his presentation again to insistence on Chinese Communist implementation of the Agreed Announcement and to request a recess in the talks until January 5 or 12. Our reasons are given in paragraph 4 of the draft telegram to Johnson. (Tab A)

2. Johnson has suggested a revision of Wang's renunciation of force draft so that it will make specific reference to the Taiwan area and allow for individual and collective self defense. (Tab B) This draft appears acceptable to us, but it contains the commitment first introduced by Wang, that both sides will settle disputes between them by peaceful negotiation. If agreement should be reached on this draft, the Communists would immediately seek to push us into negotiations on the Taiwan issue, particularly the presence of our forces in the Taiwan area. Refusal by us to negotiate at all would give them plausible ground to claim they had been tricked.

Recommendation:

794a.5

(1) That we avoid final agreement on an announcement on renunciation of force until the Communists have released the fourteen Americans they hold or we are confident they will be released; (2) that if agreement is reached on an announcement and the Communists then propose discussing withdrawal of U.S. forces that we take the position that we cannot make agreements on this, but that the disposition of our forces would naturally depend on the military situation there and when the threat of use of force is removed, we would take this into consideration in our deployment of forces. If the Communists press further for discussion of the status of Taiwan and related matters we must insist on the position that these affect the interests of the Government of the Republic of China and we cannot discuss them without the presence of this Government. (Attached as Tab C is a compilation of statements made publicly and to the GRC to this effect.)

Attachments:

1. Draft telegram to Ambassador Johnson (Tab A).
2. Revision of renunciation of force draft (Tab B).
3. Compilation of statements (Tab C).

FE:CA:RNClough:ek

611.93/12-1255 XR 794a.5

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1:40 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

Info RMR

TO: **Secretary of State**

SS

NO: 1283, December 13, 5 p.m.

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FROM JOHNSON

Reference: Paragraph 3 Department's 1377.

It is my understanding proposed recess to begin after meeting December 22.

GOWEN

MEM/12

611.93/12-1355

FA

Assigned to CHIDIR

Action Taken Reply drafted 12/13 CA RA Clough file

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Your 1283.

Department's intention is that proposed recess begin after December 15 meeting. Re Our 1366 Colm may leave immediately after next meeting assuming recess agreed to.

Hoover
ACTING

HOOVER

611.93/12-1355

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Drafted by: FE:CA:WMcConaughy:ek 12/14/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:
FE - Mr. Sebald
DRF - Mr. Yager - in substance

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1286, DECEMBER 15, 3 P.M.

NIACT

SENT DEPARTMENT 1286, REPEATED INFORMATION PARIS 286.

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FROM JOHNSON

1. FOUR HOUR MEETING THIS MORNING DEVOTED ENTIRELY TO IMPLEMENTATION.

2. WANG STATED PRC IS GOING TO ISSUE STATEMENT, PRESUMABLY FROM PEIPING, ON IMPLEMENTATION IN REBUTTAL OF ALLEGED OFFICIAL U.S. GOVERNMENT AS WELL AS PRESS STATEMENTS CHARGING PRC VIOLATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. SPECIFIC REFERENCE MADE TO SECRETARY'S DECEMBER 6 PRESS STATEMENT. IN SPITE MY POINTING OUT DELIBERATE EFFORT MADE IN SECRETARY'S STATEMENTS REDUCE AND ALLAY RISING PUBLIC CONCERN IN U. S. OVER FAILURE PRC IMPLEMENT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND OUR CONTINUED EFFORTS KEEP PRC FAILURES FROM PROPAGANDA FORUM, IT WAS EVIDENT WANG WAS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS AND HAD NO DISCRETION ON WHETHER STATEMENT WOULD BE ISSUED. AS ADDITIONAL EFFORT DISCOURAGE STATEMENT, I TIED REQUEST FOR RECESS UNTIL JANUARY 12 TO THIS SERIOUS AND DISAPPOINTING ACTION ON THEIR PART WHICH WOULD REDUCE HOPE PROGRESS OUR TALKS. THIS OBVIOUSLY GAVE WANG CONSIDERABLE PAUSE BUT HE REMAINED FIRM ON ISSUANCE OF STATEMENT WHILE REJECTING ANY LINKING REQUEST FOR RECESS TO SUCH GROUNDS. HOWEVER WILLING CONSIDER RECESS BASED ON HOLIDAY PERIOD. I DID NOT PRESS QUESTION OF LINKAGE AND FINALLY MADE STRAIGHT PROPOSAL FOR RECESS UNTIL JANUARY 12. WANG AGREED CONSIDER AND INFORM ME LATER. I URGED DECISION BEFORE

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TOMORROW EVENING. IN MEANWHILE WE AGREED INFORM PRESS SIMPLY NEXT MEETING WOULD BE HELD DECEMBER 22.

GOWEN

WDR

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TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1288, DECEMBER 15, 6 PM

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FROM JOHNSON

1. WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT CONTENTS WILL BE OF CHICOM STATEMENT REFERRED TO BY WANG TODAY AND HOW MUCH IMPACT IT MAY HAVE. FACT IS OF COURSE PEIPING PROPAGANDA HAS BY INTERVIEWS WITH RETURNING STUDENTS ETC. BEEN MAINTAINING STEADY LINE OF VAGUE CHARGES U.S. NON- COMPLIANCE WITH ANNOUNCEMENT, AND DEPENDENT ON CONTENT AND CONTEXT, NEW STATEMENT MY NOT ATTRACT MUCH NOTICE. I AVOIDED GETTING INTO THEIR PREVIOUS PROPAGANDA LINE WITH WANG TODAY IN ORDER NOT GET LED DOWN SIDE ROAD OF STATEMENTS MADE BY RETURNING AMERICANS AND TO ACCENTUATE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH WE VIEWED PRESENT ACTION. I OF COURSE MADE IT CLEAR THAT, WHILE WE REGRETTED THEIR STEP, WE DID NOT SHRINK FROM PROPAGANDA BATTLE IF THAT WAS THEIR PURPOSE AND THAT WE WOULD PROBABLY ISSUE STATEMENT IN REPLY ALTHOUGH I DID NOT COMMIT OURSELVES TO DOING SO.

2. IF CHICOMS ACTUALLY ISSUE STATEMENT FROM PEIPING AND REPLY IS CONSIDERED DESIRABLE, BELIEVE IT SHOULD BE ISSUED BY DEPARTMENT.

3. BELIEVE WANG'S STATEMENTS LAST FEW MEETINGS GIVE CLUE TO PROBABLE CONTENT OF STATEMENT, AND AMOUNT OF ATTENTION IT ATTRACTS WILL BE DEPENDENT ON WHETHER AND TO WHAT DEGREE

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IT REITERATES CHARGES U.S. DELIBERATELY "STALLING AND ENTANGLING". I DID NOT RECEIVE IMPRESSION STATEMENT WOULD CONTAIN TEXT THEIR LAST DRAFT PROPOSAL ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AND THEREFORE MADE NO EFFORT TO INTRODUCE OUR AMENDMENTS FOR WHICH THE NEGOTIATING SITUATION IN THE MEETING WAS IN ANY EVENT BY THAT TIME ENTIRELY UNSUITABLE.

4. STATEMENT WILL AT LEAST PROBABLY REITERATE VAGUE CHARGES OF "FEARS" CHINESE STUDENTS "APPLY" TO RETURN, CONTRAST OUR REFUSAL GIVE LIST CHINESE IN U.S. INCLUDING THOSE WHO MAY BE IN JAIL TO INDIANS WITH LIST AMERICANS GIVEN US BY CHICOMS, PROPORTIONATELY SMALL NUMBER OF CHINESE IN U.S. WHO HAVE "RETURNED" COMPARED WITH PROPORTION AMERICANS WHO HAVE RETURNED FROM CHINA, INS "INTIMIDATION" CHINESE TO APPLY FOR TAIWAN ENTRY PERMITS, ETC.

5. I HAVE NO SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING PUBLIC REPLY EXCEPT TO REITERATE AS APPROPRIATE POSITIONS THAT HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN MEETINGS WHILE AVOIDING SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO CONTENTS OF MEETINGS. WITH RESPECT NUMBERS WHO HAVE RETURNED, SUGGEST USE ON LINE IN OPENING STATEMENT TODAY, THAT IS, IN 6 WEEKS BETWEEN AUGUST 1 AND SEPTEMBER 10 THIRTY-THREE OF 52 PREVIOUSLY DETAINED GIVEN PERMISSION DEPART AND IN 14 WEEKS SINCE SEPTEMBER 10 ONLY 5. THUS RESULTS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT LARGELY NEGATIVE WITH RESPECT AMERICANS AND CERAINNLY NOT "EXPEDITIOUS" EITHER IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS OR PROPORTION.

6. IN CONSIDERING ANY STATEMENT WE MAKE IN REPLY, I DESIRE REITERATE MY CONVICTION THAT WHATEVER POINTS WE MAY BE ABLE SCORE IN PROPAGANDA BATTLE THIS SUBJECT WILL NOT BE REFLECTED, AT LEAST AT ANY TIME SOON, IN INCREASED RELEASES OF IMPRISONED AMERICANS. TO ACCOMPLISH THIS OBJECTIVE OR EFFORTS SHOULD BE DIRECTED TO MAXIMUM EXTENT CONSISTENT WITH OUR PUBLIC POSITION TO RESTORING FORMER BASIS OF NEGOTIATION.

7. GOING PRAGUE FRIDAY EVENING RETURNING TUESDAY IF THERE IS MEETING DECEMBER 22.

GOWEN

MEM

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1289, DECEMBER 15, 11 PM (SECTION 1 OF 8)

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. I OPENED 30TH MEETING TODAY WITH PREPARED STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION AS FOLLOWS:

A. AT OUR LAST MEETING, I THINK WE WERE IN AGREEMENT IN EXPRESSING OUR COMMON DESIRE AVOID WHAT YOU HAVE TERMED ENTANGLING QUESTION OF RETURN OF CIVILIANS TO THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES WITH OTHER QUESTIONS BEFORE US. I HAVE POINTED OUT THAT ONLY SURE WAY OF AVOIDING SUCH ENTANGLEMENT WAS PROMPTLY AND FAITHFULLY CARRY OUT TERMS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SEPTEMBER 10. I HAVE ALL ALONG MAINTAINED THAT TWO OF US HERE SHOULD BE PREPARED DISCUSS AND DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE ELIMINATE ANY DIFFERENCES OF OPINION WITH RESPECT TO THIS FIRST AGREEMENT BETWEEN US AND THEREBY ESTABLISH SOUND BASIS WHICH WOULD GIVE US BEST HOPE OF MAKING FURTHER PROGRESS IN DEALING WITH OTHER VITALLY IMPORTANT MATTERS CONFRONTING US.

B. YOU WILL RECALL THAT FOLLOWING ISSUANCE OF OUR ANNOUNCEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 10 I POINTED OUT FAVORABLE ATMOSPHE WHICH ITS PROMPT AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION COULD CREATE FOR PROGRESS IN DISCUSSION OF SECOND PART OUR AGENDA. I POINTED OUT ADVANTAGE OF PROMPTLY PUTTING INTO EFFECT APPROPRIATE MEASURES FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR ANNOUNCEMENT, WHICH WOULD DISPOSE OF PROBLEM WE WERE CALLED UPON TO DEAL WITH UNDER AGENDA ITEM ONE, BEFORE ATTEMPTING RESOLVE COMPLICATED AND DIFFICULT PROBLEMS UNDER SECOND ITEM OUR AGENDA.

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C. ALTHOUGH I DID NOT FEEL THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT HAD IN FACT INITIATED ALL APPROPRIATE MEASURES CALLED FOR UNDER ANNOUNCEMENT, ON STRENGTH OF YOUR ASSURANCES IN THIS REGARD I UNDERTOOK DISCUSSION WITH YOU OF QUESTIONS UNDER ITEM TWO. I HAD HOPES THAT ENTANGLEMENT OF OUR TWO AGENDA ITEMS IN OUR TALKS COULD THUS BE AVOIDED. I AM DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED AND DISTURBED THAT MY HOPES HAVE NOT THUS FAR BEEN REALIZED. IN FACT IN SOME WAYS RESULTS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN NEGATIVE WHEN COMPARED WITH SITUATION PRIOR TO ISSUANCE OF OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

D. WHEN WE ARRIVED HERE TO BEGIN OUR DISCUSSIONS ON AUGUST 1, THERE WERE TO OUR KNOWLEDGE 52 AMERICANS WHOSE DEPARTURE FROM YOUR COUNTRY WAS BEING PREVENTED IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER AND WHOSE NAMES I GAVE TO YOU. ON AUGUST 1 YOU INFORMED ME THAT OF THAT NUMBER 11 WERE BEING PERMITTED RETURN TO U.S. ON SEPTEMBER 6 YOU INFORMED ME OF 12 ADDITIONAL PERSONS OF THAT GROUP WHO WOULD BE PERMITTED DEPART. ON SEPTEMBER 10 YOU INFORMED ME OF ANOTHER 10 WHO WOULD BE PERMITTED TO RETURN. THUS, IN APPROXIMATELY 6 WEEKS BETWEEN AUGUST 1 AND SEPTEMBER 10 ACTION WAS TAKEN PERMIT 33 OUT OF 52 PERSONS DEPART. IN APPROXIMATELY 14 WEEKS SINCE SEPTEMBER 10, OF THAT GROUP ONLY 5 ADDITIONAL PERSONS HAVE BEEN GIVEN PERMISSION DEPART. THUS, HOWEVER RESULTS ARE REGARDED, THAT IS BY ABSOLUTE NUMBERS OR BY PROPORTION, RESULTS IN THIS REGARD SINCE SEPTEMBER 10 HAVE BEEN EXTREMELY DISAPPOINTING AND OUT OF KEEPING WITH MY GOVERNMENT'S UNDERSTANDING AND EXPECTATION OF WHAT WAS REASONABLY TO BE EXPECTED UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

E. AT OUR LAST MEETING I ALSO SPOKE OF RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED BY YOUR AUTHORITIES ON FREEDOM OF AMERICANS COMMUNICATE WITH UK CHARGE, AS PROVIDED FOR IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, AND OTHER RESTRICTIONS ON ABILITY OF UK CHARGE CARRY OUT HIS FUNCTIONS.

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F. I HAVE ALSO SPOKEN SEVERAL TIMES IN PARTICULAR OF CASES OF DR. AND MRS. BRADSHAW. YOU HAVE OFTEN SPOKEN OF LENIENT AND HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATION BY YOUR AUTHORITIES OF CASES OF IMPRISONED AMERICANS. THERE IS CERTAINLY NO BETTER CASE IN WHICH THERE IS OPPORTUNITY NOW DEMONSTRATE THIS THAN CASE OF THESE TWO PERSONS.

G. UK CHARGE WHO VISITED MRS. BRADSHAW ON DECEMBER 10 FULLY CONFIRMS OUR PREVIOUS UNDERSTANDING THAT THIS UNFORTUNATE WOMAN IS NOW MENTALLLY AND PHYSICALLY IN ENTIRELY HELPLESS CONDITION. SHE IS EATING PRACTICALLY NOTHING AND COULD WELL PASS AWAY AT ANY TIME UNLESS PROMPT STEPS ARE TAKEN. SHE IS PHYSICALLY AND MENTALLY ENTIRELY INCAPABLE OF MAKING ARRANGEMENTS FOR HER DEPARTURE AND TRAVELLING FROM COUNTRY. APPARENTLY ONE OF HER FEW TOUCHES WITH REALITY IS KNOWLEDGE THAT HER HUSBAND REMAINS IN PRISON AND DESIRE BE REUNITED WITH HIM IN DEPARTING FROM COUNTRY. APART FROM AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT THESE HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS ALONE SHOULD DICTATE PROMPT RELEASE OF DR. BRADSHAW.

H. IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT EVEN FALL SENTENCE OF DR. BRADSHAW EXPIRES IN MARCH. HE IS UNDERSTANDABLY EXTREMELY CONCERNED OVER CONDITION OF HIS WIFE AND DESIRES IMMEDIATELY RETURN WITH HER. I SHOULD THINK THAT POLICY OF LENIENCE, PARTICULARLYIN LIGHT OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, SHOULD MAKE POSSIBLE SHORTENING OF HIS FIVE-YEAR SENTENCE BY MERE MATTER OF TEN WEEKS.

I. IT IS UNDERSTANDABLE THAT KNOWN FACTS WITH REGARD TO DR. AND MRS. BRADSHAW GREATLY INCREASE CONCERN OF MY GOVERNMENT FOR FATE OF IMPRISONED AMERICANS WITH REGARD TO WHOM WE HAVE NO INFORMATION AND ACCENTUATES NEED FOR THEIR EXPEDITIOUS RELEASE SO THAT THEY CAN EXERCISE RIGHT OF RETURN RECOGNIZED IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

J. AT OUR LAST MEETING YOU RAISED SEVERAL QUESTIONS WITH RESPECT TO CARRYING OUT BY MY GOVERNMENT OF OBLIGATIONS IT ASSUMED UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I AM ENTIRELY PREPARED AND WILLING FULLY ANSWER THOSE QUESTIONS, EVEN THOUGH THEY DO NOT APPEAR RELATE TO FACTUAL INFORMATION CONCERNING ANY SPECIFIC CASE NOR TO TERMS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

K. YOUR FIRST QUESTION RELATED TO WHETHER MY GOVERNMENT WAS PREPARED PROVIDE INDIAN EMBASSY WITH COMPLETE LIST OF NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF ALL CHINESE IN U.S.

GOWEN

JMD

NOTE: MR. CLADOUHAS (FE) NOTIFIED 6:45 PM 12/15/55 - CWO/FED

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1955 DEC 16 AM 7 50

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6:44 PM
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Question to DC/R

FE
Info
RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1289, DECEMBER 15, 11 PM (SECTION 2 OF 8)

PRIORITY

L. YOU WILL RECALL THAT WE VERY FULLY DISCUSSED THIS QUESTION AT TIME WE WERE DISCUSSING TEXT OF OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, AND I AM SURPRISED THAT YOU AGAIN RAISE MATTER. NEXT, I DESIRE POINT OUT AGAIN THAT STATEMENT MADE BY OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS ON JULY 25 WITH RESPECT TO HOLDING OF THESE TALKS, AS WELL AS OUR AGREED FIRST AGENDA ITEM, RELATES SOLELY TO PERSONS WHO DESIRE RETURN. I ALSO WANT POINT OUT THAT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 10 VERY SPECIFICALLY REFERS ONLY TO PERSONS WHO DESIRE RETURN

M. AT VERY OUTSET OF OUR TALKS I GAVE YOU LIST OF AMERICANS IN YOUR COUNTRY WHO MY GOVERNMENT HAD REASON BELIEVE DESIRED RETURN. I HAVE NOT DISCUSSED OR RAISED QUESTION OF OTHER AMERICANS WHO MAY BE IN YOUR COUNTRY.

N. THERE IS NOTHING IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH IN ANY WAY PLACES ANY OBLIGATION ON MY GOVERNMENT SUPPLY, EITHER TO INDIAN EMBASSY OR TO YOUR GOVERNMENT, LIST OF ALL CHINESE IN U.S. EVEN IF IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO COMPILE SUCH LIST IT COULD HAVE NO RELATION TO ABILITY OF CHINESE IN U.S. RETURN TO YOUR COUNTRY. TESTS OF PERFORMANCE OF OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ARE VERY SIMPLE.

O. FIRST TEST IS WHETHER THERE IS IN FACT ANY OBSTRUCTION TO RETURN OF INDIVIDUALS WHO DECIDE DO SO, AND WHETHER INDIVIDUALS ARE THEREFORE ABLE EXPEDICIOUSLY EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN. AS I HAVE CONTINUALLY POINTED OUT SINCE BEGINNING OF THESE TALKS, MY GOVERNMENT HAS REMOVED ALL MEASURES WHICH WOULD OBSTRUCT ANY CHINESE IN U.S. WHO DESIRES RETURN FROM DOING SO.

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P. THE SECOND TEST IS WHETHER ANY INDIVIDUAL WHO BELIEVES THAT, CONTRARY TO THIS DECLARED POLICY, HE IS ENCOUNTERING OBSTRUCTION IN DEPARTURE, CAN FREELY COMMUNICATE WITH REPRESENTATIVE OF THIRD COUNTRY. I HAVE REPEATEDLY AND UNCONDITIONALLY STATED THAT ANY CHINESE IN U.S. IS ENTIRELY FREE COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY IN THIS REGARD. INDIAN EMBASSY IS IN POSITION FULLY CONFIRM THIS TO YOUR GOVERNMENT.

Q. NEXT TEST IS WHETHER REPRESENTATIVE OF THIRD COUNTRY IS ABLE INVESTIGATE FACTS IN ANY SUCH CASE. AGAIN I HAVE FULLY AND UNCONDITIONALLY ASSURED YOU THAT INDIAN EMBASSY IS ABLE DO THIS. AND, AGAIN, INDIAN EMBASSY IS IN POSITION CONFIRM THIS TO YOUR GOVERNMENT.

R. NEXT TEST IS WILLINGNESS OF GOVERNMENT CONCERNED RECEIVE AND PROMPTLY ACT UPON REPRESENTATIONS FROM REPRESENTATIVE OF THIRD COUNTRY CONCERNING ANY SPECIFIC CASE. I HAVE REPEATEDLY ASSURED YOU HERE AND INDIAN EMBASSY HAS BEEN ASSURED OF WILLINGNESS OF MY GOVERNMENT TO ACT IN THIS MANNER. HOWEVER, AS I HAVE POINTED OUT, I DO NOT HAVE KNOWLEDGE OF SINGLE CASE IN WHICH INDIAN EMBASSY HAS FELT IT NECESSARY MAKE REPRESENTATIONS, NOR DO I KNOW OF ANY COMPLAINT OF ANY KIND FROM INDIAN EMBASSY REGARDING WILLINGNESS OF MY GOVERNMENT FULLY ASSIST AND COOPERATE WITH IT IN CARRYING OUT ITS FUNCTIONS.

S. WITHOUT SPENDING FURTHER TIME ON THIS, I BELIEVE THAT FACTS WITH REGARD TO MANNER AND EXTENT TO WHICH OUR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS HAVE MET THESE TESTS OF PERFORMANCE UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES.

T. YOUR SECOND QUESTION RELATED TO ASSISTANCE TO INDIAN EMBASSY IN DETERMINING WHAT YOU TERMED STATUS OF ALL CHINESE IN U. S. THIS IS VERY VAGUE TERM AND I AM NOT SURE EXACTLY WHAT YOU MAY MEAN BY IT. THERE IS CERTAINLY NOTHING IN OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WITH REGARD TO INVESTIGATION OF STATUS OF ALL CHINESE IN U. S. SOLE QUESTION BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS

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WITH REGARD TO CHINESE IN U.S. UNDER TERMS OF JULY 25 STATEMENT BY OUR GOVERNMENTS, AGREED AGENDA, AS WELL AS OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, IS THAT OF FREEDOM OF CHINESE IN U. S., WHO DESIRE DO SO, RETURN TO YOUR COUNTRY. I , THEREFORE, ASSUME THAT BY INVESTIGATION OF STATUS YOU MEAN WHETHER INDIVIDUALS DO DESIRE RETURN TO YOUR COUNTRY. THIS IS, OF COURSE, SOMETHING THAT CAN BE DETERMINED ONLY BY EACH INDIVIDUAL FOR HIMSELF, AND ANY SO-CALLED "INVESTIGATION OF STATUS" HAS NO RELATION THERETO. OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND STEPS TAKEN BY MY GOVERNMENT IMPLEMENT IT FULLY AND COMPREHENSIVELY DEAL WITH ALL ASPECTS OF THIS QUESTION. AS I HAVE MANY TIMES POINTED OUT, ANY CHINESE IN UNITED STATES WHO DESIRES RETURN TO YOUR COUNTRY IS UNDER NO COMPULSION OR REQUIREMENT OBTAIN PERMISSION FROM ANYONE OR INFORM ANYONE. NEITHER IS HE PREVENTED FROM INFORMING OR COMMUNICATING WITH ANYONE. FOR EXAMPLE, IF HE FEELS THAT THERE IS ANY OBSTRUCTION TO HIS DEPARTURE, HE IS ENTIRELY FREE COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY. HE DOES NOT HAVE TO SUBMIT SUCH COMMUNICATION THROUGH ANYONE ELSE, NOR DOES ANYONE HAVE RIGHT IN ANY WAY INTERFERE WITH HIS FREEDOM OF SUCH COMMUNICATION. THERE IS THUS COMPLETE AND FIRM GUARANTEE THAT ANY CHINESE IN THE U.S., WHO IN FACT DESIRES TO RETURN TO YOUR COUNTRY, IS ABLE DO SO, AND NO GENEFAL INVESTIGATION OF STATUS OF CHINESE IN UNITED STATES IS REQUIRED.

U. YOUR THIRD QUESTION RELATED TO RESCINDING BY U.S. OF ANY MEASURES WHICH YOU TERM WOULD VIOLATE SPIRIT OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I AM NOT AWARE OF ANY SUCH MEASURES, AND IT IS RATHER YOUR GOVERNMENT WHICH SHOULD RESCIND AND CORRECT MEASURES WHICH NOT ONLY VIOLATE SPIRIT BUT LETTER OF OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. THERE CONTINUES TO BE NO OBSTRUCTION TO DEPARTURE OF ANY CHINESE FROM U. S. FOR YOUR COUNTRY. AS I HAVE MANY TIMES POINTED OUT, THERE IS NOT EVEN ANY REQUIREMENT FOR CHINESE DEPARTING FROM U.S. OBTAIN EXIT PERMIT. REQUIREMENT OF EXIT PERMIT IN ITSELF ENTAILS DELAY AND OBSTRUCTION NO MATTER HOW PROMPTLY IT MAY BE ACTED UPON. REQUIREMENT OF OBTAINING EXIT PERMIT ALSO PRE-SUPPOSES ABILITY OF THE AGENCY TO WHICH APPLICATION IS MADE TO DENY PERMIT. THEREFORE

IF ONE WERE TO SPEAK OF RESCINDING OF MEASURES VIOLATING SPIRIT OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, REFERENCE WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE TO EXIT PERMIT REQUIREMENTS OF YOUR GOVERNMENT. ONLY REPEAL OF SUCH REQUIREMENT WITH RESPECT TO AMERICANS IN YOUR COUNTRY WOULD PLACE OUR TWO COUNTRIES IN POSITION OF EQUALITY AND RECIPROCITY IN THIS REGARD.

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1289, DECEMBER 15, 11 PM (SECTION 3 OF 8)

PRIORITY

V. AT OUR LAST MEETNG YOU REFERRED TO SUPPOSED REQUIREMENT THAT CHINESE IN U.S. OBTAIN ENTRY PERMITS INTO TAIWAN. I HAVE INVESTIGATED THIS MATTER AND PRELIMINARY STATEMENT, WHICH I MADE TO YOU AT OUR LAST MEETING, I FIND TO BE ENTIRELY CORRECT. THIS RELATES ONLY TO GENERAL REQUIREMENTS UNDER OUR IMMIGRATION LAWS THAT ALIENS, ADMITTED TO THE U.S. TEMPORARILY, DESIRING TO EXTEND THEIR STAY MUST PRESENT VALID EVIDENCE THAT UPON EXPIRATION OF THEIR TEMPORARY STAY, THEY WILL BE ABLE TO PROCEED TO ANOTHER COUNTRY. THUS MATTER RELATES ENTIRELY TO CHINESE DESIRING REMAIN IN U.S., RATHER THAN CHINESE DESIRING RETURN TO YOUR COUNTRY, AND IN NO WAY INTERFERES WITH OR HINDERS ABILITY OF CHINESE IN U.S. RETURN TO YOUR COUNTRY. THUS MATTER HAS NO RELATION EITHER TO LETTER OR SPIRIT OF OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

W. I HAVE SPOKEN THUS FRANKLY WITH REGARD TO THIS MATTER AS I HOPE YOU CONTINUE SHARE MY FEELING THAT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT IN PRIVACY OF THIS ROOM TWO OF US NOT ATTEMPT DISSIMULATE AND CONCEAL DIFFERENCES BUT OPENLY DISCUSS THEM WITH VIEW OF FINDING SOLUTIONS.

X. I HAVE SPOKEN IN SOME DETAIL CONCERNING OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ON SEPTEMBER 10 IN HOPE THAT OUR DIFFERENCES WITH REGARD TO THIS MATTER COULD ONCE AND FOR ALL BE RESOLVED AND THAT, FULLY UNDERSTANDING OUR POINT OF VIEW, YOUR GOVERNMENT WOULD TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS REMOVE THIS IMPEDIMENT TO UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US AND TO PROGRESS IN OUR DISCUSSIONS OF OTHER MATTERS. I FEEL THAT ENCOURAGING PROGRESS WE HAVE BEEN ABLE MAKE TOWARD FINDING ACCEPTABLE FORM OF WORDS TO EXPRESS OUR DETERMINATION THAT OUR DIFFERENCES SHOULD NOT LEAD

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TO WAR MAKES IT DOUBLY URGENT THAT THIS OTHER MATTER BE QUICKLY RESOLVED. IT IS IN THIS SPIRIT I HAVE MADE THIS STATEMENT THIS MORNING AND IT IS IN THIS SPIRIT I HOPE IT WILL BE MOST CAREFULLY CONSIDERED BY YOU AND YOUR GOVERNMENT.

END PREPARED STATEMENT.

2. WANG REPLIED HE HAD ALREADY MADE KNOWN POSITION PRC SIDE ON QUESTIONS RELATING TO FIRST ITEM ON AGENDA WHICH I HAD RAISED AT LAST MEETING.

3. TURNING TO PREPARED STATEMENT WANG CONTINUED DURING MEETING THIS MORNING I HAD AGAIN RAISED QUESTIONS IN THIS RESPECT. THOUGH HE HAD ALREADY MADE HIS REPLY ON SAME QUESTIONS I HAD RAISED NEVERTHELESS HE WILLING ONCE AGAIN EXPRESS POSITION HIS SIDE.

4. WANG SAID AT LAST MEETING AND AGAIN THIS MORNING I HAD RAISED QUESTIONON FIRST ITEM AND WITHOUT GROUNDS ACCUSED PRC SIDE VIOLATING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. AT SAME TIME U.S. SIDE KEPT STALLING DISCUSSION OF SECOND ITEM.
PRC SIDE CONSIDERED THIS ATTITUDE COULD IN NO WAY BE RECONCILED WITH THE STATEMENTS AND THE GESTURES I HAD MADE REGARDING MY DESIRE SEE PROGRESS IN TALKS.

5. WANG SAID OUR FIRST ITEM CONCERNED RETURN CIVILIANS.
IT WAS NONE OTHER THAN U.S. SIDE WHICH VIOLATING TERMS AGREEMENT. IN FIRST PLACE AS HE HAD PREVIOUSLY POINTED OUT PRC SIDE HAD PROVIDED US COMPLETE LIST OF AMERICANS IN CHINA AT OUTSET OUR TALKS WHEREAS U.S. SIDE FAILED DO SAME BY PROVIDING COMPLETE LIST ALL CHINESE IN U S. SO THAT INDIAN EMBASSY IN U.S. HAD NO MEANS OF FULLY CARRYING OUT FUNCTIONS SPECIFIED IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

6. WANG SAID HE COULD NOT AGREE TO MY STATEMENT THAT THIS QUESTION BEARS NO RELATION TO DISCUSSION OF RETURN CIVILIANS.

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7. WANG SAID HIS SIDE HAS EVERY REASON TO REQUEST INDIAN EMBASSY LOOK INTO STATUS CHINESE IN U.S. AND INVESTIGATE FACTS CONCERNING OBSTRUCTIONS THEIR DEPARTURE, AS WELL AS OFFER ASSITANCE IN EFFECTING RETURN. YET U.S. HAS MADE KNOWN IT CANNOT GIVE ANY ASSISTANCE TO INDIAN EMBASSY THAT REGARD.

8. WANG SAID U. S. SIDE CLAIMS INDIAN EMBASSY CAN ONLY COMMUNICATE WITH CHINESE NATIONALS AFTER INDIVIDUALS HAVE PUT IN REQUEST.

9. WANG SAID THOUGH PRC SIDE DOES NOT AGREE THIS INTERPRETATION, IN CIRCUMSTANCES SINCE U.S. SIDE ADOPTING SUCH INTERPRETATION PRC SIDE CAN ONLY TREAT BRITISH CHARGE ON PARALLEL FOOTING.

10. WANG SAID AND NOW U. S. SIDE EXPRESSES DISSATISFACTION WITH SITUATIONWHICH HAS BEEN CREATED SOLELY BY U.S. SIDE. THIS IS NOTHING BUT MAKING A NONSENSICAL FUSS.

11. WANG SAID IT ONLY PRC SIDE WHICH ENTITLED RAISE PROTEST. IF U.S. SIDE WISHES ALTER THIS SITUATION IT MUST FIRST PROVIDE COMPLETE LIST NAMES ADDRESSES CHINESE IN U.S.

12. WANG SAID IN SECOND PLACE AMERICAN PRISONERS HELD IN CHINESE PRISONS ARE THOSE WHO HAVE BREACHED LAW. DURING PERIOD THEY ARE SERVING SENTENCES THEY NOT ENTITLED TO REQUEST RETURN. TO SPEAK OF OBSTRUCTION TO DEPARTURE IS EVEN MORE OUT OF QUESTION.

13. WANG SAID HOWVER AS PRC SIDE HAS STATED CHINESE GOVERNMENT REVIEWING THESE CASES ACCORDANCE CHINESE LEGAL PROCEDURES AS WELL AS TAKING BEHAVIOR INDIVIDUAL INTO ACCOUNT AND WILL THEN DECIDE MEASURES TO BE TAKEN TOWARDS THEM.

14. WANG SAID IT IS MATTER OF FACT THAT CHINA HAS IN ACCORDANCE ITS OWN STATEMENT ALREADY TAKEN CONCRETE STEPS AND IS CARRYING ON REVIEWING WORK.

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15. WANG SAID CHINA HAS EVEN MADE AVAILABLE TO THE PRISONERS FULL TEXT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND HAS LENT HAND TO BRITISH CHARGE IN DISTRIBUTING NOTICES THESE PEOPLE CONCERNING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

16. WANG SAID IN THE EVENT OF INDIVIDUALS MAKING REQUEST BRITISH CHARGE IS ALSO ASSISTED TO COMMUNICATE WITH AND INTERVIEW THEM.

17. WANG SAID I COULD NOT DENY THAT LETTERS FROM THESE PEOPLE ASKING BRITISH CHARGE FOR ASSISTANCE HAVE ALL BEEN PERMITTED TO BE FORWARDED.

18. WANG SAID DURING TERM OF THEIR SENTENCES AMERICAN PRISONERS' OUTGOING COMMUNICATIONS OF COURSE MUST BE HANDLED ACCORDING TO REGULATIONS LAID DOWN BY COMPETENT CHINESE AUTHORITIES.

19. WANG SAID HOWEVER OTHER SIDE THIS MATTER IS THAT U.S. SIDE NEVER INFORMED PRC SIDE AS TO EXACTLY HOW MANY CHINESE IMPRISOED IN U.S. NOR HAS INDIAN EMBASSY BEEN GIVEN LIST, SO IT HAS NO MEANS OF MAKING CHECK. INDIAN EMBASSY ALSO FINDS NO WAY EXTENDING ASSISTANCE TO SUCH PERSONS. SUCH SITUTATION IS UNEQUITABLE.

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1289, DECEMBER 15, 11 PM (SECTION 4 OF 8)

PRIORITY

20. WANG SAID NOW THAT U.S SIDE HAS RAISED QUESTION OF AMERICANS WHO HAVE BREACHED LAWS PRC SIDE DEMANDS U.S. SHOULD FIRST SUBMIT LIST OF CHINESE IMPRISONED IN UNITED STATES.

21. WANG SAID IN THIRD PLACE U S. SIDE HAS ALSO KEPT RAISING QUESTION OF RATE AT WHICH PRC SIDE HAS BEEN RELEASING LAW BREAKING AMERICANS. AS HE HAD SPECIFICALLY STATED, THIS WOULD NOT ADVANCE IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. AMERICANS WHO HAD BROKEN LAW MUST BE HANDLED IN ACCORDANCE CHINESE LEGAL PROCEDURES AND THIS COULD BY NO MEANS BE HASTENED BY SETTING DEADLINE. SUCH IS A MATTER CHINESE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS

22. WANG SAID I HAD ALSO TIME AND AGAIN MADE REFERENCE TO RESPECTING CHINESE LEGAL PROCEDURES AND AVOIDING ACTIONS PRE-JUDICING CHINESE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS.

23. WANG SAID THUS U. S. SIDE HAS NO JUSTIFICATION WHATEVER TO RAISE DEMAND FOR EFFECTING RELEASE BY A DEADLINE OR OTHERWISE MAKING SUCH A DEMAND UNDER DIFFERENT CLOAK.

24. WANG SAID PRC SIDE HAS BEEN RELEASING AMERICANS WHO HAVE BREACHED A LAW. FROM BEGINNING THESE TALKS ON AUGUST 1 ALREADY 26 AMONG 40 AMERICANS WHO HAD BREACHED LAWS HAVE BEEN RELEASED. THIS IS FACT WHICH I CANNOT BUT RECOGNIZE. ALREADY TWO-THIRDS OF AMERICANS HAVE BEEN RELEASED.

25. WANG SAID HOWEVER NO CORRESPONDING MEASURES BEING TAKEN WITH RESPECT CHINESE BEING HELD IN PRISON IN U.S.

26. WANG

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26. WANG SAID IN FOURTH PLACE INSOFAR AS ORDINARY AMERICANS IN PRC CONCERNED THEY HAVE NEVER ENCOUNTERED ANY DIFFICULTY IN DEPARTING. SINCE BEGINNING THESE TALKS CHINA BEEN EXTENDING ASSISTANCE TO EXPEDITE HANDLING THEIR PENDING AFFAIRS IN ORDER THEY MAY EFFECT THEIR RETURN AT EARLY DATE.

27. WANG SAID 16 WHO APPLIED TO RETURN WERE ALL PERMITTED RETURN. 3 OF 16 HAVE NOT YET DEPARTED FROM CHINA. THAT IS DUE THEIR HAVING UNSETTLED AFFAIRS. HOWEVER, CHINA GIVING THEM ALL ASSISTANCE.

28. WANG SAID THE REMAINING AMERICAN NATIONALS WHO MAY LATER DESIRE DEPART WILL ALSO BE ABLE MAKE THEIR DEPARTURE AND CAN ALSO COUNT ON BEING GIVEN SIMILAR ASSISTANCE..

29. WANG SAID INSOFAR AS CHINESE IN U.S. CONCERNED, EVEN IN CASE OF 103 CHINESE WHOM U.S. SIDE ADMITTED HAD LONG WANTED DEPART BUT WHOSE DEPARTURE BEEN PREVENTED, 38 OF THEM NOT YET RETURNED UP TO PRESENT.

30. WANG SAID U.S. SIDE STATED THAT THEY WERE PERMITTED TO DEPART. HOWEVER U.S. SIDE NEVER SUBMITTED THEIR ADDRESSES NOR ACCOUNTED FOR FAILURE TO EFFECT THEIR RETURN. MOREOVER U.S. SIDE HAS REFUSED ASSIST INDIAN EMBASSY LOOK INTO THEIR STATUS.

31. WANG SAID IN FIFTH PLACE PRC SIDE PARTICULARLY WANTS LODGE PROTEST IN CONNECTION WITH MEASURE OF IMMIGRATION NATURALIZATION SERVICE WHICH REQUIRES CHINESE STUDENTS REMAINING IN U.S. TO OBTAIN ENTRY PERMITS FOR TAIWAN.

32. WANG SAID I HAD SAID AT LAST MEETING THAT EVEN IF THIS WAS CASE IT WAS NOT VIOLATION AGREEMENT. I HAD AGAIN THIS MORNING MADE REFERENCE TO MY PREVIOUS STATEMENT. HOWEVER THAT STATEMENT IS SHEER SOPHISTRY.

33. WANG SAID THIS REQUIREMENT OF IMMIGRATION NATURALIZATION SERVICE HAS NOTHING IN COMMON WITH ARRANGEMENTS GENERALLY REQUIRED OF FOREIGN NATIONALS BEFORE THEY EFFECT THEIR DEPARTURE.

34. WANG SAID IT ENTIRELY UNDERSTANDABLE THAT CHINESE STUDENTS

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STUDENTS MAY NOT BE ABLE MAKE THEIR RETURN FOR TIME BEING WHETHER BECAUSE THEY NOT YET COMPLETED STUDIES OR BECAUSE THEY MIGHT BE DELAYED BY OTHER PERSONAL AFFAIRS.

35. WANG SAID BY REQUIRING THESE CHINESE STUDENTS PROCEED TAIWAN U.S. OBVIOUSLY SUBJECTING THEM FURTHER THREAT SO THAT IN FUTURE THEY WILL NOT DARE DEMAND RETURN MAINLAND OF CHINA.

36. WANG SAID AS FAR BACK AS LAST APRIL STATE DEPARTMENT HAD ADMITTED THAT "SOME CHINESE STUDENTS MAY REFRAIN FROM APPLYING TO IMMIGRATION NATURALIZATION SERVICE FOR PERMISSION RETURN TO MAINLAND FOR FEAR OF BEING REFUSED". AND NOW U.S. NOT ONLY FAILED TAKE MEASURE ELIMINATE APPREHENSION CREATED DURING LONG PERIOD IN WHICH THEY BEEN SUBJECT OBSTRUCTION AND THREAT BUT HAS FURTHER ADOPTED THREATS AGAINST THEM. THIS IS ENTIRELY IN VIOLATION LETTER AND SPIRIT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. PRC SIDE DEMANDS THAT U.S. SIDE PROMPTLY REMOVE SUCH REGULATIONS WHICH VIOLATE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

37 WANG SAID IT IS U.S. SIDE WHICH HAS VIOLATED AGREEMENT REACHED ON FIRST ITEM. YET U.S. SIDE HAS BEEN MAKING ACCUSATIONS AGAINST PRC SIDE WITHOUT ANY GROUNDS. U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE AND OTHER SPOKESMEN HAVE REVERSED THE MERITS OF THIS CASE BY ACCUSING PRC SIDE OF ALLEGED FAILURE IMPLEMENT. IN VIEW OF THIS CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED MAKE STATEMENT ON THIS QUESTION.

38. WANG SAID HE MUST POINT OUT FROM SERIES OF STATEMENT MADE BY US ON FIRST ITEM OF AGENDA IT APPEARS U.S. SIDE HAS REGARDED AGREEMENT AS PURELY UNILATERAL REQUIREMENT PRC SIDE ASSUME OBLIGATIONS WHILE US SIDE NOT BOUND. U.S. SIDE NOT ONLY FAILED PROVIDE PRC SIDE AND INDIANS WITH FACILITIES BUT LAID DOWN REGULATIONS IN VIOLATION OF THE AGREEMENT. HE URGED U.S. SIDE IMPLEMENT AGREEMENT AND STILL CONSIDERED WE SHOULD PROCEED ITEM TWO DISCUSSION.

39. WANG SAID IN COURSE DISCUSSION OF SECOND ITEM IT IS U.S. SIDE WHICH SUGGESTED RENUNCIATION FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. IT WAS ALSO U.S. SIDE WHICH DEMANDED THAT TWO SIDES

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SIDES MAKE STATEMENT THIS RESPECT. PRC SIDE HAS NOT ONLY PUT FORWARD REASONABLE DRAFT BUT AGAIN SUBMITTED NEW DRAFT DRAWN ON BASIS POINTS THAT HAVE BEEN AGREED OR MAY BE AGREED.

40. WANG SAID AT PREVIOUS MEETING I HAD STATED AS RESULT OF EFFORT PRC SIDE THERE HAD BEEN CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS IN TALKS. AT LAST MEETING I HAD INDICATED IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC ENTER INTO ANOTHER AGREEMENT BEFORE PREVIOUS AGREEMENT FULLY IMPLEMENTED.

41. WANG SAID IT WOULD APPEAR THAT IT IS CHANCE OF AGREEMENT THAT HAS MADE U.S. SIDE HASTILY REVERT TO SAME SELF-CONTRADICTORY POSITION WHICH U.S. SIDE HAD TAKEN COUPLE OF MONTHS AGO WHEN U.S. SIDE INSISTED ON FINAL IMPLEMENTAION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BEFORE ENTERING INTO DISCUSSION OF SECOND ITEM.

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BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
1955 DEC 16 AM 7 29
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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48-B

Action Taken 1-C

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Action FE

Control: 7957

Rec'd: DECEMBER 15, 1955 10:35 P M

Date of Action

Info RMR

FROM: GENEVA

Action Office Symbol

TO: Secretary of State

Name of Officer

SS G

NO: 1289, DECEMBER 15, 11 P M (SECTION 5 OF 8)

Direction to DC/R

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PRIORITY

42. WANG SAID THIS SITUATION COULD NOT BUT POSE ONCE MORE QUESTION OF WHETHER U.S. SIDE HAS SINCERE DESIRE FOR PROGRESS WHEN IT INSISTS ON THE CONDITION OF FINAL IMPLEMENTATION BEFORE THERE WILL BE ANOTHER AGREEMENT. DID I MEAN THAT THERE COULD BE AN AGREEMENT ONLY AFTER ALL CHINESE IN U. S. DESIRING TO RETURN HAD DONE SO? IF THAT WERE WHAT I MEANT IT WOULD NOT BE A MATTER OF FEW MONTHS BUT A MATTER OF YEARS FOR THE RETURN OF CHINESE IN U.S. WHO NUMBER TENS OF THOUSANDS.

43. WANG SAID U.S. SIDE MUST SEE THAT IF IT ATTEMPTS BY THIS METHOD TO DRAG OUT OR BREAK UP THE TALKS IT WILL GET NOTHING GOOD OUT OF IT.

44. WANG SAID HE WISHED TO POINT OUT THAT IF U.S. SIDE WAS SINCERE THERE IS NO JUSTIFICATION FOR ENTANGLING TALKS WITH QUESTION OF ITEM ONE. AGREEMENT SHOULD BE REACHED ON NEW DRAFT OF PRC SIDE. THEN TALKS COULD PROCEED TO NEGOTIATION ON PROBLEMS AT ISSUE BETWEEN BOTH SIDES.

45. I REPLIED THAT EITHER WANG HAD MISUNDERSTOOD ME, IN WHICH CASE I WAS SORRY I HAD NOT MADE MYSELF CLEAR, OR HE HAD CHOSEN DISTORT WHAT I HAD SAID CONCERNING RELATIONSHIP OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT OF SEPTEMER 10 AND POSSIBLE FUTURE AGREEMENTS. WANG HAD QUOTED ME AS SAYING IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC TO ENTER INTO ANOTHER AGREEMENT BEFORE FIRST WAS FULLY IMPLEMENTED. I DID NOT RECALL HAVING SAID THAT AND FELT SURE I HADN'T. WHAT I HAD SAID, WAS THAT I FELT IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC ENTER INTO ANOTHER AGREEMENT UNLESS FULL CONFIDENCE WAS ESTABLISHED THAT FIRST WAS BEING CARRIED OUT. I HAD MANY TIMES REFERRED TO IMPORANCE OF CONFIDENCE AND FULL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US, WITHOUT

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US, WITHOUT WHICH IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC ENTER INTO OTHER AGREEMENTS. I HAD UNDERSTOOD AT LAST MEETING HE AGREED WITH THAT.

46. I SAID I HAD FOR THESE REASONS DISCUSSED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT IN SUCH DETAIL. FAR FROM DESIRING TO RETARD PROGRESS I WAS HOPING BY THIS TO EXPEDITE PROGRESS. IN THAT SPIRIT I HAD FRANKLY DISCUSSED MATTER. IF I DID NOT DESIRE MAKE PROGRESS, I CERTAINLY WOULD NOT TAKE TIME AND EFFORT DISCUSS THIS FIRST MATTER AS SERIOUSLY AS I HAD. I WOULD BE DOING DISSERVICE TO BOTH OF US IF I ATTEMPTED CONCEAL OR GLOSS OVER MY GOVERNMENT'S FEELING CONCERNING OPERATION OF FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT.

47. I SAID WE SHOULD BE COMPLETELY FRANK. AT TIME WANG AND I HAD DISCUSSED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, IT WAS CLEAR BETWEEN US THAT LARGEST GROUP OF AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY UNDER DISCUSSION WAS THOSE IN PRISON. I HAD MADE IT CLEAR AT THAT TIME I HAD NO INTENT INTERFERE WITH METHOD HIS GOVERNMENT CHOSE HANDLE PROBLEM.

48. I SAID AT TIME WE ISSUED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, ONLY AMERICANS REMAINING WANG'S COUNTRY CONCERNING WHOM US. HAD NO ASSURANCES IN REGARD TO DEPARTURE WERE THOSE IN PRISON. OUR LONG DISCUSSION OF DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT HAD REVOLVED ALMOST ENTIRELY ABOUT THIS GROUP. I HAD AT FIRST SUGGESTED PROBLEM BE RESOLVED BY PERMITTING THEIR RETURN PRIOR TO ANY STATEMENT. WHEN WANG NOT WILLING, I HAD SUGGESTED RELEASE BE SIMULTANEOUS WITH ISSUANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. WHEN WANG DID NOT ACCEPT THAT PROPOSAL, I SUGGESTED AT LEAST PRIVATE UNDERSTANDING CONCERNING LENGTH OF TIME THAT WOULD BE NEEDED. WANG UNABLE ACCEPT THAT POSITION. HOWEVER, WANG HAD TOLD ME MANY TIMES, TIME REQUIRED WOULD BE VERY SHORT. I WOULD NOT REVIEW ENTIRE DISCUSSION THAT LED UP TO SUGGESTION BY WANG AND ACCEPTANCE BY US OF WORD "EXPEDITIOUSLY".

49. I SAID IT WAS CERTAINLY CLEAR IN USING THAT WORD CONCERNING RELEASE OF AMERICANS IN PRC WE WERE TALKING ABOUT AMERICANS IN PRISON. IT WAS ALSO CLEAR THAT PHRASE "FURTHER APPROPRIATE MEASURES" PERTAINED TO MEASURES WITHIN PRC SOVEREIGNTY THAT WOULD BE TAKEN TO BRING ABOUT RELEASE THESE AMERICANS.

50. I SAID SOMETIME BEFORE WE ISSUED ANNOUNCEMENT, WANG HAD INDICATED REVIEW OF NUMBER OF CASES HAD BEEN COMPLETED. ON SEPTEMBER

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ON SEPTEMBER 10. HE INFORMED ME OF THESE 10 NAMES WHOSE REVIEW COMPLETED. I DID NOT KNOW HOW LONG REVIEW OF 10 HAD TAKEN, BUT PRESUMABLY REVIEW STARTED AFTER AUGUST 1. AS I HAD POINTED OUT THIS MORNING, THIS MADE TOTAL OF 33 PERSONS ASSURED RELEASE IN SIX WEEK PERIOD BETWEEN AUGUST 1 AND SEPTEMBER 10, INCLUDING 12 NAMES GIVEN ME SEPTEMBER 6 AND 11 NAMES AUGUST 1. IN FOURTEEN WEEKS SINCE THAT TIME, ONLY 5 ADDITIONAL RELEASED. AS I HAD SAID, IT APPEARED ISSUANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT HAS IN FACT SLOWED UP RESOLUTION THIS PROBLEM.

51. I SAID I HAD NOT RAISED QUESTION OF COMPLETE IMPLEMENTATION OF SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT. I THOUGHT IT COULD AND SHOULD HAVE BEEN COMPLETELY IMPLEMENTED BEFORE THIS, INSOFAR AS THIS GROUP OF AMERICANS IS CONCERNED. IF IT COULD HAVE BEEN, THIS CERTAINLY WOULD HAVE HAD BENEFICIAL EFFECTS. NEVERTHELESS, WHAT I HAVE BEEN RAISING IS ONLY QUESTION WHETHER STATEMENT HAS ANY REAL SUBSTANCE OR MEANING INSOFAR AS THIS GROUP IS CONCERNED.

52. I SAID ON BASIS OF FACTS IT IS CERTAINLY UNDERSTANDABLE THAT MY GOVERNMENT HAS DOUBTS CONCERNING HOW MUCH MEANING STATEMENT REALLY HAS. APPARENTLY PRC HAD RESERVATIONS WITH RESPECT TO MEANING AND SUBSTANCE OF STATEMENT. THOSE RESERVATIONS NOT APPARENT TO MY GOVERNMENT WHEN IT AGREED TO ENTER INTO STATEMENT. WHAT I WAS ASKING IN ALL EARNESTNESS WAS THAT SOME ACTION BE TAKEN BY PRC WHICH WOULD REMOVE DOUBTS ON PART MY GOVERNMENT.

53. I SAID TURNING AGAIN TO QUESTIONS HE HAD RAISED, I HONESTLY DID NOT SEE HOW THEY BORE ANY RELATIONSHIP TO QUESTION OF IMPLEMENTATION. AS I HAD POINTED OUT THERE ARE SIMPLE TESTS OF MANNER IN WHICH ANNOUNCEMENT IS BEING IMPLEMENTED. I WOULD NOT TAKE THE TIME TO REPEAT. HOWEVER, BASIC TEST IS WHETHER OR NOT THERE IS OBSTRUCTION TO ANY CHINESE DEPARTING U.S. FOR PRC OR ANY OTHER COUNTRY. IN SPITE OF ALL DISCUSSION REVOLVING ABOUT THIS QUESTION, THERE IS STILL TO BE PRODUCED AS SINGLE CASE OF ANY KIND OF OFFICIAL OBSTRUCTION BY U.S. SINCE MY ASSURANCES TO WANG THIS REGARD ON AUGUST 2.

54. I SAID ON ONE HAND HE HAD RAISED QUESTION OF 38 CHINESE WHO HAD NOT RETURNED, OUT OF GROUP OF 103. ON OTHER HAND HE HAD MADE STATEMENT ACKNOWLEDGING SOME CHINESE IN U.S. MAY NOT DESIRE RETURN FOR TIME BEING. IN REGARD TO 103, HE APPARENTLY STILL NOT CLEAR WHAT THAT GROUP CONSISTED OF. I HAD NEVER SAID THAT ALL OF GROUP DESIRED RETURN AND PREVENTED

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FROM DOING SO. I DID NOT WANT TO GO AGAIN OVER ISSUANCE OF RESTRAINING ORDERS. I WANTED TO MAKE CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT ISSUANCE THOSE ORDERS NOT NECESSARILY RELATED TO WHETHER PERSON DESIRED RETURN. ORDERS ISSUED, AS I HAD POINTED OUT, IN ABSENCE OF EXIT PERMIT SYSTEM TO PREVENT DEPARTURE OF PERSONS WE DID NOT DESIRE GO PRC AT THAT TIME. SOME PERSONS THAT GROUP MAY NOT AT ANY TIME HAVE IN FACT DESIRED RETURN. OTHERS MAY HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY CHANGED THEIR MIND. I HAD NO WAY OF KNOWING.

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Action Taken 1-1

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Control: 7962
Rec'd: DECEMBER 15, 1955
10:55 PM

Info
MR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1289, DECEMBER 15, 11 PM (SECTION 6 OF 8)

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Direction to DC/R

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PRIORITY

55. I SAID FACTS IN INDIVIDUAL CASES NOT IMPORTANT. IMPORTANT THING IS WHETHER PERSONS NOW KNOW THAT THEY FREE TO GO IF THEY SO DESIRE AND THAT IF THEY FEEL OBSTRUCTED THEY FREE COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY. EACH PERSON INDIVIDUALLY INFORMED RESTRAINING ORDER HIS CASE LIFTED. EACH PERSON AWARE OF HIS RIGHT TO GET ON BOAT AND LEAVE IF HE DESIRED DO SO. EACH PERSON PERFECTLY AWARE OF ABILITY AND RIGHT TO COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY IF HE FEELS OBSTRUCTED. THAT APPLIES TO ALL CHINESE IN U.S.

56. I SAID WANG HAD AGAIN SPOKEN OF ALLEGED FEAR OF SOME CHINESE IN U.S. TO APPLY FOR DEPARTURE LEST THEY BE REFUSED. I HAD STATED OVER AND OVER AGAIN THAT NO CHINESE DESIRING DEPART U.S. NEED APPLY TO ANHOONE FOR PERMISSION TO DO SO. NO EXIT PERMITS OF ANY KIND REQUIRED TO DEPARTURE. AS I HAD POINTED OUT THIS MORNING, IF OUR NATIONALS WERE TO BE PLACED ON EQUAL BASIS, PRC WOULD HAVE TO REPEAL ITS EXIT PERMIT REQUIREMENTS. HOWEVER, I HAD NOT AND DID NOT INTEND TO MAKE SUCH DEMAND, SINCE I DID NOT WANT GET BOGGED DOWN IN DISCUSSION OF SUBJECT.

57. I SAID WANG HAD REFERRED TO CASES CHINESE IN PRISON IN U.S. I DID NOT KNOW OF ANY SUCH CASE. CERTAINLY IF THERE WERE A CHINESE IN PRISON WHO DESIRED RETURN, HE FREE COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY AND INDIAN EMBASSY FREE INVESTIGATE HIS CASE.

58. I SAID WANG HAD ALSO AGAIN RAISED QUESTION OF INS REQUIREMENT CONCERNING ENTRY PERMITS TO TAIWAN. I WOULD REPEAT AGAIN THAT THERE IS NO GENERAL REQUIREMENT CHINESE IN U.S. OBTAIN ENTRY PERMITS TO TAIWAN. WHAT THERE IS, IS NORMAL AND REGULAR

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REQUIREMENT OF ANY COUNTRY THAT PERSON ENTERING COUNTRY TEMPORARILY MUST SHOW THAT AT END OF STAY HE ABLE GO SOMEWHERE ELSE. THIS NOT APPLICABLE TO CHINESE ALONE BUT TO ALL ALIENS ENTERING COUNTRY THIS NORMAL REQUIREMENT BY CONSULAR OFFICERS ISSUING VISAS AND HAS BEEN DONE AS LONG AS I CAN REMEMBER. WHEN PERSON IN COUNTRY UNDER TEMPORARY STATUS DESIRES EXTEND PERIOD OF STAY, HE MUST HOW THIS STILL HOLDS GOOD.

59. I SAID THIS AROSE REGULARLY IN REGARD TO CHINESE ADMITTED TEMPORARILY AS IT DOES IN REGARD ANY OTHER NATIONALITY. REQUIREMENT CAN BE SATISFIED IN NUMBER OF WAYS. DOES NOT CHANGE FACT WHEN ALIEN DESIRES DEPART HE FREE TO DO SO AND GO ANY PLACE OF HIS CHOICE. THIS NEED NOT BE PLACE HE INDICATED AT TIME OF APPLICATION. WE DO NOT CONTROL DESTINATION OF ALIENS. THEY FREE DEPART ANY TIME FOR ANY DESTINATION OF THEIR CHOICE.

60. I SAID WANG HAD SPOKEN OF HIS GOVERNMENT MAKING STATEMENT ON SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT. IT WAS NOT CLEAR WHETHER HE REFERRING TO HIS STATEMENT HERE THIS MORNING OR TO PUBLIC STATEMENT. I HOPED IT WOULD NOT BE LATTER. I WAS WILLING SEE FACTS MADE PUBLIC, AS I WAS SURE FACTS WOULD SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES, BUT I DID NOT SEE HOW IT WOULD HELP PROGRESS TALKS TO ENGAGE IN PUBLIC PROPAGANDA. SUCH SOURCE WOULD CERTAINLY ENTANGLE DISCUSSIONS.

61. I SAID I WAS SURE HE HAD NOTED THAT IN SPITE OF GREAT PUBLIC CONCERN IN U.S. OVER SUBJECT, STATEMENTS BY SECRETARY OF STATE RESTRAINED IN TONE AND CONINED TO EXPRESSION EXPECTATION ANNOUNCEMENT WILL BE FULLY IMPLEMENTED. SECRETARY THUS ATTEMPTING DISCOURAGE PUBLIC DEBATE. I THOUGHT HE HAD BEEN QUITE SUCCESSFUL IN THIS EFFORT.

62 I SAID I HAD TALKED PRIVATELY AND FRANKLY WITH WANG ABOUT SUBJECT. I HAD CAREFULLY AND HONESTLY ANSWERED ALL QUESTIONS

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HE HAD RAISED, AND FRANKLY GIVEN VIEWS OF MY GOVERNMENT. I FAILED TO SEE HOW BRINGING ALL THIS INTO PUBLIC PROPAGANDA DEBATE COULD CONTRIBUTE TO PROGRESS.

63. WANG REPLIED THAT HE WAS VERY DISAPPOINTED AND WISHED EXPRESS REGRET THAT DISCUSSION LAST MEETING AND AGAIN TODAY HAD GONE BEYOND ITEM TWO OF AGENDA. PRC SIDE HAS NO INTENT OR DESIRE GO BACK TO DISPUTES AND DISCUSSION THAT TOOK PLACE BEFORE ISSUANCE OF SEPTEMBER 10 AGREEMENT. IT WAS BECAUSE I HAD ENGAGED DISCUSSION ITEM ONE, PRC SIDE FORCED DO SAME.

64. WANG SAID HIS SIDE ALWAYS REJECTED ANY ACCUSATIONS BY MYSELF OR BY U.S. OFFICIALS ALLEGING HIS SIDE VIOLATING AGREEMENT ON RETURN CIVILIANS. IT HAS BEEN POSITION PRC SIDE ALL ALONG THAT EITHER WE WOULD NOT REACH AGREEMENT OR, IF AGREEMENT REACHED, IT WOULD BE FAITHFULLY CARRIED OUT SO FAR AS PRC SIDE CONCERNED. PRC HAS NOT ALTERED THIS POSITION. IT CAN BE SEEN PRC SIDE IS EXACTLY PERFORMING AGREEMENT. FROM FIGURES I HAD PRODUCED THIS MORNING, CANNOT BE DENIED MAJORITY OF AMERICANS INCLUDING THOSE WHO COMMITTED OFFENSES HAVE DEPARTED.

65. WANG SAID WE HAD HAD LONG ARGUMENT OVER HANDLING OF GROUP OF AMERICANS WHO BREACHED LAW IN CHINA. PRC SIDE DID NOT ENTER INTO AGREEMENT THAT THIS GROUP WOULD BE RELEASED BY GIVEN DATE. THIS VERY CLEAR. AS HE HAD INDICATED BEFORE, TWO FACTORS WILL COUNT CONCERNING HANDLING THESE AMERICANS. ONE FACTOR IS BEHAVIOR OF INDIVIDUAL AND NATURE OF CASE. OTHER IS MANNER IN WHICH RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES IMPROVE. HE MIGHT ASK WHETHER THERE HAS BEEN AN SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES SINCE ISSUANCE OF SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT.

66. WANG SAID AS TO QUESTION WHETHER THERE ARE CHINESE HELD IN US PRISONS, I HAD ANSWERED I DID NOT KNOW OF SUCH CASES. THIS DID NOT MEAN THAT THERE IS NO SUCH CASE. I HAD SAID EVEN IF THERE WERE SUCH CASES, CHINESE HELD IN U.S. PRISONS WOULD

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BE FREE COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY AND REQUEST LATTER MAKE INVESTIGATION IN SUCH CASES. THIS WAS ANSWER I HAD PROVIDED. HE WANTED TO POINT OUT THAT INVESTIGATION INTO FACTS SUCH CASES AND ABILITY THESE PERSONS EFFECT RETURN ARE TWO SEPARATE MATTERS. HE WISHED ASSURE ME CHINESE GOVERNMENT HANDLING CASES AMERICANS WHO BREACH LAW IN CHINA IN EXACTLY THIS MANNER.

67. WANG SAID CONCERNING 38 OF 103 CHINESE WHO HAD BEEN PREVENTED FROM RETURNING AND HAVE NOT YET EFFECTED RETURN, I HAD SUGGESTED THESE PERSONS MAY HAVE CHANGED THEIR MIND. HE CONSIDERED THERE WAS NO GROUND FOR SUCH CONCLUSION. IT INCREDIBLE THAT INDIVIDUALS WHO HAD DARED DEMAND RETURN UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES OF BEING SUBJECTED TO THREATS WOULD NOT WISH TO RETURN AFTER ISSUANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

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1955 DEC 16 AM 7 29

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Date of Action

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Direction to DC/R

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Action FE

Info RMR SS G

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1289, DECEMBER 15, 11 PM (SECTION 7 OF 8)

PRIORITY

68. WANG SAID IN REGARD TO INS REQUIREMENT CHINESE STUDENTS BTAIN ENTRY PERMIT TAIWAN WITHIN GIVEN TIME LIMIT, MY EXPLANATION WAS NOT CONVINCING. HE MIGHT CITE CASE OF AMERICAN NATIONALS IN CHINA TO EXPLAIN HIS POINT. AS I WAS AWARE, MRS. HUIZER WAS HOLDING DUTCH PASSPORT AND AS RULE WOULD BE CONSIDERED DUTCH NATIONAL. HOWEVER, I HAD REQUESTED SHE BE RETURNED AS AMERICAN NATIONAL. IT WAS GOOD WILL ON PRC SIDE THAT CASE WAS HANDLED AS THAT OF AMERICAN NATIONAL. IN EXPLAINING MY POINT I HAD STATED EVERY ALIEN NATIONAL SHOULD BE ALLOWED PROCEED DESTINATION OF HIS CHOICE. HOW WOULD I EXPLAIN MATTER CONCERNING CHINESE NATIONALS IN U.S.? WHY DID U.S. SIDE NOT TAKE STEPS SO CHINESE WOULD OBTAIN ENTRY PERMITS TO CHINA INSTEAD OF INSISTING THEY OBTAIN ENTRY PERMITS TAIWAN. BY CONTRASTING MANNER IN WHICH PRC SIDE HANDLED CASE OF MRS. HUZER AND MANNER IN WHICH U.S. SIDE HANDLED REQUIREMENT CHINESE STUDENTS OBTAIN ENTRY PERMITS TAIWAN, CLEAR PICTURE EMERGES OF UNFRIENDLY ATTITUDE U.S. SIDE. THIS ALSO OPEN VIOLATION SEPTEMBER 10 AGREEMENT.

69. WANG SAID I HAD SPOKEN OF NECESSITY ENSURING UNDERSTANDING AND CONFIDENCE BOTH SIDES IN SOLUTION PROBLEMS BEFORE US. ON THIS HE WAS IN FULL AGREEMENT. HE REGARDED PRESENT TALKS AS CONCRETE STEP TOWARD PROMOTION UNDERSTANDING AND CONFIDENCE OUR TWO SIDES. AFTER FORTY DAYS DISCUSSION, WE ABLE AGREE ON SEPTEMBER 10 AGREEMENT, THE FIRST BETWEEN US. THIS REPRESENTED FURTHER INCREASE CONFIDENCE AND UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN OUR TWO SIDES.

70. WANG SAID IF SINCE SEPTEMBER 10 SIDE ISSUES HAD NOT BEEN RAISED IN DISCUSSION, HE WAS SURE WE WOULD HAVE BEEN ABLE ON BASIS SEPTEMBER 10 AGREEMENT MAKE STEADY PROGRESS IN SETTLEMEN

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OTHER MATTERS AT ISSUE IN SINCERE SPIRIT. HOWEVER, STALLING BY U.S. SIDE IN DISCUSSION ITEM 2 AND ENTANGLING OVER QUESTION OF FIRST ITEM OF AGENDA, EVEN WITH ACCUSATION PRC HAS VIOLATED AGREEMENT, WILL NOT HELP OBTAIN BETTER UNDERSTANDING

71. WANG SAID DURING COURSE DISCUSSION PRC SIDE HAS FIRMLY FOLLOWED UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN BOTH SIDES TO DISCUSS MATTERS IN FRANK AND OPEN SPIRIT WITHOUT ENGAGING IN PROGPAGANDA. HOWEVER REPEATED DISTORTIONS APPEARING IN PRESS ORIGINATED BY U.S. OFFICIAL QUARTERS ALLEGING PRC SIDE VIOLATING AGREEMENT HAVE COMPELLED PRC GOVERNMENT MAKE ITS POSITION CLEAR.

72. I ASKED WHETHER WANG'S GOVERNMENT HAD ALREADY OR WAS GOING TO ISSUE STATEMENT.

73. WANG REPLIED HE HAD NOT SAID HIS GOVERNMENT HAD ALREADY MADE STATEMENT.

74. I ASKED WHETHER IT WAS GOING TO DO SO.

75. WANG SAID THAT WAS CORRECT.

76. I SAID THAT HE MUST REALIZE THAT MY GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER MAKING STATEMENT IN REPLY.

77. WANG SAID TO HIS KNOWLEDGE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAD ALREADY MADE PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON NUMBEROUS OCCASIONS.

78. I ASKED WHAT STATEMENTS HE WAS REFERRING TO.

79. WANG SAID WITHOUT ENUMERATING ALL INSTANCES, HE COULD CITE SECRETARY DULLES' PRESS CONFERENCE OF DECEMBER 6.

80. I SAID SAID I DID NOT WISH TO ARGUE THE POINT. SECRETARY WAS ASKED QUESTION IN PRESS CONFERENCE AND CAREFULLY REFRAINED FROM MAKING THIS PUBLIC ISSUE. AS I HAD POINTED OUT, AMERICAN PEOPLE EXPECTED IMPRISONED AMERICANS WOULD BE PERMITTED

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EXPEDITIOUSLY RETURN. BY ANY STANDARD THEY NOT RETURNING EXPEDITIOUSLY. INEVITABLY SECRETARY OF STATE IS BEING ASKED QUESTIONS THIS REGARD. HIS ANSWERS ENTIRELY DIRECTED AT REDUCING PUBLIC CONTROVERSY THIS POINT. HE HAS CONSISTENTLY TAKEN STAND HE HOPED AND EXPECTED AGREEMENT WOULD BE CARRIED OUT. I DID NOT SEE HOW EXCEPTION COULD BE TAKEN TO SUCH STATEMENTS, WHICH IN FACT DIRECTED AT ATTEMPTING IMPROVE ATMOSPHERE SURROUNDING TALKS AND ALLAYING PUBLIC SPECULATION IN U.S. IF PRC GOVERNMENT NOW DETERMINED BRING MATTER INTO PUBLIC PROPAGANDA FIELD, DIFFICULT FOR ME BUT TO CONCLUDE THAT PRC DOES NOT SHARE OR DESIRES FOR PROGRESS IN TALKS. THIS CANNOT BUT ADVERSELY INFLUENCE WHOLE ATMOSPHERE THAT HAS BEEN CREATED.

81. I SAID WANG HAD SPOKEN OF SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT AS FURTHERING UNDERSTANDING AND CONFIDENCE BETWEEN US. THAT HAD BEEN EXACTLY MY HOPE. HOWEVER, IT IS NOT WORDS OF ANNOUNCEMENT AND APPEARANCE OF AGREEMENT THAT FURTHER UNDERSTANDING, BUT CARRYING OUT OF ANNOUNCEMENT. IT WAS ONLY BECAUSE OF MY TREMENDOUS INTEREST IN FURTHERING PROGRESS THAT I HAD DISCUSSED MATTERS THE WAY I HAD. I REGRETTED THAT MATTER WAS GOING TO ENTER PROPAGANDA FIELD, WHICH COULD NOT BUT INHIBIT DISCUSSION OF SUBJECT HERE.

82. I SAID I REGRETTED THAT WANG HAD AGAIN SPOKEN OF STATE OF OUR RELATIONS AS FACTOR IN DETERMINING RELEASE OF AMERICANS. I HAD PREVIOUSLY GIVEN MY VIEWS ON THIS AND THE INEVITABLE INTERPRETATION THAT MUST BE PLACED UPON IT. IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS IS TWO WAY STREET. I HAD TRIED SINCE BEGINNING OF TALKS POINT OUT AS CLEARLY AS I COULD RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS AND VIEWS OF AMERICAN PEOPLE CONCERNING CONTINUED IMPRISONMENT OF AMERICANS. THIS NOT SUBJECT TO ARBITRARY CONTROL OF U.S. GOVERNMENT OR ANYONE IN U.S. GOVERNMENT. BUT IS BASIC FACT TTAT MUST BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION IN DISCUSSING OUR RELATIONS. I WOULD NOT BE HONEST AND WOULD NOT BE DOING SERVICE TO OUR RELATIONS IF I DID NOT POINT THIS OUT FRANKLY.

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83. I SAID THERE WERE ONLY TWO OTHER SMALL ITEMS. I HAD PREVIOUSLY TRIED TO MAKE CLEAR THAT GROUPS OF 103 CHINESE HE HAD REFERRED TO WERE NOT PERSONS WHO HAD DEMANDED RETURN, BUT WERE PEOPLE WHO MAY OR MAY NOT HAVE DESIRED TO RETURN AGAINST WHOM RESTRAINING ORDERS WERE ISSUED.

84. I SAID I FAILED TO SEE ANY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MRS. HUIZER AND MY EXPLANATION OF IMMIGRATION LAWS CONCERNING TEMPORARY VISITORS. I WAS SURE HE DID NOT MEAN TO IMPLY THAT IF SHE HAD BEEN DUTCH SUBJECT SHE WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN PERMITTED LEAVE.

85. I SAID CONCERNING REQUIREMENT OF IMMIGRATION LAW REGARDING TEMPORARY VISITORS, HIS COUNTRY AND EVERY OTHER COUNTRY MUST HAVE SIMILAR REGULATIONS. PRC CERTAINLY DID NOT ADMIT FOREIGNERS ON TEMPORARY VISITS UNLESS THEY ABLE GO SOMEWHERE ELSE AT END OF VISIT. VARIOUS COUNTRIES MAY ADMINISTER SUCH MEASURES IN VARIOUS WAYS. AS I HAD POINTED OUT, U.S. REQUIREMENT CAN BE SATISFIED IN VARIOUS WAYS. CERTAINLY IT DID NOT INTERFERE WITH ABILITY CHINESE IN U.S. PROCEED PRC IF THEY DECIDED TO DO SO. THEREFORE, REQUIREMENT HAD NO RELATION TO IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

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FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
DEC 16 AM 7 59

INCOMING TELEGRAM — Department of State — ACTION COPY

45-B

Action/FE

Info

RMR

SS

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 8004
Rec'd: DECEMBER 16, 1955
12:42 AM

Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1289, DECEMBER 15, 11 PM (SECTION 8 OF 8)

PRIORITY

86. WANG SAID HE STILL DID NOT AGREE TO MY EXPLANATION OF INS REQUIREMENT FOR CHINESE IN U.S. OBTAIN ENTRY PERMITS TAIWAN. CHINESE STUDENTS IN U.S. ALL CAME FROM MAINLAND OF CHINA. WHAT RIGHT DID U. S. GOVERNMENT HAVE COMPEL THESE STUDENTS PROCEED TO TAIWAN? HE HAD REFERRED TO CASE OF MRS. HUIZER BECAUSE PRC HAD REGARDED HER AS DUTCH SUBJECT. I HAD REGARDED HER AS AMERICAN NATIONAL. CITATION OF MRS. HUIZER WAS DESIGNED SHOW HOW CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN HANDLING PROBLEMS IN FRIENDLY SPIRIT. WHEREAS U.S. SIDE HANDLING PROBLEMS OF CHINESE IN U.S. IN UNFRIENDLY SPIRIT.

87. WANG SAID I HAD SAID IF MRS. HUIZER WAS DUTCH, WOULD PRC HAVE PREVENTED HER DEPARTURE. HE COULD ONLY CONCLUDE THAT IT IS A DELIBERATE DISTORTION FOR U. S. SIDE TO STATE MATTER IN THIS MANNER.

88. WANG SAID AS TO NEED FOR ESTABLISHING FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE AROUND TALKS, THIS WAS ALWAYS OBJECTIVE OF PRC SIDE. BUT IN ORDER ESTABLISH FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE BOTH SIDES MUST MAKE COMMON EFFORT. IT WOULD BE ILLUSION FOR ONE SIDE TO INSIST ON MAKING CHARGES WHILE IT WANTS OTHER SIDE KEEP SILENT. STATEMENT PRC SIDE IS GOING TO MAKE HAS BEEN COMPELLED BY U.S. PROPAGANDA.

89. I ASKED WHETHER WANG COULD GIVE ME COPY OF STATEMENT.

90. WANG REPLIED HE DID NOT NOW HAVE A COPY.

91. I SAID I WISHED AGAIN TO DENY EMPHATICALLY THAT ANY CHINESE IN U.S. ARE BEING REQUIRED TO PROCEED TO TAIWAN.

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92. WANG SAID THIS DENIAL WOULD HAVE PRACTICAL EFFECT ONLY AFTER INS REPEALED ITS REQUIREMENT ON CHINESE STUDENTS.

93. I SAID THERE WAS NO INS REQUIREMENT THAT ANY CHINESE STUDENT GO TO TAIWAN.

94. WANG SAID REQUIREMENT COMPELLING STUDENTS MAKE SUCH APPLICATION IS NOTHING BUT FORCING THEM TO PROCEED TO TAIWAN.

95. I SAID STUDENTS COULD SATISFY REQUIREMENT IN ANY NUMBER OF WAYS. WANG MUST BE AWARE THAT ALL CHINESE WHO ENTERED U.S. IN RECENT YEARS ENTERED UNDER GOVERNMENT OF REPUBLIC OF CHINA PASSPORTS. IF THOSE PASSPORTS HAVE EXPIRED, IT IS PERFECTLY NATURAL FOR THESE PEOPLE TO OBTAIN RENEWAL OF THEIR PASSPORTS. HOWEVER, WHETHER THEY FULFILL REQUIREMENT THAT WAY OR NOT, NOTHING COMPELS THEM GO TO TAIWAN.

96. WANG SAID AS HE HAD POINTED OUT HE COULD NOT REGARD THIS MEASURE AS JUSTIFIABLE.

97. I SAID I HAD NOTHING FURTHER ON THIS SUBJECT. HOWEVER, I WAS SERIOUSLY DISTURBED OVER PRC SIDE PLACING OUR TALKS ON THIS SUBJECT INTO PROPAGANDA FIELD. IN VIEW OF ACTION HIS GOVERNMENT AND IN VIEW OF APPROACHING HOLIDAY SEASON FOR BOTH OF US, I WONDERED WHETHER I WOULD BE PREFERABLE HAVE FEW WEEKS INTERVAL BEFORE NEXT MEETING. ACTION OF HIS GOVERNMENT IS INEVITABLY GOING TO ENTANGLE TWO ITEMS OUR AGENDA AND OUR DISCUSSION. PERHAPS IF WE WERE NOT TO MEET FOR A SHORT PERIOD IT MIGHT REDUCE PUBLIC SPECULATION AND GET US BACK TO SITUATION WHERE WE COULD MAKE PROGRESS. I WAS THROWING THIS SUGGESTION OUT AS SINCERE EFFORT TRY REDUCE IMPACT ACTION HIS GOVERNMENT AND IN HOPE IT WILL ENABLE US MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS. WOULD APPRECIATE HIS VIEWS.

98. WANG SAID WHAT PERIOD OF TIME DID I HAVE IN MIND IN PROPOSING A SHORT RECESS.

99. I SAID WE MIGHT MEET AGAIN EITHER ON 5TH OR 12TH JANUARY.

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100. WANG SAID THERE ARE TWO ASPECTS TO QUESTION. ACCORDING TO WHAT I HAD SAID, I DESIRED RECESS AND I WAS TRYING JUSTIFY THIS RECESS BY ALLEGED EFFECT OF ACTION HIS GOVERNMENT WAS GOING TO TAKE. IF THIS WAS CASE, HE COULD NOT AGREE TO RECESS BECAUSE IT WOULD NOT RECONCILE WITH SPIRIT OF MAKING EFFORTS FIND COMMON GROUND BETWEEN US. HOWEVER, IF RECESS PROPOSAL WAS MOTIVATED MERELY BY CONSIDERATION OF HOLIDAYS, HE WOULD CONSIDER SUGGESTION AND REPLY LATER.

101. I SAID I DID NOT FEEL MOVE HIS GOVERNMENT WILL BE HELPFUL FINDING COMMON GROUND BETWEEN US. IT WAS ONE OF REASONS LEADING ME TO SUGGEST RECESS. HOWEVER I DID NOT DESIRE TO PRESS POINT.

102. WANG SAID AS I HAD STATED, HE WOULD NOT AGREE TO RECESS ON FIRST GROUNDS, RELATING TO ACTION HIS GOVERNMENT. IF I INSISTED ON RECESS ON THOSE GROUNDS HIS SIDE COMPELLED MAKE FURTHER STATEMENT TO CLARIFY ITS POSITION. HOWEVER, IF SECOND REASON WERE IN MIND, IF MOTIVE WERE PURELY THE APPROACHING HOLIDAYS, THEN HE WOULD CONSIDER MATTER AND GIVE REPLY LATER.

103. I SAID MY SPECIFIC SUGGESTION WAS FOR RECESS UNTIL JANUARY 12. IF HE PREFERRED SOME OTHER PERIOD I WOULD CONSIDER IT. I WAS NOT TRYING TO BE ARBITRARY.

104. WANG SAID HE WOULD REPLY AFTER CONSIDERATION. I ASKED WHEN THAT WOULD BE AND WHETHER BEFORE DECEMBER 22. HE REPLIED HE COULDN'T SAY BUT WOULD MAKE IT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. IN REPLY TO MY QUERY AS TO WHAT WE WOULD SAY TO PRESS HE SUGGESTED WE INFORM PRESS NEXT MEETING WOULD BE DECEMBER 22, THE USUAL DATE. IN CASE OF CHANGE WE WOULD ANNOUNCE IT LATER TO PRESS.

105. I POINTED OUT I WAS LEAVING FOR PRAGUE FRIDAY AND WOULD APPRECIATE IF POSSIBLE AN ANSWER BEFORE I LEFT. HE SAID HE WOULD TRY BUT COULD NOT PROMISE.

GOWEN

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418

47

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501 1-0

Action FE

Info RMR SS

Control: 8000
Rec'd: DECEMBER 16, 1955
1:00 AM
Action Assigned to CA/DR
Action Taken

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1294, DECEMBER 16, 4 AM

PRIORITY

SENT DEPARTMENT 1294 REPEATED INFORMATION PARIS 291

PARIS FOR THE SECRETARY ONLY

FROM JOHNSON

1. TEXT OF PRESS STATEMENT PRC FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTRY WAS MADE AVAILABLE TO CORRESPONDENTS HERE BY CHINESE CONSULATE GENERAL. WANG REFUSED CORRESPONDENTS REQUEST FOR INTERVIEW, AND OFFICER HANDING OUT STATEMENT REFUSED ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS ON GROUNDS HAD JUST BEEN RECEIVED FROM PEIPING HAD NO TIME YET TO READ. ASSUME FULL TEXT AVAILABLE FROM FBIS. STATEMENT OF MORE THAN THOUSAND WORDS COVERED ONLY FOLLOWING POINTS:

A) U.S. FAILURE SUPPLY LIST CHINESE IN U.S. TO INDIAN EMBASSY.

B) WHILE SINCE AUGUST FIRST 26 OUT OF 40 AMERICAN LAW BREAKERS HAVE BEEN RELEASED, U. S. HAS REFUSED INFORM PRC HOW MANY CHINESE IMPRISONED IN U.S. OR LIST OF THEIR NAMES.

C) NO TIME LIMIT CAN BE SET FOR RELEASE REMAINING AMERICANS WHOSE CASES BEING REVIEWED INDIVIDUALLY AND THEREFORE "NO JUSTIFICATION FOR AMERICANS TO ASK, OR ASK IN DISGUICED FORM FOR SETTING TIME LIMIT TO RELEASE AMERICAN CRIMINALS" WHO ARE BEING RELEASED EXPEDITIOUSLY.

D) DEPARTURE "ORDINARY" AMERICANS NOT OBSTRUCTED AND IN FACT ASSITED WHERE REQUIRED WHILE OF 103 CHINESE WHO U.S. ADMITTED LONG PREVENTED FROM DEPARTING 38 STILL NOT RETURNED.

E) INS REGULATION REQUIRING CHINESE IN U.S. OBTAIN ENTRY

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PERMIT FOR TAIWAN IS THREAT AGAINST CHINESE STUDENTS UNABLE FOR TIME BEING RETURN WHICH IS VIOLATION LETTER AND SPIRIT SEPTEMBER 10 AGREEMENT.

2. STATEMENT CLOSES WITH "THE CHARGE OF THE AMERICAN SIDE THAT CHINA HAS NOT FULLY COMPLIED WITH THE AGREEMENT IS COMPLETELY UNTENABLE. THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT FIRMLY ASKS THAT THE AMERICAN SIDE PUT A STOP TO ALL ITS ACTS IN VIOLATION OF THE AGREEMENT AND FULLY COMPLY WITH THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN BOTH SIDES"

3. I AM INFORMING PRESS FOR ATTRIBUTION MY SPOKESMAN THAT PRC ASCERTAIN IN STATEMENT THAT IT HAS FULLY COMPLIED WITH AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 10 AND ALLEGATION THAT U. S. HAS NOT ARE COMPLETELY CONTRARY TO FACT. ANY FURTHER COMMENT WOULD HAVE TO COME FROM WASHINGTON. FOR BACKGROUND I HAVE POINTED OUT TO CORRESPONDENTS HERE LACK OF RELATION CHARGES AGAINST U.S. TO OBLIGATIONS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND APPARENT ATTEMPT TO OBSCURE CHICOM FAILURE COMPLY WITH SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT IN CASES 14 IMPRISONED AMERICANS. HAVE ALSO EXPRESSED FOR ATTRIBUTION SPOKESMAN PUZZLEMENT AT REFERENCE DEMAND FOR TIME LIMIT RELEASE AMERICANS POINTING OUT KNOW OF NO PUBLIC STATEMENTS THIS REGARD.

GOWEN

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BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
1955 DEC 16 AM 7 25

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507

Control: 8218
Rec'd: December 16, 1955
8:49 a.m.

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FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1295, December 16, 1 p.m.

FROM JOHNSON

Re MYTEL 1289

Paragraph 21 second sentence to end should read: "As he had specifically stated in advance reaching agreement on return civilians, Americans who had broken law must be handled in accordance Chinese legal procedures and this could by no means be hastened by setting deadline. Such is matter Chinese sovereign rights."

GOWEN

LFS/1

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420

54-39

SECRET

Action Assigned to

Action Taken

Control: 8358

Rec'd: DECEMBER 16, 1955 12:34 P.M.

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

Action
FE

Info
RMR

SS
G

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1296, DECEMBER 16, 5 P.M.

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. IN EVENT MEETING IS HELD DECEMBER 22 I FIND SOME DIFFICULTY IN FORMULATING ANY VIEWS ON BEST COURSE OF ACTION. HOWEVER, FOLLOWING ARE SOME FACTORS I BELIEVE SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN FORMULATING TACTICS FOR NEXT MEETING AND FUTURE STRATEGY. UNLESS THERE IS SOME NEW AND UNEXPECTED DEVELOPMENT FROM CHICOM SIDE BEFORE MEETING SUCH AS RELEASE SOME PRISONERS IT SEEMS TO ME IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT IN PRESENT POSITION TO UNDERTAKE ANY INTENSIVE DISCUSSION RENUNCIATION FORCE. AT SAME TIME FURTHER EXTENDED DISCUSSION IMPLEMENTATION CAN ONLY RAKE OVER ALREADY THOROUGHLY PLOWED GROUND. (INCIDENTALLY SITUATION WITH RESPECT WHO SPEAKS FIRST ALSO NOT CLEAR. AT THIS LAST MEETING IT WAS WANG'S "TURN" BUT HE DEFERRED TO MY REQUEST OPEN MEETING.)

2. THOUGH BOTH OF US HAVE PRESERVED SOME FREEDOM OF MANEUVER AND HAVE LEFT SOME LEEWAY FOR ENLARGING AREA OF MANEUVER, WE ARE VERY CLOSE TO DEADLOCK. POSITION I HAVE SET FORTH IS SUBSTANTIALLY THAT REFUSING FURTHER DISCUSSION UNDER AGENDA ITEM TWO UNTIL AT LEAST SOME FURTHER CHICOM STEPS ON IMPLEMENTATION. CHICOM POSITION IS VIRTUALLY THAT OF NO FURTHER RELEASES PRISONERS UNTIL "RELATIONS IMPROVED" BY AT LEAST RESUMPTION DISCUSSION UNDER AGENDA ITEM TWO.

3. IT THEREFORE SEEMS TO ME ONE QUESTION WE FACE IS WHETHER ON ONE HAND WE ATTEMPT ENLARGE AREA OF MANEUVER OR RESPOND ANY ATTEMPT BY WANG DO SO, OR ON OTHER HAND WHETHER WE DESIRE PUSH THEM FURTHER INTO CORNER EVEN AT RISK FULL DEADLOCK, FULL REPETITION MY LINE LAST MEETING WITH EMPHASIS ON THEIR

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FAILURE IMPLEMENT WILL PUSH THEM FURTHER INTO CORNER. ON OTHER HAND IT MAY BE POSSIBLE MAINTAIN AND ENLARGE AREA OF MANEUVER BY PUTTING EMPHASIS MY REGRET ON DAMAGE ATMOSPHERE TALKS THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENT AND IMPEDIMENT TO CONFIDENCE CREATED BY THEIR HIDDEN RESERVATIONS ON SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT.

4. I AM INCLINED THINK THAT IF MEETING HELD DECEMBER 22 WANG MAY ATTEMPT FORCE MY HAND ON DISCUSSION RENUNCIATION FORCE DRAFT IN EFFORT BETTER ESTABLISH BASIS FOR PUBLIC POSITION OF CHARGING US WITH "STALLING". IN RESPONSE I COULD FOLLOW EITHER FOREGOING LINES BUT BELIEVE LATTER LINE WOULD BE MORE PRODUCTIVE.

GOWEN

TT

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(421)

(5-21)

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
DEC 28 1955
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☐ Released
☐ Releasable if ____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown
☐ Deny ( ) E.O. 11-1-301
☐ Downgrade to ____
☐ Review Again
☑ Reviewer ____ Date 7/2

OFFICIAL -- INFORMAL

December 16, 1955

SECRET

Letter No. 19

Dear Walter:

I have neglected writing you the past few weeks, on the one hand, because I felt that I have covered matters very thoroughly in my telegrams, and, on the other, since the necessity of my returning to Prague each week because of the negotiations I have going on up there has left me little time after getting out my telegrams.

I know that in some of my messages I posed some really hard and possibly unanswerable questions at this time, but I, nevertheless, wanted you all to know what was worrying me and that I did appreciate answers to the extent that they could be made.

As I have indicated in my telegrams, I have had serious doubts about the efficacy of the course I have been asked to pursue the past two meetings, but I have, nevertheless, tried to do my best in carrying out the instructions I have received. Very frankly, while we have been able to establish what will undoubtedly appear as a good position "on the record", I think that it has, if anything, set back the release of further Americans, and I am at the moment not at all clear as to where we go from here. Yesterday's session was a very trying one, and towards the end of the meeting I tried to balance myself on the knife's edge in testing their reaction to the continuation of these talks. It was quite clear to me that they certainly did not want a break, at least at this time, but, as I have said in a telegram last week, I do not think that we can safely assume that this is going to continue indefinitely.

I hope that the Department appreciates that in practice it would be extremely difficult for me to carry out an instruction, such as that for the last meeting, to introduce our amendments on their renunciation of force draft if necessary to prevent

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

to prevent a break. It would probably be absolutely clear that a break was coming if Wang were to make only an ultimatum type statement of some kind to the effect that there would be no point in continuing the meetings unless I negotiated on their renunciation of force statement. This would, of course, be in effect an ultimatum, and if I were at that point suddenly to respond to his ultimatum, I would entirely destroy my future negotiating position.

I greatly appreciated the telegram authorizing Helenka's employment and she is going to go to work right away. I had thought of this possibility but had not yet got around to talking with her when your telegram arrived.

Give my regards to all and an especially Merry Christmas to you and Dorothy from Pat and myself.

Sincerely,

Alex

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

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422

Rec'd in B
5-50

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 7/6/55

December 16, 1955

SECRET
OFFICIAL INFORMAL

Letter No. 27

Dear Alex:

I am sure you must have been concerned at the last two meetings as to whether the tactics being adopted might not lead to an early break in the talks. This problem has been given very serious consideration here. The consensus is that on the one hand the time has come when we must adopt a more forceful position with respect to Chinese Communist failure to implement the Agreed Announcement and on the other the Communists are not in a favorable position to break off the talks. These are the considerations which led to the decision to undertake tactics possibly involving greater risk of a break. The matter was discussed with the Secretary himself and he agreed that the time had come to take a stiffer attitude. I know that you have felt in the past that your basic instructions to keep the talks going frequently prevented you from taking as strong a line as you would have liked. The feeling here now is that we have in the talks accomplished a good deal up to this point toward our objective of making it more difficult for the

Chinese

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

Chinese Communists to resort to force and that we can now take greater risks than heretofore.

How useful to you are the FBDP and ALDP figures sent each week? I notice that you have not used them recently in the meetings, and that in any case, the Chinese do not pay much attention to them. Their compilation requires a considerable investment in time by I&NS and CA. Unless you feel otherwise we plan to discontinue this work.

With regard to the details in the cases of missing US military personnel, we have tracked down some of the Chinese newspapers in which there are probably references to some of the 450 men on your list. It will require a lot of work to go through the papers and find the names. Therefore, we do not plan to undertake it until such time as it appears you may be called upon to take up this matter again in Geneva.

I am enclosing a copy of a speech made by Nehru September 6 which you may wish to refer to next time you discuss renunciation of force with Wang. You will note on page I-2 that Nehru has explicitly renounced force with regard to Goa.

We have received a request for the original Chinese version of Wang's letter of September 16. If any of your staff has the time we should appreciate your sending us copies both of this letter and of the Chinese draft Agreed Announcement on the renunciation of the use of force in Chinese.

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Mr. Hoover and Mr. Robertson believe that we have been sitting on the story of the mistreated Americans about long enough. The time may have come for us to release some accounts of the outrageous treatment experienced by these people. We are now working on an account of the experiences of a number of people. It is still an open question how we will use this material. The main objective would be to show foreign countries which may have some influence in Peiping what we are confronting. No final decision to use this material immediately has been made. The compilation of the material is on a contingency basis, but the tendency is to think that we should use it fairly soon unless there is an early favorable development in regard to the 14. The most impressive account we have is the ghastly story of Bersohn, which he has written in full. Being an intelligent and articulate person, his story is effective, all the more so because it is written in an objective, matter of fact way without emotion, sermonizing or generalization. I am enclosing a copy of a memorandum from John Henderson to Mr. Robertson embodying his ideas of how an information campaign should be conducted. If you have any thoughts on this, I would suggest that you get them in immediately.

I am engrossed now in drafting a Departmental statement in reply to the Chinese Communist press release of last night. It is a rush effort since we must issue it this afternoon.

I am planning to take a little leave next week if we get the recess. Otherwise, I expect to continue on the job.

The

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The long lapse in my letters is explained by the fact that there just has not been any background or long-term guidance I could give you which was not embodied in the official telegrams. I hope that it will be different from now on.

I trust your administrative problems that you mentioned in your letter No. 13 are pretty well solved with the employment of Helena Osborn as your secretary and the assignment of Ekvall to Paris.

It was good to hear your voice on the telephone last night. Congratulations on your continued good handling of your trying assignment, and holiday greetings and good wishes to both you and Pat.

Sincerely yours,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Three British notes.
2. Nehru speech.
3. Memorandum from Mr. Henderson.

423

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

ACTION COPY

510 1/6

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33
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RMR

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Control: 9277
Rec'd: December 19, 1955
7:01 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1300, December 19, noon

NIACT

SENT DEPARTMENT 1300, REPEATED INFORMATION NIACT PRAGUE 17

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FROM OSBORN

Following just received from Wang:

"Since our side proposed the new draft for an agreed announcement at our December 1 meeting and although you have repeatedly referred to it as an encouraging progress in the talks, however, your side has, for three consecutive meetings, not expressed its attitude towards our new draft so that we have not been able to carry on discussions on the basis of this new draft in order to reach agreement. Our side considers that our new draft is entirely capable of leading to an agreement between the two sides and as such there should be no (repeat no) further delay. Our next meeting should be held on December 22, without alteration, as was agreed between us and publicly announced."

GOWEN

SW:MEM/12

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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

34-39

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Action Assigned

Action Taken Deptel 1410

Control: 9467

Rec'd: December 19, 1955 12:38 p.m.

Date of ... 12/20/55

Action ... CA

Name of ...

Direction ...

Action
FE

Info
RMR

SS
G

FROM: Prague

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 218, December 19, 4 p.m.

NIACT

SENT DEPARTMENT 218 REPEATED INFORMATION PRIORITY GENEVA 23.

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FOR OSBORN

Reference: Geneva's 1300 repeated Prague 17.

Will depart Prague tomorrow morning so as meet with Wang December 22.

Believe that at meeting I should strongly reject effort in Wang's message use withholding agreement on recess force lines discussion.

Nevertheless if radio report I have just heard both Bradshaws released confirmed believe basing presentation on this I could usefully undertake some discussion renunciation force draft at December 22 meeting, in addition to presentation on implementation suggested my December 16 telegram from Geneva. Believe we might even give consideration introduction our amendments which while certainly not palatable other side might be useful in encouraging further releases and would place me in more advantageous position to propose recess until January 12.

In any event at December 22 meeting I would propose recess until January 12 and insist strongly on minimum of recess until January 5. However, would appreciate Department's instructions on how far it desires me to go in insisting on recess. That is, does it desire I go to extent of simply telling him I am not prepared meet regardless his desires. This would of course result in hereafter tending make timing of meetings substantive issue which both of us have thus far avoided.

JOHNSON

TT/5

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FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

FEB 1 9 1955

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 425

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

08802
1955 DEC 20 PM 6 03
DC/T

512

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1410
FOR JOHNSON

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Guidance for December 22 meeting.

1. You should point out undesirability public exchanges like last week's as they impede real progress in talks. Remind Wang you urged Communists not make statement, but since they insisted US compelled ~~to~~ reply. Suggest place for discussions is in meeting, not in public, and express hope this will be followed in future.

2. Express satisfaction at Bradshaw release, adding hope ~~that~~ this portends early release thirteen remaining Americans. Inform Wang US position on implementation ~~of~~ Agreed Announcement has been stated in Department's press release December 16 and no further statement required at this time. Add ~~that~~ betterment in relations can only be expected as ~~xxxxx~~ prisoners are released.

3. Propose recess until January 12 on basis Christmas and New Year holidays. If Wang resists point out ~~that~~ he said at last meeting he willing consider on this basis and remind him of importance these holidays in US. Issue should not be pressed to point of refusing meet regardless his insistence although you could go so far as to state that in ~~the~~ absence any

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNCBugh/L.Phleger:ek 12/20/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearance: The Secretary - in draft

FE - Mr. McConaughy - in draft

11124

SECRET
Classification

S/S-CR
DEC 20 1955 P.M.
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any major development you will be in Prague and unavailable to meet on December 29.

4. Department considers that odds against Communists breaking off talks at this time in light developments at UN which they probably would think make it unwise from their viewpoint to break. Therefore, we can press further on implementation without serious risk and with hope of some results. Release of Dr. Bradshaw would seem ~~to~~ bear this out. Bradshaw release justifies temporary relaxation pressure on implementation, but it is desirable avoid discussion other topics at next meeting, particularly in view hard tone Wang's note refusing recess proposal. However, if you believe introduction revised US draft essential to forestall break you authorized to do so.

5. You may inform Wang in any case that on January 12 you will have comments to make on his draft and will have some changes to propose.

6. If Wang should accuse US of misrepresentation in stating you had protested "cruel and inhuman treatment" of Americans, you should tell him we referring to Bradshaw case.

= DULLES "

Dulles
JSD

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(426)

513 POL

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Control: 11189
Rec'd: DECEMBER 22, 1955 1/6
9:35 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1308, DECEMBER 22, 2 P.M.

Action Assigned to EA/DRS

Action Taken

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. ONE AND ONE-HALF HOUR MEETING THIS MORNING.

2. WANG INSISTED ON OPENING MAKING STRONGEST CHARGES TO DATE OF US STALLING, "INSINCERITY" AND RENEWING LINE OF LAST MEETING ON IMPLEMENTATION. MADE SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CRUEL AND INHUMAN TREATMENT PORTION DEPT RELEASE. STATEMENT CONSTITUTED STRONG INVITATION TO ME TO REHASH IMPLEMENTATION DISCUSSION LAST FEW MEETINGS.

3. IN LIGHT SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS AT MEETING, BELIEVE WANG WAS ATTEMPTING LAY BASIS FOR IMMEDIATE ISSUANCE BY THEM OF PUBLIC STATEMENT ON AGENDA ITEM TWO DISCUSSIONS AND US FAILURE RESPOND THEIR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. HOWEVER, BELIEVE THIS WAS FORESTALLED BY MY SUBSEQUENT STATEMENT ALONG LINES DEPTEL 1410, PARTICULARLY PARA 5 WHICH, HOWEVER, I STATED IN SOMEWHAT LESS CATEGORICAL FASHION.

4. IN REPLY HE REITERATED POINTS HIS OPENING STATEMENT AND IN NOTING MY STATEMENT RE DISCUSSION HIS DRAFT PROPOSED JANUARY 12 MEETING SAID: "I SHOULD SAY THAT THAT WOULD BE THE LAST OPPORTUNITY FOR US TO REACH AN AGREEMENT ON BASIS OUR NEW DRAFT. WE CAN PERMIT NO FURTHER DELAY. OTHERWISE WE WILL BE COMPELLED TO MAKE PUBLIC THE PROCEEDINGS OF OUR DISCUSSIONS ON THE SECOND ITEM OF OUR AGENDA AND LEAVE IT TO PUBLIC OPINION FOR JUDGMENT. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO ENDURE DEFINITE DELAY IN THIS RESPECT."

5. ALTHOUGH

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2- 1308, DECEMBER 22, 2 P.M., FROM GENEVA

5. ALTHOUGH FOREGOING STATEMENT CARRIES SOME IMPLICATION OF BREAK-OFF, I INTERPRET IT ONLY TO BE THREAT TO GO TO PUBLIC. BELIEVE, HOWEVER, INTRODUCTION OUR AMENDMENTS NEXT MEETING WOULD PROBABLY FORESTALL THIS.

6. I CHALLENGED ULTIMATUM ASPECT THIS STATEMENT CHARACTERIZING AS THREAT. IN REPLY HE DID NOT WITHDRAW STATEMENT BUT DENIED IT WAS THREAT. HE PROPOSED AND DURING SUBSEQUENT GIVE AND TAKE STRONGLY INSISTED ON NEXT MEETING JANUARY 6. I INDICATED I COULD NOT GIVE ANY ASSURANCES WOULD BE IN POSITION DISCUSS HIS DECEMBER 1 DRAFT BEFORE JANUARY 12. HE FINALLY ACCEPTED MY SUGGESTION. WE ANNOUNCED NEXT MEETING FOR JANUARY 12 AND IF IN MEANWHILE ANY DEVELOPMENTS EITHER CONSIDERED TO MAKE MEETING DESIRABLE WOULD GET IN TOUCH WITH OTHER. AGREED PRESS ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD STATE SIMPLY THAT IN VIEW OF CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR HOLIDAYS NEXT MEETING JANUARY 12. WORD RECESS WAS NOT USED.

I PARTING FOR PRAGUE THIS EVENING.

GOWEN

LGL

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1955 DEC 22 PM 12 47

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Action FE

Info RMR

CS

Control: 11530 Assigned to CA/DIR

Rec'd: DECEMBER 22, 1955 6:27 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State 55)

NO: 1311, DECEMBER 22, 10 PM (SECTION ONE OF THREE)

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FROM JOHNSON

1. WANG OPENED 31ST MEETING TODAY WITH PREPARED STATEMENT: IT THREE MONTHS SINCE SEPTEMBER 14, WHEN OUR SIDE PUT FORWARD QUESTION OF EMBARGO AND QUESTION OF MAKING PREPARATIONS FOR SINO-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS ON HIGHER LEVEL, AS SECOND ITEM FOR AGENDA.

2. WANG SAID IF BOTH SIDES SHARE SINCERE DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT SINO-AMERICAN DISPUTES THERE SHOULD NOT BE ANY DIFFICULTY IN SPEEDILY REACHING AGREEMENT ON THESE SUBJECTS. HOWEVER, US SIDE ON OCTOBER 8 PROPOSED BOTH SIDES FIRST MAKE ANNOUNCEMENT RENOUNCING USE FORCE. OUT SIDE SUBMITTED ON OCT. 27 DRAFT STATING THAT IN ACCORDANCE PROVISIONS UN CHARTER WE AGREE SETTLE DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL MEANS WITHOUT RESORT THREAT OR USE FORCE.

3. WANG SAID, IN ORDER REALIZE THIS COMMON DESIRE, HIS DRAFT STATED TWO COUNTRIES DECIDED HOLD FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE TO SETTLE QUESTION RELAXING AND ELIMINATING TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA.

4. WANG SAID THIS DRAFT SHOULD CERTAINLY HAVE BEEN ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES. NEVERTHELESS, US SIDE REJECTED IT AND WAS NOT READY TO ACCEPT CONCRETE STEP PROVIDED IN THIS DRAFT WHICH FORESAW IMMINENT HOLDING FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING.

5. WANG SAID, AGAIN IN ORDER EXPEDITE PROGRESS, PRC SIDE HAS MADE ANOTHER EFFORT. ON DECEMBER 1 PUT FORWARD NEW DRAFT ON AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. IT PROVIDED THAT PRC AND US ARE DETERMINED

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DETERMINED THAT THEY SHOULD SETTLE DISPUTES THROUGH PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT RESORT THREAT OR USE FORCE, AND ADDED THAT TWO AMBASSADORS SHOULD CONTINUE TALKS TO SEEK PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS FOR REALIZING THIS COMMON DESIRE.

6. WANG SAID HIS NEW DRAFT HAD TAKEN VIEWS US SIDE INTO ACCOUNT AND INCORPORATED ALL POINTS WHICH ALREADY AGREED ON OR MIGHT BE AGREEABLE. I HAD ADMITTED I RECOGNIZED THIS AS ENCOURAGING PROGRESS. HENCE IT EVIDENT BOTH SIDES SHOULD SPEEDILY REACH AGREEMENT BASING ON HIS NEW DRAFT.

7. WANG SAID, HOWEVER, FOR LAST THREE MEETINGS US SIDE HAS THUS FAR FAILED MAKE KNOWN ANY CONCRETE VIEWS ON THIS DRAFT. AS RESULT WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE CARRY ON DISCUSSIONS AND REACH AGREEMENT ON HIS NEW DRAFT.

8. WANG SAID, IN LAST FEW MEETINGS NOT ONLY NOT BEEN DISCUSSION HIS DRAFT BUT ALSO HAVE BEEN NO PREPARATIONS FOR FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING NOR ANY PROGRESS IN MAKING BILATERAL STATEMENT WHICH WAS FIRST PRESSED FOR BY US. US SIDE MUST SHOULDER FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR SUCH UNSATISFACTORY SITUATION.

9. WANG SAID SINCE TALKS ENTERED INTO SECOND PHASE OF AGENDA, US SIDE HAS BEEN DRAGGING OUT TALKS. AT FIRST MEETING FOLLOWING CONCLUSION AGREEMENT ON CIVILIANS ITEM, US SIDE ANNOUNCED THAT BEFORE IMPLEMENTATION OF FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT COMPLETE IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSION OTHER MATTERS. IT PRECISELY THAT UNREASONABLE ATTITUDE WHICH HAS DEFERRED PROGRESS IN TALKS.

10. WANG SAID SUBSEQUENTLY WHEN US UNABLE AVOID GETTING ALONG INTO ITEM TWO, IT AGAIN CONTINUALLY KEPT THRUSTING IMPLEMENTATION OF FIRST AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT INTO DISCUSSIONS, IN DELIBERATE ATTEMPT TO ENTANGLE TALKS AND OBSTRUCT PROGRESS.

11. WANG SAID LATELY US SIDE WENT STEP FURTHER BY MAKING GROUNDLESS CHARGES THAT PRC SIDE HAS NOT FULLY IMPLEMENTED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, WHILE AT SAME TIME REFUSING IMPLEMENT. THAT IS DELIBERATE ATTEMPT DEFEAT ANY CONCRETE OUTCOME TALKS.

AT OUR LAST

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AT OUR LAST MEETING HE HAD ALREADY BROUGHT OUT THAT PRC SIDE HAS ALL ALONG BEEN FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTING, AND IT WAS NONE OTHER THAN US SIDE WHICH NOT ONLY NOT IMPLEMENTING, BUT HAD ACTED IN DELIBERATE VIOLATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

12. WANG SAID THUS FAR US SIDE NOT YET FURNISHED PRC WITH NAMES AND INFORMATION ON ALL CHINESE IN US, WHILE OF THOSE CHINESE WHO US ADMITTED HAD DESIRED RETURN BUT HAD LONG BEEN PREVENTED FROM RETURNING NPI THERE STILL MANY WHO NOT BEEN PERMITTED RETURN.

13. WANG SAID US HAS NEVER GIVEN PRC SIDE ANY ACCOUNTING OF CHINESE IMPRISONED IN US NOR ADOPTED ANY APPROPRIATE MEASURES IN REGARD THEM.

14. WANG SAID I HAD STATED THAT INDIAN EMBASSY HAD MADE NO REPRESENTATIONS CONCERNING THE DISABILITY OF ANY CHINESE TO DEPART, HOWEVER, ACTUAL FACT IS THAT US SIDE HAS COMPLETELY REFUSED OFFER ANY ASSISTANCE TO INDIAN EMBASSY PERMITTING IT TAKE INITIATIVE TO LEARN ABOUT CHINESE IN US AND TAKE MEASURES HELP THEM. RESULT IS THAT INDIAN EMBASSY NOT BEEN IN POSITION TO FULLY CARRY OUT ITS FUNCTIONS.

15. WANG SAID MOREOVER US SIDE IS POSING FURTHER THREATS TO CHINESE STUDENTS IN US BY REQUIRING THEM OBTAIN ENTRY PERMITS TAIWAN AS CONDITION THEIR TEMPORARY STAY IN US, SO THAT IN FUTURE THEY WILL NOT DARE ASK RETURN MAINLAND. SUCH IS OUTRIGHT CONTRADICTION TO UNDERTAKINGS OF US SIDE BY WHICH IT ANNOUNCED "US RECOGNIZES THAT CHINESE IN US WHO DESIRE RETURN PRC ARE ENTITLED DO SO, AND DECLARES THAT IT HAS ADOPTED AND WILL FURTHER ADOPT APPROPRIATE MEASURES SO THEY CAN EXPEDITIOUSLY EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN."

16. WANG SAID THIS ACTION BY US SIDE HAS GRAVE CONSEQUENCES. HE ASKED THAT US SIDE GIVE CONSIDERATION POINT HE HAD RAISED, MAKE SATISFACTORY ANSWER TO IT.

17. WANG SAID DECEMBER 16 STATEMENT BY STATE DEPT. WHILE ATTEMPTING DENY THIS GROSS VIOLATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT EVEN MADE ALLEGATION ABOUT AMERICANS IN CHINA BEING SUBJECT CRUEL AND INHUMAN TREATMENT. HE COULD ONLY EXPRESS INDIGNATION AT SUCH CHARGES. SUCH CHARGES DO NOT HAVE SHRED OF

FACTUAL BASIS

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FACTUAL BASIS/SINCE AMERICANS WHO BEEN IMPRISONED IN CHINA HAVE REPUDIATED THESE CHARGES. IF ONE TO TALK ABOUT CRUEL AND INHUMAN TREATMENT, IT NONE OTHER THAN AMERICAN SIDE WHICH GUILTY OF THIS, BY PREVENTING FOR LONG PERIOD RETURN OF CHINESE TO HOMELAND AND THEIR REUNION WITH THEIR FAMILIES.

18. WANG SAID IT NONE BUT US WHICH GUILTY CRUEL INHUMAN TREATMENT FOR, AFTER PERSECUTING THREATENING CHINESE IN US IT HAS NOW COME OUT IN OUTRIGHT BREACH OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BY ADOPTING MEASURES AGAINST THEM. THERE MANY CASES OF CHINESE WHOSE MENTAL STATE PUT OUT OF ORDER AS RESULT PROTRACTED THREATS AND PERSECUTION AGAINST THEM BY US GOVERNMENT. THERE ARE SUCH CASES AMONG CHINESE WHO RETURNED TO CHINA RECENTLY.

GOWEN

JJ

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FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1311, December 22, 10 p.m. (SECTION TWO OF THREE)

19. Wang said it is distortion of agreement to allege that there is no distinction between ordinary Americans in China and those who have committed offenses in China.

20. Wang said he would like frankly point out it is not possible for PRC side or for anyone who sincerely concerned with Sino-American talks to tolerate charges which reverse merits of matter and drag out talks. Wang said PRC side asks that talks should without further delay get down to discussion of making announcement on basis their new draft so as to reach agreement thereon.

21. I then presented prepared statement as follows:

A. Before taking up any other matters this morning, I desire express my satisfaction at release of Dr. Bradshaw and news that both he and Mrs. Bradshaw have now arrived Hong Kong. I would hope that this action your government portends early release fourteen Americans still remaining in prison your country, thus removing not only this source dispute and controversy between us here but also removing continuing impediment to improvement relations between our two countries.

B. I regret note that in spite of fact that at our last meeting I most earnestly urged your government not issue public statement concerning substance our discussions here regarding our agreed announcement September 10, your government, nevertheless, issued such statement. As I pointed out at our last meeting, it is difficult for me understand how your government can consider that such statements contribute to real progress in our talks here. Such public debate can only exacerbate our differences and in no way can contribute to their solution. I have in past, and hope in future fully and openly discuss our differences here with intent do my best resolve them or arrive at greatest possible degree common understanding. I still hold view that place for these discussions is in our meetings here

rather

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rather than by our two governments exchanging public statements. Action of your government making such statement of course compelled my government make reply. Position my government with respect to carrying out of agreed announcement of September 10 set forth in that reply which was issued by Department of State December 16.

C. I then said as far as cruel and inhuman treatment concerned, facts in case Mrs. Bradshaw speak for themselves. In December 1950 this woman along with her husband applied for exit permits. These refused and in February 1951 she and her husband arrested. At time she entered prison, she in normal health. Three and half years later she released completely broken in body and mind. In spite this, more than another passed before authority given her leave.

D. I said wang statement this morning again raised question concerning agreed announcement he had raised at previous meetings. These questions bear no relationship to carrying out of September 10 agreement. Unlike questions I had raised which bear directly on agreed announcement, his questions are extraneous thereto. I had thoroughly covered this ground in last few meetings. In spite of Wang's apparent desire lead us down side road in discussing these extraneous issues. I have no desire go over ground already covered. Particularly in last few meetings I had carefully and in detail gone into these questions. Statement appeared entirely ignore what I said previously. I had no intention pursue this subject this morning.

E. I said that as for other aspects Wang's statement, I had tried point out relationship between carrying out agreed announcement and confidence that must be established in regard to our other subjects. I had said many times that my discussion this subject not motivated by desire delay talks but by desire expedite them.

F. I said in regard to question of embargo I had still not received answers to questions I asked many weeks ago.

G. I said in view of imminent Christmas and New Year holidays and common practice with respect international meeting during that period, I suggest that we hold our next meeting January 12. I would hope at that meeting it will be possible to renew our progress toward reaching agreement on joint statement with respect renunciation force. I would expect at that meeting to be in position make further comments in regard to your December 1 draft, as well as to make definite proposals concerning amendments thereto that we would consider desirable.

22. Wang replied that on Monday he had sent letter stating at today's meeting we should give emphasis discussion on agreed announcement on renunciation of force. He regretted that in my statement this morning I had again failed put forward concrete

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opinions concerning new draft of December 1 of PRC side. He could not consider this satisfactory.

23. Wang said this fact shed light on attitude of US, which aimed at dragging out talks. Purpose of present talks is try resolve conflicts of policy between two countries. Existing conflicts of policy as well as tension Taiwan area are posing serious threat international peace. That is why world public focussing attention on developments Sino-American talks.

24. Wang said he had to point out that after forty days of discussion of item one, we finally reached successful agreement that item. But 100 days have passed since entering into discussion of more important questions, yet we still find ourselves no closer to progress. Cause for lack progress this respect entirely due to delaying attitude on part of US concerning item 2.

25. Wang said he believed this state of affairs will surely disappoint world public opinion and also American opinion. What American people want is friendly relations between Chinese and American people advantageous both people.

26. Wang said proposal for renunciation of force statement originated with US side. New draft put forward by PRC side December 1 fully meets points of view and requirements both sides. It seemed to him issuance of such announcement would be first step for relaxing tension between our two countries. He is surprised to find we have been delayed such a protracted time over this question. Although his side has plenty of patience, such waiting would naturally have a limit.

27. Wang said he noted my statement that I would be able present concrete views at next meeting on this question. He also noted that I had expressed hope that it would be possible for us make progress at that meeting.

28. Wang said "I should say that that would be the last opportunity for us to reach an agreement on basis our new draft. We can permit no further delay. Otherwise we will be compelled to make public the proceedings of our discussions on the second item of our agenda and leave it to public opinion for judgment. We cannot afford to endure indefinite delay in this respect."

GOWEN

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Control: 11532
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1311, DECEMBER 22, 10 PM (SECTION THREE OF THREE).

Direction to DC/R

PRIORITY .

WANG SAID I HAD EXPRESSED HOPE THAT DISCUSSION BETWEEN US WOULD NOT BE MADE PUBLIC BUT WOULD BE CONFINED TO CONFERENCE ROOM. SINCE BEGINNING OF SERIES OF TALKS, PRC SIDE HAS MAINTAINED THAT SPIRIT. HOWEVER, TWO POINTS MUST BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION. FIRST, NEITHER SIDE SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENTS OUTSIDE OF MEETINGS. SECOND, UNRESERVED AND FRANK EXCHANGE OF OPINION AT MEETINGS SHOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARD RESOLVING QUESTIONS AND MAKING PROGRESS RATHER THAN DRAGGING ON INDEFINITELY.

30. WANG SAID AS FAR AS LAST PUBLIC STATEMENT HIS SIDE CONCERNED, HE HAD POINTED OUT AT LAST MEETING IT WAS NECESSITATED BY FACT US OFFICIAL QUARTERS, INCLUDING SECRETARY OF STATE DULLES, OPENLY MADE CHARGES ALLEGING PRC SIDE NOT IMPLEMENTING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. THESE CHARGES AND ACCUSATIONS HAD NO FACTUAL BASIS, HENCE HIS SIDE COMPELLED SET FORTH TRUTH OF MATTER TO PUBLIC IN FORMAL STATEMENT. FROM THIS TRUTH WORLD PUBLIC CAN SEE WHICH SIDE IS CARRYING OUT AGREEMENT AND WHICH IS PURPOSELY VIOLATING IT. ALL THIS HAS BEEN SET FORTH CLEARL IN LAST PUBLIC STATEMENT PRC SIDE AND AGAIN IN HIS STATEMENT THIS MORNING. HE HAD ALREADY SET FORTH EXPLICITLY VIEWS HIS SIDE IN THIS REGARD AND HAD NOTHING FURTHER TO ADD.

31. WANG SAID IN REGARD TO MY PROPOSAL TO HOLD NEXT MEETING JANUARY 12, HE WONDERED IF I WOULD BE AGREEABLE TO MAKE IT JANUARY 6.

32. I REPLIED I WAS DISTURBED AT HIS USE OF SUCH PHRASES AS "LAST CHANCE" AND "LAST OPPORTUNITY" CONCERNING OUR TALKS HERE. I COULD ONLY INTERPRET HIS REMARKS AS A THREAT

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THREAT AND WAS CERTAIN THAT NEGOTIATIONS WERE NOT HELPED BY THREATS OF THAT KIND. I HOPED HE DID NOT MEAN IT THE WAY IT SOUNDED. I WAS PERFECTLY WILLING FOR PUBLIC TO JUDGE ON BASIS OF FACTS CONCERNING OUR DISCUSSIONS. HOWEVER I DID NOT SEE HOW EXCHANGE OF PUBLIC STATEMENTS WOULD HELP PROGRESS.

33. I SAID I WAS ALSO SURPRISED HE WOULD PURPORT TO SPEAK FOR AMERICAN PEOPLE. I BELIEVED I WAS IN POSITION TO DO THAT. HOWEVER, I DID AGREE THAT AMERICAN PEOPLE DESIRED IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. I HAD TRIED TO POINT OUT DURING MEETINGS EFFECT ON OUR RELATIONS AND TALKS OF AMERICANS STILL IMPRISONED HIS COUNTRY.

34. I SAID I THOUGHT PART OF DIFFICULTY OF PRESENT SITUATION IS LACK OF COMPLETE UNDERSTANDING CONCERNING MEANING OF FIRST AGREEMENT REACHED BETWEEN US. AT TIME THAT AGREEMENT REACHED, I HAD TRIED MY VERY BEST OBTAIN COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF WORDS IN AGREEMENT, PARTICULARLY WORD "EXPEDITIOUSLY" HOWEVER, WANG NOT WILLING REACH SUCH UNDERSTANDING WITH ME. THIS POINTS UP AND EMPHASISES NEED OF FOLL UNDER-STANDING IN ANY OTHER AGREEMENTS WE MAY REACH. IN THAT SPIRIT I HAVE BEEN TRYING TO DISCUSS MATTERS WITH WANG.

35. I SAID THAT AS I HAD STATED THIS MORNING, I PROPOSED NEXT MEETING BE JANUARY 12. AT THAT MEETING I WOULD EXPECT TO BE IN POSITION TO MAKE FURTHER COMMENTS CONCERNING WANG'S DECEMBER 1 DRAFT AND MAKE SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING AMENDMENTS WE WOULD CONSIDER DESIRABLE. MY GOVERNMENT WAS CONTINUING ITS STUDY OF DRAFT AND OF ENTIRE MATTER. I DID NOT EXPECT TO BE IN POSITION TO GIVE OUR VIEWS UNTIL JANUARY 12 BECAUSE OF INTERPOSITION OF CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEARS HOLIDAYS.

36. I SAID MAGNITUDE AND DELICACY OF QUESTION IS SUCH I DID NOT SEE WHAT COULD BE GAINED BY FORCING PACE OF DISCUSSION. WANG HIMSELF HAD SAID QUESTION UNDER DISCUSSION IS MOST SERIOUS. WORLD AND OUR OWN PEOPLES ARE MORE INTERESTED IN SOLIDITY OF AGREEMENT THAN IN SPEED. WE SHOULD CERTAINLY

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NOT ATTEMPT SACRIFICE SOLIDITY AND SATISFACTORINESS OF AGREEMENTS TO SPEED. I FELT IT WOULD BE MORE SATISFACTORY OF WANG WOULD AGREE TO JANUARY 12 FOR OUR NEXT MEETING.

37. WANG REPLIED WE WERE NOW SEEKING WAYS AND MEANS FOR SETTLEMENT OF CONFLICTS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. IF BOTH SIDES SINCERE, 100 DAYS WOULD CERTAINLY HAVE BEEN ENOUGH TO GET SOMETHING OUT OF DISCUSSIONS. IT CANNOT BE CLAIMED WE DID NOT HAVE ENOUGH TIME. I WOULD BE ABLE TO SEE HOW PATIENT PRC SIDE HAS BEEN.

38. WANG SAID I HAD REFERRED TO TERMS SUCH AS THREATS. HE COULD NOT ACCEPT SUCH TERMS. PRC SIDE HAS NO INTENT OF THREATS AGAINST US. IN FACT PRC SIDE FEELS ALL ALONG IT IS BEING THREATENED. ALSO IT WOULD NOT AGREE TO LET DISCUSSIONS BE DRAGGED OUT WHEN SUFFICIENT TIME EXISTS TO ACHIEVE RESULTS.

39. WANG SAID AS I HAD STATED, HE DID NOT HAVE LEAST INTENT SPEAK ON BEHALF OF AMERICAN PEOPLE. HE WAS ONLY EXPRESSING VIEW THAT INTERESTS OF PEOPLE OF WHOLE WORLD WERE IDENTICAL AND AMERICAN PEOPLE OF COURSE ARE INCLUDED. THAT IS TO SAY, FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND US CONFORM TO INTERESTS OF CHINESE PEOPLE AND ALSO OF AMERICAN PEOPLE.

40. WANG SAID I HAD SAID AMERICAN PEOPLE STILL CONCERNED OVER 13 AMERICANS IMPRISONED IN CHINA. BUT HE MUST POINT OUT ALSO THAT CHINESE PEOPLE IN SAME WAY ARE NOT ONLY CONCERNED OVER TENS OF THOUSANDS OF CHINESE RESIDENTS IN US BUT ALSO OVER EIGHT MILLION CHINESE PEOPLE IN TAIWAN. THIS IS SOMETHING WHICH MUST BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION IN DISCUSSING PROBLEMS BETWEEN US.

41. WANG SAID HE NOTED MY EXPLANATION OF PROPOSAL TO MEET JANUARY 12. HE WONDERED WHETHER IT WOULD BE AGREEABLE TO SET NEXT MEETING TENTATIVELY FOR JANUARY 6 AND THEN TO CONSIDER WHETHER IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO EXTEND RECESS. AFTER

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CONSIDERATION, IF THERE SHOULD BE AN ALTERATION IN TENTATIVE SCHEDULE, HE WOULD INFORM US IN WRITTEN FORM.

42. I REPLIED THAT I COULD NOT GIVE ASSURANCES THAT I WOULD BE ABLE DISCUSS DECEMBER 1 DRAFT UNTIL JANUARY 12.

43. WANG SAID IT APPEARED TWO WEEKS RECESS IS STILL NOT SUFFICIENT TIME FOR ME.

44. I SAID I COULD NOT GIVE ASSURANCES I WOULD BE ABLE DISCUSS DECEMBER 1 DRAFT BEFORE JANUARY 12. IF WANG THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO MEET BEFORE THAT DATE, I WOULD CERTAINLY CONSIDER IT. I SUGGESTED WE ANNOUNCE NEXT MEETING FOR JANUARY 12. IF PRIOR TO THAT TIME, DEVELOPMENTS MADE IT DESIRABLE TO MEET, EITHER SIDE COULD GET IN TOUCH WITH OTHER.

45. WANG AGREED TO THIS PROPOSAL.

46. I SUGGESTED AND WANG AGREED WE ANNOUNCE TO THE PRESS THAT NEXT MEETING WILL BE JANUARY 12 IN VIEW OF CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR'S HOLIDAYS.

GOWEN

WM

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FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

DEC 29 1955

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AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
DEC 28 1955
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

December 2[illegible]

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OFFICIAL -- INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 20

Dear Walter:

Thanks very much for your letter of December 16. I have just come back from and finished dictating the summary of our meeting today and as you will see, things got fairly tight and sticky. However, the most excellent instructions contained in the Dept.'s 1410 I think exactly fitted the siutation and enabled me to finish up with no serious losses. (Incidentally, the Dept.'s 1410 was a model of drafting fully covering the situation and was completely clear in all the points contained.) It will be noted that at today's meeting I deliberately avoided attempting to pick up and answer all his points and being drawn into discussion of other topics. It left me with a somewhat unsatisfactory feeling at the meeting to do this but I feel that overall it worked out well.

As I said in my summary telegram, I do not believe that his threat at today's meeting was to break the talks but rather to go to the public. However, I am not absolutely positive on this and thought it well for you to immediately have his exact words. I naturally did not want to show too much worry or concern by attempting to get him to clarify at today's meeting. Fortunately I had made my statement on discussion of his December 1 draft prior to his making this statement. Otherwise I feel that it would have been

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

SECRET

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been impossible for me to make my statement. I have difficulty in interpreting the reason he made his statement after my statement except in the light of an assumption that they were prepared to go to the public today if I had said nothing on their draft and that my statement left him in a somewhat half-way position which he felt that his instructions required him to make the statement. They were all somewhat nervous at the beginning of today's meeting and at the close of his opening prepared statement and I had a feeling that they were building up to something.

However, we now have a respite until January 12 and I know that good use will be made of the time back there to think through our future course. As you can appreciate it would be most helpful for me to have all the background guidance possible.

I think it likely that their present estimate of the situation is that our only interest is in obtaining the release of all of the Americans and that if and when this is accomplished we will be quick to cut off any further negotiations. I feel that our future moves should take account of this probable estimate on their part.

Thanks for the quote from Nehru which I am sure I will be able to put to good use.

Dave is now making and will send you a copy of the original Chinese text of Wang's letter of September 16 and all of his December 1 draft Agreed Announcement. I sent you all of the substantive portion of his draft by telegraph.

With respect to the proposed information campaign my principle thought is that the decision as to whether or not such a campaign should be carried on officially by the U.S. Government must be carefully related to our overall objectives with regard to these talks and our relations with Communist China. I think we have to carefully distinguish between a campaign bearing the official imprimature of the Government and articles and stories appearing in private publications. An official campaign will probably be interpreted by our own people as well as other countries, and the Chinese Communists, as a prelude to a break in these talks. If such is the

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intent, a campaign of this nature would of course be well suited to the purpose. With regard to Henderson's memo to Mr. Robertson, I think it would be completely idle to believe that such a campaign would result in expediting the release of imprisoned Americans. It would certainly counter any impression that we are, as the memo phrases it, softening our attitude towards Communist China, and correspondingly reduce whatever capital I believe we have gained by our strong position in proposing these talks and our renunciation of force position. As far as U.S. public opinion is concerned, my own feeling is that it is fully willing without any stimulation to follow and support whatever policies the administration believes best. It is only necessary for the administration clearly to enunciate its policies.

I want to make clear that the foregoing applies to an identified official program, and does not imply that I think that we should sit on naturally generated news stories and articles. If Bersohn, for example, has a good story and some magazine desire to publish it, I certainly would not discourage it. In fact I am inclined to think that it woul be useful all around. However, I believe entirely different considerations are involved in an official program and that before starting such a program we shoul be absolutely clear as to our purposes and whether the means will accomplish the purpose.

If the situation in Prague permits, I want to take Pat and Jenifer down to Garmisch for a few days at the New Year and will let you know by telegram from Prague whether I am doing so. Someone will at all times be on watch here in Geneva and will be able to get in touch with me in a matter of hours at the most. It will also be possible for me to get from Garmisch down her by car in six or seven hours. I hope that you will, as in the past, send me at Prague anything you think I should see or have a chance to think about before the next meeting.

I hope that you are able to have a real vacation as you have certainly earned it.

Regards to all.

Sincerely,

alex

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

UAJohnson/

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ING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

JPN

515

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54-39
Action
FE
Info
RMR

Control: 13398
Rec'd: DECEMBER 28, 1955
12:50 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1320, DECEMBER 28, 6 P.M.

Action Assigned to CA/DIR
Action Taken uncl. telegrams to Prague, Hong Kong & Geneva
Date of Action 12/30/55
Action Office Symbol CA/P
Name of Officer [signature]
Direction to DC/R File

PRIORITY

FROM GOWEN

US-CHINESE TALKS

REPRESENTATIVE CHINESE COMMUNIST CONGEN GENEVA CALLED TODAY AND HANDED ME LETTER FROM WANG SAYING I MIGHT OPEN IT IN ABSENCE JOHNSON AS MATTER "VERY URGENT." ENGLISH TEXT WHICH ACCOMPANIED CHINESE TEXT READS "GENEVA DECEMBER 28. AMBASSADOR JOHNSON: LIU YUNG-MING WAS CHINESE STUDENT OF BRIDGE CONSTRUCTION ENGINEERING MISSOURI UNIVERITY. HE ARRIVED IN USA IN 1947 AND PASSED M.A. IN 1949. IN MAY 1949 HE APPLIED FOR RETURN TO CHINA BUT HE WAS NOT ONLY PREVENTED FROM LEAVING USA BUT ALSO WAS REGARDED (SIC) IN MENTAL DISORDER AND SENT TO STATE HOSPITAL NO. 4, FARMINGTON, MISSOURI. FROM HOSPITAL HE WROTE HIS WIFE SAYING 'NO FREEDOM AT ALL. NO FREEDOM FOR WRITING LETTERS, SEPARATED FROM OUTSIDE, NOBODY COMES SEE ME. EAGERLY HOPE GET OUT OF THIS HELL AND RETURN TO ARMS MY MOTHER COUNTRY AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE'. SINCE LATTER PART OF 1950 HIS FAMILY HAS NEVER HEARD ANYTHING FROM HIM. HIS WIFE HAS ONCE AND AGAIN WRITTEN AND INQUIRED OF THE HOSPITAL. HOSPITAL MERELY REPLIED OCCASIONALLY THAT HE WOULD LEAVE HOSPITAL AS SOON AS HE RECOVERED. SINCE 1951 EVEN REPLIES FROM HOSPITAL WERE CUT OFF. RECENTLY I RECEIVED LETTER FROM HIS FAMILY IN WHICH ABOVE SITUATION MENTIONED. YOU ARE REQUESTED TO MAKE INVESTIGATION INTO THIS SERIOUS MATTER AND GIVE ME SATISFACTORY ANSWER. SIGNED WANG PING-NAN."

UNDERSTAND JOHNSON WILL RETURN GENEVA ON OR ABOUT JANUARY 10.

GOWEN

WDR

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(Ane)

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Drafted by: FE:CA:J.Nagoski:apt 12/30/55

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Ralph N. Clough

Clearances: EE-Mr. Johnson

S/S-CR

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